

Scientology's Recruitment Policies Targeting Celebrities

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INTRODUCTION

Four years after L. Ron Hubbard noted the influence that celebrities had on the consumer patterns of the general public, he developed his insights into a policy aimed at using celebrity star power to promote Dianetics and Scientology throughout society. That policy became the foundation for a Scientology marketing program that has operated for nearly 45 years and has involved some of the West's highest-profile celebrity personalities from the entertainment and sports industries. The Scientology organization specifically recruits celebrities and provides some of them with career-enhancing connections with other Scientologists in "the business" (as people in Los Angeles refer to Hollywood's entertainment-related enterprises). For celebrities who undergo intensive training in Scientology's beliefs, practices, and public relations positions, Scientology grants them a special status within the organization and actively uses them as deployable agents to proselytize to others in society.

Scientology's relationship with its celebrity members has many facets, and this chapter will tackle only one of them. It examines the actual Scientology policies and procedures that Hubbard and others formulated, applied, and modified regarding celebrity recruitment and deployment. Setting aside for the moment discussing what the exact nature of Scientology is—a sect? a cult? a new religion? a marginal medical group?—it remains the most aggressive of post-World War II ideological groups to actively seek large numbers of celebrities as members. It seems fortuitous for Hubbard that the evolution and development of Dianetics into Scientology occurred in the early 1950s, which was the same period that early television was growing in the United

States. Having spent time in the Hollywood area before and soon after World War II,¹ he already was somewhat familiar with the cultural influence that movie stars had. With the increase in television shows and expanding hours of programming, Hubbard saw a new group of stars emerge in a new medium, and he wanted their voices and that medium on his side. In, for example, the 1955 list of celebrities that Hubbard wanted to recruit (and which I discuss below), a dozen or so of them were television personalities.

Worth mentioning is that an analysis of celebrities becoming involved in causes is far more complicated when discussing Scientologists versus non-member celebrities. Nonmember celebrities, who are by far the most typical of stars in “the business,” in some part make decisions about involvement in social movements “through a rationalized celebrity industry” composed of “tightly linked subindustries” including “public relations, entertainment law, management, and talent agencies, tied to each other and to news media and entertainment production companies.”² Agents and public relations people in this rationalized celebrity industry assess whether involvement in a particular social movement might harm celebrities’ public images, and they advise the celebrities accordingly. Celebrity elites, however, operating on behalf of Scientology have an additional level of control and direction over the organization’s high-profile members, and it may be that decisions about celebrities’ involvements in issues and social movements reflect others’ assessments about what is best for the public image, first and foremost, of Scientology.

Because I have access to so many primary sources on Scientology celebrities, I present Scientology’s celebrity deployment in a manner that stays as close to the original information as possible. In order to do so, I have loosely framed this chapter with the concept of elites as an important facet of resource mobilization theory,³ which first appeared in the 1960s and which I and other scholars have used to interpret organizations in the 1970s and beyond.⁴ According to resource mobilization theory, celebrity members of organizations are elites because they have access to significant “resource pools”⁵ (wealth, media contacts, political influence, discretionary time, etc.),⁶ which those organizations may be able to utilize for their own corporate ends. Moreover, many of Scientology’s celebrities are *international cultural elites* because of their relationships with various global media, which gives these celebrities opportunities to attempt to influence societies and/or cultures, especially involving styles, tastes, and entertainment.⁷ The primary and secondary documents that I utilized in this chapter are on file in the archival collection that I oversee on alternative religions, housed within the University of Alberta Library system.

DIANETICS AND SCIENTOLOGY POLICIES ABOUT CELEBRITIES

By 1951—only a year after Hubbard launched his best-selling book on Dianetics—he wrote about the impact of celebrities on popular culture. In retrospect, he likely was beginning to ponder how he could use their persuasive power to market what he felt were his own contributions to the mental health field:

Ideas, and not battle[s], mark the forward progress of mankind. Individuals, and not masses, form the culture of the race. On a lesser scale actors and other artists work continually to give tomorrow a new form. Hollywood makes a picture which strikes the public fancy, and tomorrow we have girls made up like a star walking along the streets of the small towns of America. A Hollywood interior decorator dresses a set which takes the eye of the American audience, and tomorrow that set is seen as the apartments of Miami Beach and other resorts. A culture is as rich and capable of surviving as it has imaginative artists, skilled men of science, a high ethic level, workable government, land and natural resources, in about that order of importance.⁸

At some point in the next few years, Hubbard realized that Hollywood stars and other celebrities could take the ideas of Dianetics (and eventually Scientology) and inspire the public with them. After all, he already believed that “a culture is only as great as its dreams, and its dreams are dreamed by artists.”⁹ If only he could get celebrities to incorporate the propagation of Dianetics into their dreams, then surely public opinion would follow quickly.

Four years later in a Scientology magazine/newsletter named *Ability*, Hubbard translated his observations about celebrities into a policy. He wanted celebrity figures to convert to Scientology, and he elicited the help of his followers to recruit them. He began the policy by highlighting celebrities' potential importance and probable value to the Scientology cause:

If we are to do anything about society at large, we must do something about its communication lines.

One of the parts of this plan is Project Celebrity.

