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ORGANIZATIONS ADVOCATING STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

Accuracy in Media
777 14th St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 783-4406
Reed Irvine - Pres.
Publication: "AIM REPORT"

Advanced International Studies Institute
4330 East/West Highway Suite 1122
Bethesda, MD
(202) 951-0818
Publication: "SOVIET WORLD OUTLOOK"

American Cause
905 16th Street, NW
Suite 311
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 638-4006
George C. Murphy
Publication: "American Cause"

American Conservative Union
316 Pennsylvania Ave., SE
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 546-6555
Robert E. Bauman, Chairman
Publication: "BATTLE LINE"

American Council for Coordinated Action, Inc.
National Press Building, Suite 754
Washington, D. C. 20045
(202) 783-3350
Cleveland Lane, President
Publication: "COORDINATED ACTION"

American Council for a Free Asia
418 C Street, NW
Suite 302
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-3773
National Director: Gary L. Jarnin
National Security Advisory Board Chairman: Gen. John K. Dinglaugh

American Defense Preparedness Association
1700 N. Moore Street, Suite 900
Arlington, Va. 22209
(703) 522-1820
Henry A. Miley, Jr., President
Publications: "COMMON DEFENSE", "NATIONAL DEFENSE", and "TECHNICAL
BULLETIN"

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research
1150 17th St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 862-5800
Publication: "AEI FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE REVIEW"

American Legion (AL)
700 N. Pennsylvania St.
Indianapolis, Indiana 46206
(317) 635-8411
Frank C. Momsen, National Adjutant
Publication: "AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE"

American Security Council
499 South Capitol Street
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 484-1676
or
Washington Communications Center
Box 8
Boston, VA 22713
(703) 825-1776

American Studies Center
426 "C" Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 547-9409
Frank J. Donatelli, President

Association for Cooperation of Democratic Countries
499 South Capitol St., Suite 404-A
Washington, D.C.
(202) 484-5033
Dr. Igor S. Glagolev, Director

Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO)
6723 Whittier Ave., Suite 303A
McLean, Va 22101
(703) 790-0320
John F. Blake, President & Exec. Dir.
Publication: "PERISCOPE"

Association of Naval Aviation (ANA)
Box 4124
Pensacola, Fla. 32507
(904) 434-0575
Capt. Jack E. Davis, Exec. Sec.
Publication: "WINGS OF GOLD"

Association of the United States Army (AUSA)
2425 Wilson Blvd.
Arlington, VA 22201
(703) 841-4300
Robert F. Cocklin, Exec. V. Pres.
Publications: "ARMY MAGAZINE"

Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation (CMF)
P.O. Box 11321
St. Louis, MO 63105
(314) 991-2939
Eleanor Schlafly, Exec. Sec.
Publications: "MINDSZENTY REPORT," "THE RED LINE"

Center for Strategic & International Securities Studies
Georgetown University
1800 K St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 887-0200

Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (CACC)
124 E. First St.
Long Beach, Calif. 90801
(213) 437-0941
Fred C. Schwarz, M.D., Pres.
Publication: "NEWS LETTER"

Coalition for Asian Peace & Security
1015 18th St., NW, Suite 850
Washington, D.C. 20036
Dr. Ray S. Cline, Pres.

Coalition for Peace Through Strength
Box 8
Boston, VA 22713
(703) 825-1776

Committee for a Free World
211 E. 51st St.
New York, New York 10022
Midge Decter, Exec. Dir.

Committee on the Present Danger
1800 Mass. Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 466-7444
Paul H. Nitze, Chairman

Council for the Defense of Freedom
8001 MacArthur Blvd.
Cabin John, MD 20713
(301) 229-7755
Marx Lewis, Pres.
Publication: "WASHINGTON INQUIRER"

Council for National Defense
7015 Old Keene Mill Road, Suite 203
Springfield, Va. 22150
(703) 569-6670
Bernd G. Heinze, Treasurer

Council for Inter-American Security
729 8th St., SE
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 543-6622
Ronald Docksai, Pres.
Publication: "WEST WATCH"

Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR)
1776 D St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 628-1776
Mrs. George Upham Baylies, Pres. Gen.
Publication: "DAR MAGAZINE"

Eagle Forum
316 Penn. Ave., S.E., Suite 203
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 544-0353
Phyllis Schlafly, President

Ethics & Public Policy Center
1211 Conn. Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 857-0595
Ernest W. Lefever, Pres.

Foreign Affairs Council
325 Constitution Ave., NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
Dr. Victor A. Fediay
Publication: "FOREIGN AFFAIRS REPORT"

Free Press International, Inc.
401 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10016
(212) 532-8300
Publication: "INTERNATIONAL REPORT"

Heritage Foundation
513 C St., NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-4400

High Frontier
1010 Vermont Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.
(202) 737-4979
Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham

(?)Hillsdale College
Hillsdale, Michigan 49242
(517) 437-7341
George C. Roche III, President
Publication: "IMPRIMIS"

Hoover Institution on War, Revolution & Peace
Stanford University
Stanford, Calif. 94305
(415) 497-3373

Hudson Institute
Quaker Ridge Road
Croton-on-Hudson, New York 10520
(914) 762-0700
Herman Kahn, Director

Independent Research & Information Systems
1337 "K" Street, Box #79
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 293-6245
Publication: HUMNIT (Human Intelligence Network Report)

Institute of American Relations
325 Constitution Ave., NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 543-5121
Dr. Victor A. Feday
Publication: "AMERICAN RELATIONS"

(?)Institute for Contemporary Studies
260 California Street, Suite 811
San Francisco, California 94111
(415) 398-3017

Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.
Central Plaza Building, 10th Floor
675 Mass. Ave.
Cambridge, Mass. 02139
(617) 492-2116
Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Pres.

Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA)
400 Army-Navy Drive
Arlington, Va 22202
(703) 558-1000
Dr. Alexander H. Flax, Pres.