There are many to whom America and the world listens. On the backs of these are carried most of the enthusiasms on which society runs. It is vital, on our Third Dynamic [i.e., society, town, and nation], to put such persons into wonderful condition.

It is obvious what would happen to America if we helped its leaders to help others. Project Celebrity is a part of that program. It is obvious what would happen to Scientology if prime communicators benefitting from it would mention it now and again.¹⁰

In Hubbard's mind, the road ahead was clear for Scientology and celebrities. They first would take Scientology courses, then speak about their benefits while doing interviews for the media. Essential for the attainment of this project was the involvement of celebrities, many of whose already successful careers (Hubbard believed) would rise to even greater heights.

Contemporaneous Scientologists received Hubbard's directive to systematically seek celebrities to recruit, using one's own money and other resources along with certain encouragements provided by the Hubbard Association of Scientologists International (HASI) and the Hubbard Dianetics Research Foundation (HDRF). The policy provided a list of 63 celebrities (57 men and 6 women) whom Hubbard wanted his followers to recruit, and it read like a "who's who" of prominent persons of the period. They were from diverse segments within the celebrity world: news broadcasters/reporters Walter Winchell, Edward R. Murrow, and Lowell Thomas; entertainers Ed Sullivan, Milton Berle, Groucho Marx, Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, and Red Skelton; actors James Stewart and Charles Laughton; authors Ernest Hemingway and Dorothy Killgallen; pianist Liberace; and others who were widely known in the period, including perhaps one of the most influential figures in Hollywood, Walt Disney.¹¹

Apparently this pressure at least to identify prominent celebrities and other opinion leaders went on for decades. Former Scientology member of 15 years, Lisa Halverson, reported in 1993:

When I was a student with the Celebrity Centre . . . , sometimes unformed personnel would come into the course room and ask us to write down names of what they call in Scientology "opinion leaders," heavy hitters of some sort in whatever sphere of activity [it] might be—in business, politics, and arts and entertainment.¹²

Hubbard specifically hoped that some of his followers would take up his call to recruit people who were on the list.

To a contemporary ear some 60 years later, Hubbard's instructions about pursuing celebrities sound uncomfortably like stalking, and before the year was out Hubbard himself even used the word to describe the program:

Herein you find a list of celebrities. If you want one of these, write us at once, giving the ONE celebrity you have selected. We will then allocate this person to you as your game.

Having been awarded one of these celebrities, it will be up to you to learn what you can about your quarry and then put yourself at every hand across his or her path, and not permitting discouragements or “no’s” or clerks or secretaries to intervene, in the days or weeks or months, to bring your celebrity into a formal auditing session and deliver an amount of good auditing necessary to (1) make him much more effective, and (2) make him aware of the benefits of Scientology on the Third Dynamic.

Finance, your pay, your expenses on this hunt are up to you.¹³

Shortly thereafter, Hubbard added, “these celebrities are well guarded, well barricaded, over-worked, aloof quarry. If you bring one of them home you will get a small plaque as your reward.”¹⁴

No indication exists that Hubbard ever had to issue any small plaques as a result of this campaign, but it is worth noting that the famous movie director, Cecil B. DeMille, was on the list, and his nephew and adopted son, Richard DeMille (1922–2009), was an early Hubbard convert and close assistant.¹⁵ In any case, decades later Scientologist and Celebrity Centre attendee, Diana Canova, remembered, “There was always pressure to get other celebrities in.”¹⁶

In the subsequent issue of *Ability*, Hubbard continued his discussion of the new Project Celebrity program. He provided anonymity for anyone pursuing a celebrity, stating, “*Ability* assures all hunters that reports, names, progress, and all other material concerning Project Celebrity will not be published anywhere.”¹⁷ Hubbard also assured his followers that celebrities needed auditing and were aware of their need: “You can find in almost every press release from one of these people that they are not only in need of auditing, THEY ARE KEENLY AWARE of the need for auditing.”¹⁸ Later in the same issue, readers learned that in Phoenix, Arizona, Project Celebrity now had as its chairman a Doctor in Scientology, Richard F. Steeves [*sic*], whom Hubbard indicated cryptically, “has very considerable past experience with the stalking, approach, bagging, and trophying of people in many facets of life.”¹⁹

Two *Bulletins* Hubbard issued in June 1960 presented his grand vision for global Scientology dissemination throughout all layers of society. Even though he did not mention celebrities *per se* in either one, both had obvious implications for them and their role as disseminators of the ideology. On June 10, Hubbard released, “What We Expect of a Scientologist,” which was a statement of sufficient importance that he reissued it in 1980. In it he argued, “a professional Scientologist is one who expertly uses Scientology on any area or level of the society.”²⁰ One need not be a trained, full-time auditor to be a professional Scientologist; one need only

get trained as a pro [public relations officer] and go out and up in the world of action and of life. Hit for the key spots by whatever

means. . . . Make a good sound living at it, drive a good car, but get your job done, handle and better the people you meet and bring about a better earth. . . . [I]nvade every activity there is on a high level of success and make our influence felt on the comm [i.e., communication] lines of the world.²¹