Institute on Strategic Trade
499 S. Capitol St., Suite 404-A
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 484-5033
Dr. Miles M. Costick, Pres.
Publication: "CURRENT ANALYSIS"

International Public Policy Foundation, Inc.
6845 Elm Street
Suite 212
McLean, VA 22101
(703) 893-4840

International Reporting And Information Systems
Crystal City, Great Britain
Founder, Anthony Stout, Chairman of Government Research Corp.
1730 "M" Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Publication: "NATIONAL JOURNAL"
(202) 857-1400

International Terrorist Research Center (ITRC)
P.O. Box 26804
El Paso, Texas 79926
(915) 592-5238
Frank W. Taggart, Exec. Dir.
Publication: "INTERSEARCH"

John Birch Society (JBS)
395 Concord Ave.
Belmont, Mass. 02178
(617) 489-0600
Robert Welch, Founder
Publications: "REVIEW OF THE NEWS", "AMERICAN OPINION"

Leadership Foundation
7945 MacArthur Blvd.
Cabin John, Maryland 20818
(301) 229-8400
Martha Roundtree, President
Publications: "WASHINGTON LEADER", "ISSUE DIGEST", "WASHINGTON
ALERT", and "WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ALERT"

(?)Lehman Institute
New York, N.Y.

Marine Corps Association (MCA)
Box 1775 Marine Corps Base
Quantico, VA 22134
(703) 640-6161
Brig. Gen. George L. Bartlett, USMC, Exec. Dir.
Publications: "LEATHERNECK MAGAZINE", "MARINE CORPS GAZETTE"

Military Order of the World Wars
1100 17th St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 296-3923
George E. Loikow, Office Manager
Publication: "OFFICER REVIEW"

National Committee to Restore International Security
305 4th St., NE, Suite 100
Washington, D.C. 20002
(201) 892-4186 (New Jersey)
L. Francis Bouchev

National Journalism Center
600 Penn. Ave. S.E., Suite 207
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 546-1710
M. Stanton Evans, Director

National Strategy Information Center, Inc.
1730 Rhode Island Ave., NW, Suite 709
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 296-6406
Frank R. Barnett, Pres.

Navy League of the United States (NLUS)
818 18th St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 298-9282
Vincent C. Thomas, Jr., Exec. Dir.
Publications: "SEAPOW", "NOW HEAR THIS"

Retired Officers Assoc.
201 N. Washington St.
Alexandria, Va 22314
(703) 549-2311
Col. Donald C. Foster, Exec. Vice Pres.
Publication: "RETIRED OFFICER"

Security and Intelligence Fund (SIF)
499 S. Capitol St., SW, Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 484-1676
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Stanford Research Institute
1611 N. Kent
Arlington, Va.
(703) 524-2053

Strategic Studies Center, SRI International
Stanford Research Institute
Publication: "COMPARATIVE STRATEGY"
Published by Crane, Russak & Co., Inc.
347 Madison Ave.
New York, New York 10017

United States Civil Defense Council (USCDC)
P.O. Box 370
Portsmouth, VA 23705
(804) 393-6532
J. Herbert Simpson, Exec. Sec.

United States Strategic Institute (USSI)
1629 K St., NW, Suite 520
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 331-1776
Arthur B. Metcalf, Chairman
Publication: "STRATEGIC REVIEW"

Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund (VVMF)
1025 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 405
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 659-1151
Robert W. Doubek, Exec. Dir.

Western Goals
309-A Cameron St.
Alexandria, VA 22314
Congressman Larry McDonald, Pres.

Young Americans for Freedom
Route 1, Box 1002
Woodland Road
Sterling, Va. 22170
(703) 450-5162
Robert C. Heckman, Executive Director
Publications: "NEW GUARD", "DIALOGUE ON LIBERTY", "NEW GUARD
NEWSLETTER", "YAF IN THE NEWS"

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ADVOCATING STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

ABC Verlag (Report)
Postfach 1150
5452 Weissenthurm
West Germany
Edmund von Gordon, Director

Co-operative Canadian Co-Action Association
P.O. Box 2186
Niagra Falls
Ontario L2E 6Z3
Joyce M. Yeo, President

Foreign Affairs Research Institute
Arrow House
27-31 Whitehall
London SW 1A 2BX
01-839-598719
Geoffrey Stewart-Smith

Foundation for Conflict Analysis
S-250 06 Helsingborg
P.O. Box 6532
Sweden
Bertil Haggman, Director

International Institute for Strategic Studies
23 Tavistock Street
London WC2E 7NQ
01-379 7676
Publications: "ADELPHI PAPERS", "MILITARY BALANCE", "STRATEGIC
SURVEY", "SURVIVAL"

Institute for the Study of Conflict
121 12a Golden Square
London W1R 3AF, England
01-439 738117
Brian Crozier, Dir.
Publication: "CONFLICT STUDIES"

Journalistic Agency of News (AGN)
Via L. Manara 43
00153 Rome
Telephone: 589 4430
Giancarlo Cicirelli, Director

Royal United Services Institute
Whitehall, SW1A 2ET
London, England
01-930 5854
Publication: "RUSI"

From [unclear] [unclear]

Mr. Jay Behuncik/224-3324
Legislative Assistant
Office of Senator Warren Rudman
Russell Senate Office Building
Suite 15B
Washington, D.C. 20510
(4/3/81 - moving in one month)

Mr. Bill Billings/ 941-8962
Executive Director
National Christian Action
Coalition
Box 1745
Washington, DC 20013

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell/456-2657
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Old Executive Office Building
Room 134
Washington, DC 20500

Mr. Lynn Francis Bouchey/543-6622
Executive Vice President
Council for Inter-American Security
305 Fourth Street, Northeast
Washington, DC 20002

Mr. Mike Burns/225-4501
Office of Congressman Newt L. Gingrich
1005 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515

Ms. Margo Carlisle/224-2759
Staff Director
Republican Conference Committee
333 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Mr. Ron Docksai/224-5251
Special Council on Health Subcommittee
Office of Senator Orin G. Hatch
125 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Mr. Mike Donley/224-2127 (Professional
Office of Senator Jepsen Staff Member)
224 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Mr. Bob Downen/887-0200
CSIS
1800 K Street, NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20006

Mr. Ed Feulner/546-4400
President
Heritage Foundation
513 C St., NE
Washington, DC 20002

Mr. Sam Francis/224-3154
Legislative Assistant for Foreign
Affairs/Office of Senator East
5313 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Mr. Jeff Gayner/546-4400
Director of Foreign Policy Studies
Heritage Foundation
513 C St., NE
Washington, DC 20002

Dr. Ron Godwin/484-7511
Chief Operations Officer
Moral Majority
499 South Capitol, SE
Washington, DC 20003
Attn: Wanda Harding (to keep mail from
going to another office)

General Dan Graham/484-1677 737-4979
Co-Chairman, Coalition for Peace
through Strength
American Security Council
499 South Capitol Street, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20003

Mr. John Haddow/224-5251
Legislative Director
Office of Senator Hatch
125 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Admiral Mark Hill/998-7733
Association of Naval Aviation
5205 Leesburg Pike, Suite 200
Falls Church, VA 22041

Mr. Dave Hoppe/225-0197
Administrative Assistant to
Republican Whip
Office of Honorable Trent Lott
1622 Longworth Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Mr. Gary Jarmin/544-5202
Legislative Director
Christian Voice
418 C Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

Mr. Richard W. Johnson, Jr./546-7891
National Director of Legis-
lative Affairs, NCOA
110 Maryland Ave., NE, Box 143
Suite 304
Washington, DC 20002

(NCOA-Non-Commissioned Officers
Association)

Mr. Phelps Jones & Foreign Affairs
543-2239/Dir. of National Security /
Veterans of Foreign Wars
200 Maryland Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20002

Brig. Gen. Albion Knight/229-8469
7005 Radnor Road
Bethesda, MD 20034
(Home address)
(at Stanford Research Institute
but does not come in office
often)

Mr. Chris Lay/224-0109
Office of Senator Symms
Carroll Arms Annex
301 First Street, NE
Washington, DC 20510

Dr. Ronald Lehman
Senate Armed Services Committee
224-3871
212 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Nguygen Loc/225-0587
Research Associate
Republican Study Committee
433 Cannon House Office
Washington, DC 20515

Mr. Jim Lucier/224-6342
Office of Senator Helms
4213 Dirksen Senate Office
Building
Washington, DC 20510

Mr. Dick McCormack/632-2341
308 Watergate South
700 New Hampshire Ave
Washington, DC

Mr. Ty McCoy/697-1597
Department of the Air Force
Office of the Secretary
SAF/MIX
Washington, DC 20330

Mr. Scott McGeary/224-5597
Senate Steering Committee
A-603
Immigration Annex
119 D Street, NE
Washington, DC 20510

Mr. C.A. "Mack" McKinney/546-7891
Senior Vice President -
Government Affairs
NCOA
110 Maryland Ave., NE, Box 143
Suite 304
Washington, DC 20002

Mr. Anthony S. Makris
Coalition for Peace through Strength
American Security Council/484-1676
499 South Capitol Street, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20003

Mr. Chris Manion
Office of Senator Helms
4213 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Washington DC 20510
224-6342

Ms. Tanya Metaksa
Legislative Director
Office of Senator D'Amato
321 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510
224-6542

Mr. Joe Mayer
Office of Senator Garn
5207 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Mr. Andy Messing
Executive Director
The Conservative Caucus
7777 Leesburg Pike
Falls Church, VA 22043
893-1550

Mr. Howard Phillips
National Director
The Conservative Caucus
422 Maple Avenue
Vienna, VA 22180

Mr. Bill Pursley
Chief Legislative Aide
Office of Senator Murkowski
214 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510
224-6665

Mr. Dick Ribbentrop
Senate Steering Committee
A-603
Immigration Annex
119 D Street, NE
Washington, DC 20510
224-5597

General J. Milnor Roberts
Executive Director
Reserved Officers Association
First and Constitution
Minute Man Memorial Building
4th Fl
Washington, DC 20001
479-2200

Mr. Bill Schneider
Associate Director
National Security and International
Affairs
Office of Management and Budget
Washington, DC 20503
395-6190

Mr. Fred Smith
Administrative Assistant
Office of Congressman McDonald
103 Cannon Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
225-2931

Mr. Mark Schneider
Department of State
S/P - Room 7419
Washington, DC 20520
632-8994

Mr. Rick Sellers
American Security Council
499 South Capitol Street
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20003

Mr. Cary Steadman
Administrative Assistant
National Defense Council
206 King Street
Alexandria, VA 22314
~~684-9293~~ 765-1815

Gen. C.M. Talbott /296-~~3923~~ 3923
Military Order of World
Wars Association
1100 17th St. NW-10th Fl
Suite 1000
Washington, DC 20036

Capt. Vincent C. Thomas
Navy League
818 18th St., NW
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20006

Mr. Carter Wren 202/783-6729
311 1st Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Martin Suuberg 202/225-8488
Congressman Bill Carney
1113 Longworth HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dr. Genevieve DeChellis 202/224-4307
Senate Republican Steering Committee
A-603 Immigration Annex
119 D Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Nell Lewis 202/225-3011
Congressman Marriott
1133 Longworth Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515

Doug Graham 202/225-0587 / 225/309
Republican Study Committee
433 Cannon Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515

John Lenczowski
Bureau of European Affairs / 1420 Hopkins St. N.W.
Department of State WASHINGTON, D.C.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Michelle Van Cleeve 202/225-5265
Congressman Jack Kemp
2235 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515

Jaan Elias 301/340-1954
Joint Baltic American National Committee
P.O. Box 432
Rockville, Maryland 20850

Cleto DiGiovanni 703/471-1396
11091 Saffolg Way
Reston, Virginia 22096

Mario Navarro da Costa 703/892-1810
Luiz Daniel Merizalde
4301 Columbia Pike, Apt. #405
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Beldon Bell 632-9191
Room 7261, Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Martin Lasater 225-2132
Cong. Edwards
208 Cannon Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515

Sharon Hawk
C.A.L.L.