In a June 23 *Bulletin*, Hubbard floated the idea to his members about identifying various zones in society in which Scientologists could concentrate their dissemination work, insisting that “Improvement is the common denominator of all our ideas, and of course each one has a zone of interest where he or she feels improvement is most needed or where he or she would be most comfortable in doing the work of improvement.”²²

Hubbard never formally implemented this “special zone plan” (as he called it) but revealed his belief that people had particular areas in society where they could be most effective in disseminating Scientology. Elsewhere he made it clear that celebrities’ effectiveness should be on the level of public communication, and—after the establishment of the Celebrity Centre—he determined that it was “responsible for ensuring that celebrities expand in their area of power.”²³

On January 1, 1963, Hubbard spun a new angle concerning the recruitment of celebrities. He informed his followers, “Rapid dissemination can be attained . . . , by the rehabilitation of celebrities who are just beyond or just approaching their prime. This includes any person *well* known to the public and well liked but who has passed his or her prime, or any rising figure.”²⁴ This same wording became part of a *Hubbard Communications Policy Letter* of May 23, 1976, which in turn the organization revised in January 1991.²⁵ He also reiterated part of this policy in October 1969, writing, “Celebrity Centres should work to rehabilitate old or faded artists. With a small processing staff, they can do wonders for artists.”²⁶ Almost the same wording opened a *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter*, dated November 6, 1980.²⁷ Whether Scientologists could target celebrities according to their career trajectories would be difficult, yet in some cases by no means impossible, but the logic behind obtaining them at one of these two career periods was insightful. For Scientologists (including Hubbard), celebrity involvement with Scientology would help their careers. Consequently, celebrities whose careers were expanding would continue to do so, and they might attribute their continued success to their Scientology involvement. Likewise, celebrities whose careers were slipping also might attribute a change in fortune to their participation in Scientology and its programs. For social psychologists, it matters little whether Scientology involvement actually helps celebrities at any career stage; it matters a great deal that people attribute either their

continuous success or their renewed success to their involvement. As actor Anne Archer stated in a Scientology commercial that encouraged celebrities to get additional auditing at the Celebrity Centre, "After my first auditing, I got my first big picture."²⁸

The *Flag Order* that Hubbard issued on May 3, 1969, suggested that Scientology was having some success recruiting celebrities but that problems were occurring around overly enthusiastic Scientologists using their involvement in public announcements without their permission:

No org or Scientologist is to use the name of a celebrity as being a Scientologist or to use such a name to promote or disseminate, without the express written permission of said celebrity.

Protect their rights. What they say packs weight; therefore many want to be really sure before endorsing anything. If we rush them, push them, [or] use their names without permission, we only cause ARC breaks and a withdrawal.²⁹

I am not aware of any incidents involving celebrities around this period, but the fact that Hubbard reissued this *Flag Order* in late June 1988 suggests that, periodically, Scientologists used celebrities' names in endorsements without their permission. Previously, for example, persons working with Scientology's (supposed) drug rehabilitation program, Narconon, experienced bad press in 1981 when they used celebrities' names in endorsements without their permission.³⁰ Even after, however, this 1988 *Flag Order* circulated within Scientology, the organization found itself in a dispute with race car driver, Mario Andretti, over seven Dianetics logos he found across the front of the Porsche that he soon was to drive in a Tampa, Florida, race. In late November, he demanded successfully that the logos were to be removed, because "it's not something I believe in, so I don't want to make it appear like I'm endorsing it."³¹

Scientology facilities specifically devoted to celebrities first appeared in 1969, the idea of deeply committed and beloved Scientologist, Yvonne Jentzsch (1927–1978).³² In writing, she presented the idea of celebrity facilities to Hubbard, who approved the idea and brought in his daughter, Diana Hubbard, to oversee the project. She and Jentzsch worked on key aspects of the project, which had the name "The Booking Office," a term that referred to earlier theater days in which celebrities bought tickets to specific reserved seats for performances. Jentzsch was the person to first call these facilities "Celebrity Centres" (with the British spelling).³³ Based in Los Angeles, Jentzsch facilitated the establishment of celebrity centers in San Francisco, Las Vegas, Phoenix, New York, and within a few years, San Diego.³⁴ In 1969

Scientology rented space for the Celebrity Centre and other projects in a formerly elegant Los Angeles chateau named Fifield Manor, with Celebrity Centre opening its doors on July 18, 1969.³⁵ Scientology bought the building in 1973 and began restorations, then moved in on November 29, 1975.³⁶ It became Scientology's flagship celebrity facility, named the Celebrity Centre International.³⁷

A Church of Scientology International public relations magazine described this beautifully restored Hollywood landmark and grounds:

Originally named the *Chateau Elysee*, this historical building was designed and constructed as a 17th century French-Normandy chateau between 1927 and 1929 for the wife of film pioneer Thomas H. Ince. . . .

The building is recognized as a Historical Landmark for Hollywood and the state of California, and recent renovations were done with close attention to authentic detail.

During the Golden Age of Hollywood, the *Manor Hotel* was a home-away-from-home for many celebrities and prominent citizens. Now, more than 70 years after its original construction, it is the home of Celebrity Centre International.³⁸

By any measure, the renovations were extensive and beautifully finished. A description of the sheer size and diversity of the renovations gives some idea about the extensiveness of the project:

The first-floor houses classrooms, where believers take class in communication, marriage, etc. Up to 40 people a day, from celebs and CEOs to struggling guitarists and children, study there.