John S. Leffey
NHUS
750-1342

Paul Weyrich
721 2ND ST.
WASH. D.C.
20002

Patrick J. Buckley
Coalitions For America
721 2ND ST. N.E.
WASH. D.C.
20002

Rev. Enrique Rueda
Free Foundation
721 2ND ST. N.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20002

Pro Defense Organizations

American Council for A Free Asia
2233 Wisconsin Ave. N.W. Suite 222
Washington D.C. 20007

American Conservative Union
316 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20003

NCPAC
500 Wilson Blvd. #513
Arlington, VA. 22209

Amer. Defense Preparedness Assoc.
Rosslyn Center, Suite 900
700 Moore St.
Arlington, VA. 22209

~~Amer. Security Council 454-1676~~
~~Washington Communications Center~~
~~Arlington, VA. 22213~~

The Amer. Sentinel
1315 Wisconsin Ave, Suite 1200 N
Washington, D.C. 20014

> Publication

The Amer. Spectator
P.O. Box 1969
Bloomington, Indiana 47402

> Publication

Pro Defense

Americanism Educational League (714) 828-5040

P.O. Box 5986

Buena Park, CA. 90622

Americans for Sound Foreign Policy

927 15th St., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20005

Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (213) 437-0941

P.O. Box 890, 227 E. 6th St.

Long Beach, CA. 90801

Coalition for Freedom (919) 782-5425

P.O. Box 19458

Raleigh, N.C. 27619

Committee for a Free Afghanistan (202) 546-7577

721 Second St., N.E.

Washington, D.C. 20002

Committee for a Free China (202) 457-0867

1015 18th St. ~~W.~~ N.W.,

Washington, D.C. 20036

Pro Defense

~~Council for Inter-Amer. Security~~
~~1100 Seventeenth St. N.W. #1500~~
~~Washington, D.C. 20006~~

Disabled Amer. Veterans
P.O. Box 14301
Cincinnati, Ohio 45214

Foreign Affairs Council
927 15th St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

The Hale Foundation
1522 K St., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20005

The Pink Sheet on the Left
7315 Wisconsin Ave
Washington, D.C. 20014

Texas Policy Institute
6250 Westpark, Suite 110
Houston, Texas 77057

~~War Resisters League~~

CLEARANCE LIST FOR BRIEFING ON NUCLEAR FREEZE MOVEMENT GIVEN BY
EUGENE ROSTOW IN THE NEW EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING ON July 30, 1982
AT 2:30 P.M.

THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS ARE RECOMMENDED FOR CLEARANCE TO THE ABOVE
MEETING BY THE OFFICE OF MORTON C. BLACKWELL, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO
THE PRESIDENT - ROOM 191, OEOB, X2657/8.

ABRAMOFF, JACK College Republicans

Adams, John
Fleet Reserve Assn.

Allenn, Ann
American Logistics Assn.

Ashkinaze, Al
Young Americans for Freedom

Baker, Warren
Navy League of the U.S.

Barlow, Jeff
Heritage Foundation

Barr, Noreen
Eagle Forum

Bereskin, Peter
National Republican Heritage Groups

Bierman, Everett
Republican Staff Director Foreign Affairs Committee

Billings, Bill
National Christian Action Coalition

Broomfield, Hon. William S.
Congressman, U.S.

Buckley, F.H. Free Congress Foundation
Burton, Nancy
N.C.P.A.C.

Byron, Patricia
T.E.L.L.

Carney, Hon. William
Congressman, U.S.

Catlin, Ben
Air Force Assn.

Cesaro, Richard S.
National Fed. of American Ethnic Groups

CURRAN, GARY
Curren, Patrick
Conservatives Against Liberal Legislation

Fisher, John
American Security Council

Folber, Robert
The Heritage Foundation

Fry, Maj. Gen. Edward R.
National Guard Assn.

Gallant, Dick
Military Order of the Purple Heart

Graham, Gen. Daniel
Coalition for Peace Through Strength

Galliano, Ralph
Congressional Majority Committee

GRAHAM DOUG

Guthrie, Gen. John R.
Assn. of the U.S. Army

Harrison, Tom
Conservative Club of Alexandria

Heckman, Bob
Fund for a Conservative Majority

Hess, Don
U.S. Army Warrant Officers Assn.

Hill, Adm. Clarence A.
Assn. of Naval Aviation

Hvasta, John
Slovak World Congress

Johnston, Richard W. Jr.
Non-Commissioned Officers Assn.

KAMINAR, PAUL WASHINGTON Legal Foundation

Knight, Albion
Stanford Research Institute

Kramish, Dr. Arnold
Coalition for Peace Through Strength

Lozansky, Ed
Comm. of Separated Families, Sakharov Committee

Makris, Tony
American Security Council

MANSON, FRANK AMERICAN Security Council

Marshall, Earl Jr.
Air Force Sergeants Assn.

Martin, Douglas F.
White House - Office of Public Liaison

McAuliffe, Kathleen
Air Force Assn.

MCDONALD MICHAEL
McGuigan, Pat

Comm. for the Survival of a Free Congress

Messing, Andy
The Conservative Caucus

MICCICHE LORIE, CONG. CARNEY'S AIDE
Mikus, Dr. Joseph
Slovak World Congress

Montes, Jose
Council for Inter-American Security

Montgomery, Forest
Natl. Assn. of Evangelicals

Moore, Powell
Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations

MORITZ AMY, NAT'L CENTER PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH
Moorer, Adm. Thomas
Assn. of Naval Aviation

NASSETTA PETER COALITION PEACE THROUGH SECURITY
Olszewski, Alan
The American Legion

Paquette, Patricia
Conservative Victory Fund

Parker, J.A.
The Lincoln Institute

Pendrak, Helen
T.E.L.L.

Pimm, Sam
Young Americans for Freedom

Reed, RALPH COLLEGE REPUBLICANS
Richardson, Gen. Robert
American Security Council

Roberts, Gen. J. Milnor
Reserve Officers Assn.