There's a screening room for movies and Scientology films, and a small theater. And a roped-off office for Hubbard, the late science fiction writer and *Dianetics* author who is Scientology's core. He has an office in every Celebrity Centre.³⁹

To avoid any confusion, Scientologists maintain these offices for when Hubbard's thetan (or spirit-like entity) assumes another body and returns to continue his earthly mission.

Other parts of the building also are worth noting. "The bottom, windowless floor of the main building houses the Purification Rooms," where Scientologists go through their program's controversial drug and radiation purging program involving running, vitamins, and sauna.⁴⁰ Scattered throughout the seven-story building are 77 apartments where some of the stars stay when they are in town.⁴¹ Clearly the renovations were in-depth,

completely gutting the building's insides—so it might be important to know who actually did them.

John Richardson's long article about celebrities referred to the "1 million man-hours of labor" behind the renovation but fails to inform who the laborers were.⁴² The U.S. newspaper, *USA Today*, published an article on celebrities in 1994, which claimed that "most of the antique furnishings have been refinished by a Scientology-run warehouse of Scientology-believing carpenters."⁴³ Of course, Scientology does not have, nor has it ever had, a warehouse of believing carpenters. What it did have, and by all indications still does have, is a forced labor contingent of members, some of whom are entering the Sea Organization; others of whom are Sea Organization members who have run afoul of leadership. The forced labor contingent of members is called the Estates Project Force (EPF), and is composed of aspirants to the Sea Org whose so-called training routines involve such activities as drywalling, cleaning, painting, sanding, etc.⁴⁴ More complicated and often dangerous repairs are assigned to Sea Org members serving in its Rehabilitation Project Force (RPF). Their assignments ranged from flooring, electrical and mechanical work, major carpentry jobs, and so forth, receiving pay that was at least a fraction of what regular tradespeople would receive. (For these and other reasons, former Scientologist Amy Scobee, who was on the RPF for five-and-a-half years, defined it as "a controlled slave labor camp to which is assigned anyone arbitrarily deemed a liability for actions or thoughts] considered to be in opposition to the group."⁴⁵)

Former RPF member, Steve Hall, gave a brief description of what he remembered life to have been like when like working on the Celebrity Centre's Manor Hotel:

I did painting at first and later was switched over to carpentry. Everything you do, you're given a deadline. "When are you getting this door painted? Thirty-five minutes." If you weren't done on time you had to do 20 pushups. You get 10 minutes a day for personal time. Ten minutes! It's basically like a chain gang. You're not allowed to speak to anybody unless they speak to you.⁴⁶

Use of RPF labor is especially controversial, since the program uses forced labor and other techniques that led to charges that it is either a slave labor or brainwashing facility, which in either case grossly violates human rights.⁴⁷ Consequently, involvement of EPF and RPF staffers shed light on one of the major criticisms of the organization's treatment of celebrities: celebrity pampering is made possible by (what critics see as) exploitation of ordinary members.

The policy foundation for pampering celebrities appeared during the same period that Scientology was developing the Celebrity Centre for them. A 1973 *Sea Organization Flag Order* made a clear distinction between them and regular members:

Celebrities are very special people and have a very distinct line of dissemination. They have Comm. [communication] lines that others do not have and many medias to get their dissemination through.

Because of their value as disseminators it is unwise to make them staff members working full time as any other sea Org member does in an organization, rather they should be allowed to be the Celebrity they are, utilizing their talent, to get them more and more into the public eye. If these celebrities want to join the Sea Org they may be awarded the status of HONORARY SEA ORG Members. . . .

This award is given after an exam given by Celebrity Center Qual [Qualifications] Division on Scientology basics, a certificate is issued to the Celebrity Honorary Sea Org Member. . . .

Celebrities are Valuable, treat them that way; they can help put more people on the bridge by use of their abilities and their media, those that become Honorary SO [Sea Organization] Members have shown their dedication and are Welcomed.⁴⁸

Celebrities were not to receive a Sea Org salary, but, as Honorary Sea Org Members, they were Field Staff Members, which entitled them to either 10 percent or 15 percent commissions on the costs of all Scientology courses or training that any of their recruits took.⁴⁹

Evolving around the same period was Scientology officials' understanding of the role that the Celebrity Centre itself was to in the overall organization. One of Hubbard's daughters, Diana Hubbard Horwich, presented a definition of the Celebrity Centre in 1974 in which she stated that the exact purpose of Celebrity Centre is:

TO HELP LRH [L. Ron Hubbard] SELL AND DELIVER HIGH STANDARD DIANETICS AND SCIENTOLOGY SERVICES TO CELEBRITIES AND THUS CONVERT EARTH'S TOP STRATA OF BEINGS INTO SCIENTOLOGISTS.⁵⁰

Then in 1980, a *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter* reissued an earlier *Policy Letter* from October 28, 1973, which stated that "The PURPOSE of Celebrity Centre is: TO FORWARD THE EXPANSION AND POPULARIZATION OF SCIENTOLOGY THROUGH THE ARTS, WHILE