Robinson, Ron
Young America's Foundation

Rostow, Eugene
Director, Arms Control, State Department

Ruph, Morgan
AMVETS

Russell, Donald
AMVETS

Sheffey, John
National Assn. for Uniformed Svcs.

Sleeper, Col. Raymond
American Security Council

Smith, Tom M.
Blinded Veterans Assn.

Steadman, Karen
National Defense Council

Stone, Brad
The Congressional Club

Sullivan, Harry
The American Legion

Szaz, Dr. Michael
National Fed. of American Ethnic Groups

Thomann, Col. Charles E.
National Military Intell. Assn.

VANDER LINDEN FRANK
Wait, Pat

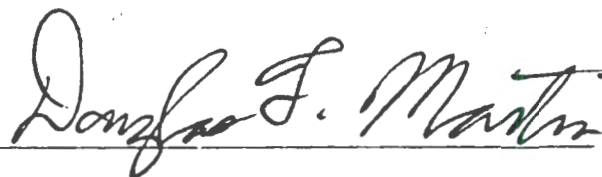
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Jewish War Veterans

Zseleccky, Emil J.
National Republican Heritage Group Council



Douglas F. Martin
Office of Public Liaison - White House

The Associated Press, December 21, 1981

The Associated Press

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December 21, 1981, Monday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 500 words

HEADLINE: Reagan Says Anti-Nuclear Demonstrations 'Bought' by Moscow

BYLINE: By MIKE FEINSILBER, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Reagan-Communists

BODY:

President Reagan says the disarmament demonstrations that sent hundreds of

The Associated Press, December 21, 1981

thousands of people marching in the capitals of Western Europe this fall were all sponsored by an organization "bought and paid for by the Soviet Union."

Reagan's statement, in an interview to be broadcast later this week, brought an angry rebuttal from spokesmen of the American anti-nuclear weapons movement. They said that Soviet-backed groups take part but the European peace movement is a broadly based protest against the prospect of a nuclear war being fought on European soil.

Reagan's comment came in an interview taped last week for the Public Broadcasting Service program, "Ben Wattenberg at Large." The interview is to be aired Friday night. A transcript was made available Monday to The Associated Press.

The president was asked about the protests, such as that which took place on Dec. 5, when hundreds of thousands marched in Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, West Germany and Romania against U.S. and Soviet arms policies.

"Oh, those demonstrations," Reagan said. "You could have used newsreels from the '60s in America. Those are all sponsored by a thing called the World Peace Council, which is bought and paid for by the Soviet Union."

The Associated Press, December 21, 1981

The World Peace Council was identified in 1980 testimony to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence by John McMahon, a CIA official, as a Soviet front organization and "a political action tool in support of Soviet foreign policy goals and military strategy." McMahon said it operated in 130 countries.

U.S. peace group spokesmen did not quarrel with that description, but with Reagan's assertion that "all" the demonstrations are sponsored by the communist-front organization.

"He's all wet," said John A. Sullivan, associate executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker peace group. "He shows a profound ignorance of the peace movement of the 1960s and what American citizens were up to and that seems to me to be matched by his observations about the peace movement in Europe today."

Sullivan said the European disarmament movement is supported by many organizations that are "religious and moderate in politics" and added, "They are not about to give away the concern for peace to any bloc."

Dr. Herbert Scoville, formerly a top CIA official and assistant director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, also took issue with Reagan.

The Associated Press, December 21, 1981

"I believe that President Reagan greatly underestimates the strength and breadth of the anti-nuclear movement in Europe," said Scoville, now president of the Arms Control Association. "It is not just composed of communist supported youths."

"Responsible people of all ages throughout Western Europe are extremely worried by the possibility of a nuclear war being fought on their lands. These fears have been accenuated by rash statements by American leaders implying that a European nuclear war would not necessarily extend to the United States."

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 6 STORIES

Proprietary to the United Press International 1981

December 22, 1981, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington News

LENGTH: 590 words

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Reagan-Interview

BODY:

Recent massive protests in Europe against U.S nuclear policy were "bought and paid for" by the Soviet Union with a clear political purpose in mind, President Reagan says in an interview to be aired this week.

Reagan, interviewed for the Public Broadcast Service program "Ben Wattenberg At Large," said he has had 53 meetings with heads of state and, "We have a better relationship now with our NATO partners than we've had in years."

Proprietary to the United Press International, December 22, 1981

When asked how that assessment squares with the protests by hundreds of thousands of anti-nuclear demonstrators in Europe, he replied, "Oh, those demonstrations. You could have used newsreels from the '60s in America."

"Yes, those are all sponsored by a thing called the World Peace Council, which is bought and paid for by the Soviet Union," Reagan said. "And my only question to those young people, and I know that many of them are very sincere, but why aren't there such demonstrations going on in the Soviet Union? It isn't just one side that would start trouble if there's going to be trouble."

Reagan said there "was a political purpose" to the demonstrations, but added, "there haven't been so many of them since we announced our plan for total disarmament of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe."

The interview was taped Dec. 16 at the White House and will be aired Friday night.

Reagan said his administration has had a foreign policy, but it involves a "quiet diplomacy -- getting things done, not by challenging someone and then putting his back up in the other country because politically he'll look like a weakling if he agrees with you."

Proprietary to the United Press International, December 22, 1981

Reagan also denied the administration put the turmoil in El Salvador on the back burner in favor of dealing with domestic problems.

"It is still of primary importance to us," Reagan said. "We're still doing all we can down there. And we're still doing what we can" not only in regard to El Salvador, but also with other states in the Americas.

Reagan said "by way of Cuba, with Russian inspiration, the revolution was being exported into Central America, to have more Cubas here in our hemisphere."

But he said the problems of the U.S. economy must continue to be of high priority because "you can't have much of a foreign policy if you're living in an economic shambles at home."

He said Cuba "should recognize it is an American state. It belongs in the Americas as a friend of its neighbors, and not as a puppet of the Soviet Union, which it is, with the Soviet Union using it as a forward base for the infiltration of subversion into the Americas."

Among the other subjects discussed during the interview:

Proprietary to the United Press International, December 22, 1981

-Social Security. Reagan labeled opposition to his Social Security proposals "a demagogic attack that was based on total dishonesty. And the disgraceful part of it was frightening senior citizens into believing that I intended, or our administration intended in some way, to take away from people dependent on that program their grants."

-Welfare. Reagan said, "When I was young and growing up, 50 percent of that kind of aid ... actually came privately and mainly through the churches of America. Today, only 10 percent of that kind of help is private charity. The rest is government."

-Jobs. During the Depression, he said, the government told people to "stay home and wait and the government would do something for you. I got a job. I didn't stay home. But I don't mean that it wasn't real, the problem, 25 percent unemployment."

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DECEMBER 22, 1981, TUESDAY

LENGTH: 430 words

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, DEC 22

KEYWORD: NUCLEAR-REAGAN

BODY:

PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW MADE PUBLIC TODAY THAT RECENT ANTI-AMERICAN PEACE DEMONSTRATIONS IN WEST EUROPE WERE INDIRECTLY PAID FOR BY THE SOVIET UNION.

"THOSE (DEMONSTRATIONS) ARE ALL SPONSORED BY A THING CALLED THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, WHICH IS BOUGHT AND PAID FOR BY THE SOVIET UNION," MR REAGAN SAID IN THE INTERVIEW, TO BE BROADCAST ON DECEMBER 25.

"AND MY ONLY QUESTION TO THOSE YOUNG PEOPLE, AND I KNOW THAT MANY OF THEM ARE VERY SINCERE, BUT WHY AREN'T THERE SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS GOING ON IN THE SOVIET UNION?" HE SAID.

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"IT ISN'T JUST ONE SIDE THAT WOULD START TROUBLE IF THERE'S GOING TO BE TROUBLE," HE ADDED.

MR REAGAN SAID THE NUMBER OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN WEST EUROPE HAD DECREASED SINCE HE ANNOUNCED A PROPOSAL LAST MONTH FOR ELIMINATING MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES IN EUROPE.

ON ANOTHER TOPIC MR REAGAN ACCUSED CUBA OF TRYING TO EXPORT REVOLUTION TO CENTRAL AMERICA.

THE UNITED STATES WAS STILL CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR AND CENTRAL AMERICA, HE SAID. "WE'RE STILL DOING ALL WE CAN DOWN THERE," HE SAID. "IT IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO US."

WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN TO CUBA IS THAT CUBA SHOULD RECOGNISE THAT IT IS AN AMERICAN STATE," MR REAGAN SAID. "IT BELONGS IN THE AMERICAS AS A FRIEND OF ITS NEIGHBOURS, AND NOT AS A PUPPET OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH IT IS, WITH THE SOVIET UNION USING IT AS FORWARD BASE FOR THE INFILTRATION OF SUBVERSION INTO THE AMERICAS."

MR REAGAN SAID HE APPROVED RESUMPTION OF GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIET UNION, DESPITE HIS OPPOSITION TO SOVIET ACTIONS, BECAUSE OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD NOT

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COOPERATE WITH THE BOYCOTT IMPOSED BY PRESIDENT CARTER AFTER MOSCOW INTERVENED IN AFGHANISTAN IN 1979.

"WHEN WE TRIED AN INDIVIDUAL BOYCOTT, WE ONLY HURT OURSELVES," HE SAID. "WHY SHOULD WE PENALISE OURSELVES, WHEN IT IS OF MORE IMPORTANCE FOR US TO BE ECONOMICALLY STRONG SO THAT WE CAN ALSO, THEN, BE DEFENSIVELY STRONG?"

AT UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK, THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ISMAT KITTANI OF IRAQ, SAID TODAY THAT THE MOUNTING ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT, ESPECIALLY IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES, WAS A HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT.

"I AM VERY MUCH ENCOURAGED BY THE GROUNDSWELL OF INDIGNATION AGAINST NUCLEAR ARMAMENT AND THE DANGERS OF ACTUAL USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS," HE TOLD A QUESTIONER AT A PRESS CONFERENCE.

MR KITTANI ADDED: "THIS (ANTI-NUCLEAR) MOVEMENT, ALL OVER THE WORLD, BUT ESPECIALLY IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THIS COUNTRY, SPEARHEADED INCIDENTALLY BY THE CHURCHES OF ALL DENOMINATIONS, IS IN MY OPINION A VERY HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT."

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December 22, 1981, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 350 words

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Nuclear-Reagan

BODY:

President Reagan said in a television interview made public today that recent anti-American peace demonstrations in Western Europe were indirectly paid for by the Soviet Union.

The interview with Ben Wattenberg of the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) will be broadcast on December 25.

"Those (demonstrations) are all sponsored by a thing called the World Peace Council, which is bought and paid for by the Soviet Union," Mr

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Reagan said.

"And my only question to those young people, and I know that many of them are very sincere, but why aren't there such demonstrations going on in the Soviet Union?" he said.

"It isn't just one side that would start trouble if there's going to be trouble," he added.

Mr Reagan said the number of demonstrations in Western Europe had decreased since he announced a proposal last month for eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

On another topic Mr Reagan accused Cuba, which he called a puppet of the Soviet Union, of trying to export revolution to Central America. He said the United States was still concerned about the situation in El Salvador and Central America.

"We're still doing all we can down there," he said. "It is of vital importance to us."

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Mr Reagan said he could not discuss what options the United States might consider for Cuba, but added:

"What should happen to Cuba is that Cuba should recognize that it is an American state. It belongs in the Americas as a friend of its neighbors, and not as a puppet of the Soviet Union, which it is, with the Soviet Union using it as forward base for the infiltration of subversion into the Americas."

Mr Reagan said he approved resumption of grain sales to the Soviet Union, despite his opposition to Soviet actions, because other countries would not cooperate with the boycott imposed by President Carter after Moscow intervened in Afghanistan.