REMAINING SOLVENT AND USING HIGHEST QUALITY TECH.”⁵¹ Around this same period, Hubbard's definition of a celebrity appeared in a 1976 *Policy Letter* (revised in 1991), and that same year Hubbard included it in the group's management dictionary. A celebrity is:

ANY PERSON IMPORTANT IN HIS FIELD OR AN OPINION LEADER OR HIS ENTOURAGE, BUSINESS ASSOCIATES, FAMILY OR FRIENDS WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE ARTS, SPORTS, AND MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNMENT.⁵²

In an extensively planned program dated in the next year (May 31, 1977), the director of the Celebrity Centre International, Yvonne Jentzsch, coauthored a systematic policy to train celebrities in ways to facilitate their ability to disseminate Scientology to target groups around the world.

CELEBRITIES AND SCIENTOLOGY'S PUBLIC RELATIONS ORGANIZATION

Jentzsch was popular within the Scientology organization and by all accounts worked herself tirelessly on behalf of Celebrity Centre International until her untimely death from a brain tumor. The program that she developed with Sea Org Chief, Harriet Foster, laid out the purpose, policy, courses, programs, projects, and ideal outcomes of a public relations organization that depended heavily upon the role of celebrities. Its goal was “broad public recognition, acceptance and acknowledgement of LRH [i.e., L. Ron Hubbard], Dianetics and Scientology effectively caused with perfect PR [i.e., public relations] towards the attainment of a new civilization.”⁵³

The purpose of the public relations organization was to capitalize on “opinion leaders” abilities to disseminate Scientology Technology to various public bodies and organizations. Success in this regard would lead to societal enhancement and the fostering of “a favorable operating climate, so Scientology organizations can expand, prosper and be viable,” with the rest of society following suit.⁵⁴ Notice that the ultimate purpose of the public relations programs was to get all of society to follow Hubbard's policies as disseminated by opinion leaders.

The plans for this public relations program made clear the role that celebrities were to play:

The celebrities will go into cultural and art groups, sporting bodies, clubs, associations, etc. and all their specific publics. Scientology celebrities and Scientologists will have excellent preparatory work done and

programs and projects with targets; this will enable more and more of the society to use LRH's Tech, getting it in a standard organized manner, that will vastly improve society now, and introduce a new way of life for the public. The PRO Org will also utilize the Success stories and well publicize the good works achieved, by the use of LRH's Technology; it will use all the media in liaison with the GO [i.e., Guardian's Office] and every form of communication line possible to mold opinions so that Dianetics and Scientology become the thing to do. It will help to remove barriers to honest production . . . , and to ensure LRH's materials are interpreted by the public and used; it will keep LRH and Management informed and advise if policy is needed so it can set, and connect up continuously the publics to LRH, Scientology and Dianetics.⁵⁵

In order to implement these plans, this *Executive Directive* offered 23 suggestions for programs.

Some of the proposed programs involved procedures within Scientology—routing new celebrities into Scientology courses; establishing a training unit (called a Hatting Unit) that can train celebrities on how they can apply Hubbard's technology to specific issues; etc. Others outlined assignments that celebrities were to undertake. Scientology policy-makers proposed that celebrities could be proactive and influential in a number of public venues including the following: a variety of public offices, assorted community groups, fan clubs, campaigns and movements extolling the virtues of Scientology Technology, and in the press. Some opportunities for celebrity activism and endorsement targeted the arts community specifically. As such, celebrities were to promote Scientology and Hubbard's works at arts festivals, theatres, art workshops, seminars, and other appropriate venues. Finally, celebrities also should endorse Scientology amongst professionals—doctors, lawyers and so forth, as well as in hospitals, universities and other similar institutions. The goal was always to further LRH Tech.⁵⁶

Under Jentzsch's direction, Hubbard approved the overall public relations organization but failed to give her a working budget, forcing her to scrounge for money to implement programs.⁵⁷ Funding issues aside, however, the overall package provides deep insight into how Scientology officials want to utilize celebrities in efforts to promote Hubbard and his technology.

Contents of a secret ("not for distribution") public relations office course (first used in 1969, reissued in 1975) provided insight into questions that Scientology staff anticipated reporters and others might ask public relations personnel in interviews.⁵⁸ The three-page bulletin provided response scenarios

to: (1) “answering non-loaded questions,” (2) providing “no answer,” (3) “non sequitur events” (in this case, answers to questions about issues that have nothing apparently to do with Scientology), (4) “handling a suppressive [i.e., hostile] T.V. interviewer,” and four ways to handle a suppressive person [i.e., someone attempting to harm Scientology]. The four ways to handle a suppressive person were particularly interesting,⁵⁹ since sometimes members of the public can observe Scientology spokespeople attempting to use them against hostile media interviewers. In response to such a hostile person and his or her question, Scientology public relations personnel first can try to overwhelm the interviewer “by such things as shouting, banging, pointing, swearing,” until the interviewer “is caved in” (i.e., collapses in defeat).⁶⁰ Next, the Scientologist can try “being knowingly covertly hostile” by “using the word as a rapier and plunges it at the reporter, so the reporter introverts and drops the question.”⁶¹ Next, a public relations official learns when to use “stalling for time,”⁶² and finally, when and how to use “verbal karate”—taking a reporter’s comment and turning it back on him or her, “either by a snide remark, question or comment, or by physical overwhelm.”⁶³ It is likely that BBC reporter, John Sweeney, was on the receiving end of some of these (and related) techniques when he was preparing a story about Scientology in 2007.⁶⁴