"When we tried an individual boycott, we only hurt ourselves," he said. "Why should we penalize ourselves, when it is of more importance for us to be economically strong so that we can also, then, be defensively strong?"

file
Nuclear
Freeze

RUSH!

Executive Memorandum

The Heritage Foundation

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7/28/82

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A FREEZE MAKES NO SENSE

The rhetorical appeal of "nuclear freeze" is almost irresistible. Congress is now being tempted by this alluring--but potentially destructive--siren. It takes the form of the Zablocki-Bingham Resolution calling for a mutual and verifiable freeze on and reductions in nuclear weapons and for approval of the SALT II agreement. This was introduced in the House of Representatives on June 23, 1982, and was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It may soon be debated on the House Floor as H.J. Res. 521.

Although the Resolution's seven findings vary in importance, two are worth close examination. The first asserts that "the increasing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery systems by both the United States and the Soviet Union have not strengthened international peace and security but in fact [have] enhance[d] the prospect of mutual destruction." Actually, whatever else one may say about it, strategic nuclear deterrence over the past 37 years has prevented war between the two superpowers, and this in a century which has been wracked by two World Wars and numerous smaller regional conflicts.

The second finding worth studying lists the benefits which the Resolution's sponsors feel accrue from the SALT II Treaty. These include SALT II's mandating of "the prompt reduction of Soviet strategic forces by 254 deployable strategic nuclear delivery systems" and the imposition of "significant restrictions on Soviet multiple-warhead deployable intercontinental ballistic missiles, and on warheads for these missiles, in terms of numbers and throwweight." The clear implication of this finding is that ratification of the SALT II Treaty would benefit the United States.

This view, however, is based upon an extremely selective reading of the Treaty. For example, while SALT II would require Soviet dismantling of some 250 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, it does not specify which systems are to be dismantled. Experience shows that the Soviet Union almost certainly would make reductions from among its older and less-capable systems--those nuclear delivery systems in its current arsenal that are least worrisome to the United States and thus least important to reduce.

The Resolution's listing of SALT II provisions, moreover, simply ignores such negative aspects of the Treaty as its failure to constrain the Soviet Union's modern large ballistic missiles (the SS-18s), which directly threaten the survivability of the U.S. land-based ICBM force and its exclusion of the Soviet intercontinental-range Backfire bomber from its ceilings.

According to the language of the Resolution, the United States and the Soviet Union "should immediately begin the strategic arms reduction talks" (they began June 29), and these talks should pursue objectives including "pursuing a complete halt to the nuclear arms race," "deciding when and how to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze" on nuclear weapons testing, production and deployment, and "giving special attention to destabilizing weapons whose deployment would make such a freeze more difficult to achieve." These points would pose great difficulties in the current U.S.-Soviet arms negotiations. A nuclear freeze is simply incompatible with serious arms reduction talks. Given the Soviet Union's advantages in such areas as heavy missiles, a freeze solidifying this supremacy would give the U.S.S.R. little reason to negotiate reductions seriously.

Further complicating this picture is the Resolution's recommendation that the intermediate-range nuclear force talks (INF) be subsumed under START, since despite an additional recommendation to "make every effort to reach a common position" with our NATO allies on elements of such an agreement inconsistent with our NATO commitments, such a merging of the two negotiations would immeasurably increase the possibility that no worthwhile arms agreement could ever be reached.

Finally, the Zablocki-Bingham Resolution's recommendation that the United States "promptly approve the SALT II agreement provided adequate verification capabilities are maintained" is a call for ratifying a treaty which the Senate, by its actions in failing to ratify it earlier despite intense pressure from the Carter Administration, obviously found disadvantageous to U.S. national interests.

In sum, House Joint Resolution 521 is replete with language reflecting an extreme position--language which fails to appraise realistically either the SALT II Treaty or the problems for serious U.S.-Soviet attempts to reduce nuclear weapons. It makes no sense to impose a nuclear freeze when the U.S.S.R. maintains critical strategic force advantages. Arms reductions are very desirable. But they must occur in a way consistent with the needs of U.S. national security. The resolution now before Congress fails to do this.

Jeffrey G. Barlow, Ph.D.
Policy Analyst

For further information, see: "The Flawed Premises Behind a Nuclear Freeze," National Security Record (The Heritage Foundation), April 1982; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," National Security Record, May 1982; and Jeffrey G. Barlow, "Moscow and The Peace Offensive," Heritage Foundation Background #184, May 14, 1982. See also, Edward L. Rowny, "A Nuclear Freeze--Or a Cut?" Washington Post, March 21, 1982, p. A13.

479-
2200

Major General J. Milnor Roberts
First and Constitution N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Reserve Officers Association

543-
2239

Cooper Holt
Arthur Fellwock
200 Maryland Avenue N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Veterans of Foreign Wars

893-

Howard Phillips
7777 Leesburg Pike
Falls Church, VA 22043

The Conservative Caucus

1550

Andy Messing
7777 Leesburg Pike
Falls Church, VA 22043

The Conservative Caucus

7

John Maxwell
808 Green St.
Alexandria, VA 22314

Leadership Institute

Woody Jenkins
P.O. Box 52889
Baton Rouge, LA

Council on National Policy

70805

817

James Robison
P.O. Box 18489
Ft. Worth, TX

Evangelistic Association

78118

267
4211

Robert Dugan
1430 K. St. NW Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20005

National Association of Evangelicals

Paul Weyrich
721 Second St. N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20012

Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress

Mack McKinney
110 Maryland Ave. N.E. Box 143
Washington, D.C. 20002

Non-Commissioned Officers Association

546-
3000

7891

Col. Robert Talbert
1 Constitution Ave. N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Marine Corps Reserve Officers Association

Richard
C. King
Hogwood

~~Security Council~~

484-
1676

Col Philip Cox
499 S. Capitol St. S.W. Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20003
American Coalition of Patriotic Societies

494
1569

Brig. Gen. Robert Richardson
499 S. Capitol St. S.W. Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20003
American Foreign Policy Institute

W.L. Gleeson
Drawer A
Calexico, CA 92231
American Freedom Network

Ed Sajovic
P.O. Box 973'
Saranax Lake, NY 12983
American Military Retirees Association

Clay Claiborne
2714 West Avenue
San Antonio, TX 78201
Black Silent Majority Committee

546-
3000

Connie Marshner
721 Second St. NE
Washington, D.C. 20007
Coalitions for America

Lady Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton
174 East 74th St.
New York, NY 10021
Committee to Unite America
Citizens for Freedom INC.