A more extensive public relations course for celebrities began in June 1977, which laid out the need that both stars and Scientology itself had for it:

INFORMATION: Celebrities are continuously on TV, doing radio shows and press interviews, etc. Many want to talk about LRH [L. Ron Hubbard], Dianetics and Scientology but have had no hatting [training], and rather than make a mistake, they do not bring these subjects up and so lose opportunities to help others know more about LRH, Dianetics and Scientology. Celebrities are very willing to use the media but need hatting. Hence this checklist so these celebrity resources can be used as part of Scientology expansion.

In doing this checklist celebrities will have expertise in using LRH’s tech to further their own careers. . . .⁶⁵

These study materials, therefore, were the kind of instructions that Scientologists might be able to use when in interviews with persons who were either uninformed or antagonistic to the group. They provided opportunities to study Dianetics, Scientology, and Hubbard in sufficient depth that one could get through many media interviews. They did not provide, however, opportunities to study (with an eye toward refuting) criticisms that opponents have

toward Scientology's positions on psychiatric treatment, drug treatment, religious freedom, specific biographical claims about Hubbard himself, and church/state separation, which sometimes cause Scientologists problems in public debates. In essence, Scientology's public relations and media training may protect the image of the organization and its founder among the members but leaves them vulnerable to well-informed and closely scrutinizing critics, debaters, and examiners.

In order to assist Public Relations Officers in their dissemination efforts, in 1979 (then reissued in 1982) Hubbard established a publication that he named HOTLINE as their official newsletter. The publication's purpose:

is to feed PROs information they can use which will get word of mouth and which will help them build an image. It gives information and releases they can get into newspapers, magazines and periodicals.⁶⁶

The HOTLINE editor is supposed to identify an area of concern to society, then find out the answers to the following questions:

- A. How does LRH fit into this?
- B. What has LRH done with regard to it?
- C. What has LRH produced to resolve it or aid it?
- D. What LRH works are the authorities neglecting concerning this?
- E. What quotable statement has LRH made about it?
- F. what opinion leaders or groups has he befriended or worked with, to bring about a betterment of conditions on this subject?
- G. What official recognition or indisputable public recognition has LRH received for work in this sphere?

Each issue of the newsletter was to utilize these questions in order to build its motif.⁶⁷ Hubbard was very clear, however, that even though a celebrity who went through and applied this training was informed on key aspects of Scientology and his own biography:

An Honorary LRH PRO is NOT a spokesman for the Church of Scientology and does not attempt to represent the Church or answer questions which concern Church affairs. These he [sic] promptly refers to the Guardian's Office. He IS authorized to get published LRH quotes and articles, or news releases concerning LRH and to answer questions concerning L. Ron Hubbard and his activities, using the information provided him [sic] in his Honorary LRH Personal PRO Press Pack and HOTLINE.⁶⁸

In short, HOTLINE and PRO training credentialed Scientology celebrities to further the positive image of the organization and its founder to the public but not to answer questions about the operations of the organization itself. On a related matter, an October 1980 *Policy Letter* clarified aspects of the related publication *Celebrity* magazine. It was to feature names of celebrities, emphasizing how Scientology training and auditing can advance their careers.⁶⁹

By 1988, the Church of Scientology International distributed a three-page application form for persons who wanted to receive training to be an Honorary LRH Personal Public Relations Officer. The cover sheet stated, "If you are interested in participating in an active program of helping make Ron the most acclaimed and widely read author of all time, through TV and radio, news articles, public speaking, dissemination, events, etc. fill in this application form."⁷⁰ Aside from the information that one would expect an application form to request, (name, address phone number, job experience, etc.), it also asked questions like, "Are you here to obtain news stories or generally disrupt the organization?," "Are you a flagrant criminal or wanted?," and "Are you related to or connected to intelligence agencies either by past history or immediate familial connections?"⁷¹ Obviously the group was concerned about spies and plants from governmental agencies or the media.

CONCLUSION

A history of Scientology's celebrity policies reflects Hubbard's realized dream of society's opinion makers proselytizing about the organization and its founder in all areas or zones of society where they have influence. Researchers, however, need in-depth accounts about when and why some early celebrities began calling themselves Scientologists if we are to assess the efficacy of these policies. Moreover, the establishment of the Celebrity Centre may have been an enormous boost in celebrity recruitment efforts, but we need more research in order to be certain. Given the fleeting nature of radio and television interviews, it probably will be impossible to acquire copies about celebrity interviews prior to receiving public relations office training, but if we did then perhaps we could assess how that training helped Scientology leaders shape the organizational messages that they wanted to convey. We have no idea how many celebrities there have been and whether they entered the organization through opportunities provided by Hubbard's policies. Obviously the study of Scientology's celebrities is in its infancy, but even now researchers can see how systematic and persistent have been Scientology's efforts to bring them in, then deploy them in the cause of "keeping Scientology working."

NOTES

1. See Russell Miller, *Bare-Faced Messiah: The True Story of L. Ron Hubbard* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1987), 69, 135.

2. David S. Meyer and Joshua Gamson, "The Challenge of Cultural Elites: Celebrities and Social Movements," *Sociological Inquiry* 65, no. 2 (May 1995): 184.

3. *Ibid.*, 183.

4. For example, Stephen A. Kent, "Hollywood's Celebrity Lobbyists and the Clinton Administration's American Foreign Policy Toward German Scientology," *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2002).

5. John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 6 (May 1977): 1221.

6. *Ibid.*, 1224.

7. This definition is a revision of one that I provided earlier for cultural elites in Stephen A. Kent, "Hollywood Celebrity Lobbyists and the Clinton Administration's American Foreign Policy Toward German Scientology," *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2002): n.1.

8. L. Ron Hubbard, *Science of Survival: Simplified, Faster Dianetic Techniques* (Wichita, KS: The Hubbard Dianetic Foundation, 1951), Book One, 98.

9. *Ibid.*, Book Two, 239.

10. L. Ron Hubbard, "Project Celebrity," *Ability Minor II*, Hubbard Communications Office, 1955, 2.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Lisa Halverson, quoted in John H. Richardson, "Catch a Rising Star," *Premiere*, September 1993, 92.

13. *Ibid.* (capitalization in original).

14. *Ibid.*

15. DeMille was not recruited; he joined Scientology in late 1950 or early 1951 after reading the Dianetics article in *Astounding Science Fiction* (Miller, *Bare-Faced Messiah*, 174). Presumably DeMille read "Dianetics: The Evolution of a Science," which appeared in *Astounding Science Fiction* in May 1950. He became Hubbard's assistant and was still with the organization in some capacity through mid-February 1954 (*Los Angeles Times*, "Former Dancer Divorced from Richard DeMille," February 20, 1954, 2).

16. Diana Canova, quoted in Richardson, "Catch a Rising Star," 91.

17. L. Ron Hubbard, "Project Celebrity," *Ability Minor III*, Hubbard Communications Office, 1955, 9.

18. L. Ron Hubbard, "Celebrity Chairman Appointed," *Ability Minor III*, Hubbard Communications Office, 1955, 11.

19. *Ibid.* (capitals in original). Richard F. (Dick) Steves was a prominent Scientologist in the movement. Surviving correspondence places him in California, probably from early December 1953 through at least mid-November 1955 (Florian DeDonato to Mr. Richard F. Steves, November 1, 1955 [received November 14, 1955]), then as

Secretary to Washington, D.C.'s Academy of Scientology in late October 1957 (Dick Steves to J. B. Farber, October 28, 1957).

20. L. Ron Hubbard, "What We Expect of a Scientologist," *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter*, June 10, 1960; reissued as *Hubbard Communications Office Bulletin*, October 26, 1980, 1.

21. *Ibid.*, 2–3.

22. L. Ron Hubbard, "Special Zone Plan," *Hubbard Communication Office Bulletin*, June 23, AD 10 [1960], in L. Ron Hubbard, *The Technical Bulletins of Dianetics and Scientology Volume 4, 1960–1961* (Copenhagen: Scientology Publications, 1976), 112.

23. L. Ron Hubbard, *Modern Management Technology Defined* (Copenhagen: New Era Publications 1976), 68.

24. L. Ron Hubbard, "Objective Three: Celebrities," *Hubbard Communication Office Policy Letter*, January 1, AD 13 (1963, italics in original).

25. L. Ron Hubbard (Revision assisted by LRH Technical Research and Compilation), "Celebrities," *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter*, May 23, 1976, revised January 10, 1991.

26. L. Ron Hubbard, "The Rehabilitation of Artists," *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter*, October 5, 1969.

27. L. Ron Hubbard (Compiled and Issued by Celebrity Centre Advices Project I/C), "The Rehabilitation of Artists," *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter*, November 6, 1980.

28. See the large advertisement in Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, *Celebrity Issue* 246 (1991): 18.

29. L. Ron Hubbard (Assisted by CO OTL LA, Revision Assisted by LRH Technical Research and Compilations), "Celebrities," *Sea Organization Flag Order* 1975R, ED13R INT, May 3, 1969, revised June 25, 1988. ARC stands for affinity, reality, and communication, which Hubbard asserted were the key elements to understanding. An ARC break involves a problem with the relationship among these concepts. See L. Ron Hubbard, *Dianetics and Scientology Technical Dictionary* (Los Angeles: Publications Organization, 1975), 21.

30. David McCrindell, "Bizarre Brainwashing Cult Cons Top Stars into Backing Its Drug Program," *National Enquirer*, April 21, 1981. The celebrities who complained about the unauthorized use of their names were Henry Winkler, Hal Linden, Phyllis Diller, Rob Reiner, and Lou Ferrigno.

31. Andretti, quoted in Thomas C. Tobin and Joe Wilson, "Andretti Orders Dianetics Logo Taken Off His Car," *St. Petersburg Times*, November 27, 1988, <http://www.scientology-lies.com/press/st-petersburg-times/1988-11-27/andretti-orders-dianetics-logo-taken-off-his-car.html>.

32. See several articles in Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre, *Celebrity* [no number], 1984.

33. Howard Dickman, "Yvonne Gillham Jentsch," *Scientolopedia*, http://scientolopedia.org/info/Yvonne_Gillham_Jentsch#Scientology.27s_Celebrity_Centres_.281969_to_1977.29, Section "7 Scientology's Celebrity Centres (1969 to 1977)," last modified August 14, 2015.

34. Ibid.
35. Advanced Organizations of Los Angeles, "Celebrity Centre," *Advance* 6/1, 1969, 8.
36. *Los Angeles Times*, "Scientologists Will Move into Larger Quarters," November 29, 1975, Part 1, 31. See also Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Diana Starts the New Celebrity Centre in Motion," *Celebrity* 18 Minor (1976): 5.
37. CSI, "What is Celebrity Centre?" *The Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International: The Oasis of Creative Freedom* [Public Relations Magazine], 1993, 8.
38. Ibid., 9.
39. Karen Thomas, "Celebrities Find Haven and a Stage," *USA Today*, November 30, 1994, D2.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.; see also, Church of Scientology Celebrity Centre International, "Come Stay at the Manor Hotel," *Celebrity* (1987): 15.
42. Richardson, "Catch a Rising Star," 91.
43. Thomas, "Celebrities Find Haven and a Stage," D2.
44. See Stephen A. Kent, *Brainwashing in Scientology's Rehabilitation Project Force (RPF)* (Hamburg: Interior Ministry, 2000), 19.
45. Amy Scobee, *Scientology Abuse at the Top* (Puyallup, WA: Scobee Publishing, 2010), 7, n.2.
46. Hall, quoted in Jim Edwards, "This Man Alleges He Was Held for Months in a Scientology 'Reform' Prison," *Business Insider*, July 22, 2012, <http://www.businessinsider.com/this-man-alleges-he-was-held-for-months-in-a-scientology-reform-prison-2012-7>.
47. Ibid. For additional evidence that "the RPF furnished only a portion of the labor for Celebrity Centre and worked alongside professional contractors," see Dana Goodyear, "Chateau Scientology," *New Yorker*, January 14, 2008, 41.
48. Kim Dunleavy (for the Board of Directors of the Churches of Scientology), "Celebrities and the Sea Organization," *Sea Organization Flag Order* 3323, May 9, 1973 (capitalization in original).
49. Ibid.; see also the definition of "Field Staff Member" in Hubbard, *Modern Management Technology Defined*, 201.
50. D. H. Horwich, "Celebrity Centre Purpose," *Flag Order* #3484, August 1, 1974.
51. L. Ron Hubbard (Compiled and Issued by Donna Matteson), "Celebrity Centre Purpose," *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter*, November 12, 1980, reissue of L. Ron Hubbard, "Celebrity Centre Purpose," *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter*, October 28, 1973.
52. L. Ron Hubbard (Revision assisted by LRH Technical Research and Compilations), "Celebrities," 1976, revised 1991 (capitals in original); Hubbard, *Modern Management Technology Defined*, 67.
53. Yvonne Jentsch and Harriet Foster, "Commanding Officer, Public Relations Organization, Administrative Scale," *Executive Directive SO ED 932 INT*, May 31, 1977, 1.
54. Ibid.

55. *Ibid.*, 2.
56. *Ibid.*, 3.
57. Skip Press, "Death By Devotion: Tragic Tale of Scientology Celebrity Brainchild Yvonne Jentsch," TMR, August 4, 2011, www.themortonreport.com/discoveries/stranger/death-by-devotion/.
58. Sheila Gaiman (from the Hat Write-Up of David Gaiman), "Reporter TRs [Training Routines]," *Board Technical Bulletin*, June 21, 1975 (cancels *HCO Bulletin* of December 10, 1969, 3 pp.).
59. *Ibid.*, 2–3.
60. *Ibid.*, 2.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*, 2–3.
63. *Ibid.*, 3.
64. John Sweeney, *The Church of Fear: Inside the Weird World of Scientology* (London: Silvertail Books, 2013), 259, 280–281.
65. Yvonne Jentsch for Sue Anderson, "Celebrity Media Handling Checksheet," *Sea Organization Executive Directive 930 Int, Pilot Only*, June 24, 1977, 1 (capitalization and underlining in original).
66. L. Ron Hubbard (Assisted by LRH Personal PRO), "'HOTLINE,' Policy of," *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter*, September 25, 1979 (reissued October 31, 1982), 470, in L. Ron Hubbard, *The Management Series Volume 2* (Copenhagen: New Era Publications, 1983).
67. *Ibid.*, 471.
68. *Ibid.*, 472.
69. L. Ron Hubbard (Compiled and Issued by Donna Matteson), "Celebrity Centre Magazine, *Celebrity*," *Hubbard Communications Office Policy Letter*, October 15, 1980, 1 p.
70. CSI, *Honorary LRH Personal Public Relations Officer Application Form*, 1988 (Cover Sheet).
71. *Ibid.*, Form.

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