Mack Sterling
Box CAF
Harlingen, TX 78550
Confederate AirForce

522-
2104

Ralph Galliano
1011 Arlington Blvd. Suite 326
Arlington, VA 22209
Congressional Majority Committee

546-
5833

Greg Hilton
422 First St. S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
Conservative Victory Fund

820
9211

Kris Kolesnik
5707 Seminary Road Suite 308
Falls Church, VA 22041
Conservatives Against Liberal
Legislation

229-
8400

Martha Roundtree
P.O. Box 4808
Washington, D.C. 20008
Leadership Action

347-
0872

J.A. Parker
1735 De Sales St. N.W. Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20036
The Lincoln Institute

941-8962

Bill Billings National Christian Action Coalition
5515 Cherokee Avenue Room 306
Alexandria, VA 22311

PR0
C118
33
1592
Joan Heuter Pro- America
3133 N. Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20007

534
4750
Joe Wasson Reserve Enlisted Association
7001 Arlington Blvd.
Falls Church, VA 22042

966
3635
(11111)
Elbridge Durbrow Security and Intelligence Fund
499 S. Capitol St. S.W. Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20003

938
0606
John Hvasta Slovak World Congress
P.O. Box 264
Oakton, VA 22124

620
3986
Donald Hess U.S. Army Warrant Officers Association
P.O. Box 2040
Reston, VA 22090

620
5270
Ron Robinson Young America's Foundation
11800 Sunrise Valley Drive
Reston, VA 22091

450
5162
Bradford Peterson Young Americans for Freedom
Rt. 1 Box 1002 Woodland Road
Sterling, VA 22170

524
4400
Robert Heckman Fund for a Conservative Majority
1022 Wilson Blvd. Suite 1401
Arlington, VA 22209

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S CONATY JR

N ~~Mr. Norman Augustine~~ COL FRANCIS
T President COL ERIC JOHNSON

O Association of U.S. Army
A c/o Maj. Gen. Robert Cocklin
A 2425 Wilson Blvd.
A Arlington VA 22201

@
N Mr. George Baran
T National Commander
O Catholic War Veterans
A Two Massachusetts Ave. NW
A Washington DC 20001

@
N Mr. Bill Billings
O National Christian Action
O Coalition
A Box 1745
A Washington DC 20013

@
N Mr. Duane Birgstock
T National Commander
O Mil. Order of the Purple Heart
A c/o Frank Athanason
A P.O. Box 9286 Rosslyn Sta.
A Arlington VA 22209

@
N Mr. John Bolsteins
O Joint Baltic American
O National Committee
A Post Office Box 432
A Rockville MD 20850
@ NEIL KULTNER
N Capt. Andre Bouchardon
T National Commander
O Legion of Valor of U.S.A.
A c/o BG Robert Gaynor
A 621 South Taylor St.
A Arlington VA 22204

@
N Mr. Lynn Francis Bouchey
O Council for Inter-
O American Security
A 305 Fourth Street NE
A Washington DC 20002

@
N Mr. John G. Brosky
T President
O Air Force Association
A c/o Ben Catlin
A 1750 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
A Washington DC 20006

@
N Mr. Lawrence Cummings
T National President

1303 N. Hampshire Ave NW
WASH DC 20036

841-
4300

737-
9600

642-
5360

Look
up in
myland
book

543
6622

785

Supporters of AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia:

637-
3300
James A. McDonnell
~~Colonel Ben Catlin~~ Air Force Association
1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

861-
2711
Myra K. Raga
Michael Schlee The American Legion
1608 K. St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

861-2711

484-
1676
John Fisher American Security Council
499 S. Capitol St. S.W. Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20003

484-
1676
Rick Sellers American Security Council
499 S. Capitol St. S.W. Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20003

459-
9600
Donald Russell AMVETS
4657 Forbes Blvd.
Lanham, MD 20801

NOT IN Phone Book
on VA

Admiral Thomas Moorer Association of Naval Aviation
5202 Leesburg Pike Suite 200
Falls Church, VA 22041

543-
6622
Lt Francis Bouche Council for Inter-American Security
729 8th Street S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

544-
0352
Phyllis Schlafly ~~Schlafly~~ Eagle Forum
316 Pennsylvania Avenue S.W. Suite 203
Washington, D.C. 20003

618-2462-5415

524-
1137
524-
5026
Capt.
Cy Kammeier Marine Corps League
933 North Kenmore St.
Arlington, VA 22201

296-
3923
General C.M. Talbott Military Order of the World Wars
1100 17th St. N.W. Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20036

750-
1342
Lt. General Oren E. Hurlbut HURLBUT
National Association for Uniformed
Services
903 South Highland St.
Arlington, VA 22204

960-
7272
Cary Steadman National Defense Council
5840 Cameron Run Terrace Suite 319
Alexandria, VA 22303

548-
5800
Rear Admiral ~~Phillip Smith~~ JAMES E FORREST
Naval Reserve Association
110 N. Royal St. Suite 307
Alexandria, VA 22314

COMPASS NW
A Washington DC 20036

e
N Mr. Charles W. Davis
T President
O Congressional Medal of Honor
O Society of the U.S.A.
A 830 Pacheco Street
A San Francisco CA 94116

e
N Mr. Michael F. Delaney R. JACK POWELL
T National President EXEC. DIRECTOR
O Paralyzed Veterans of America
A c/o Jack Powell
A 4350 East-West Hwy. Suite 900
A Washington DC 20014 BETHESDA MD 20814

e
N Mr. Terry Dolan
O National Conservative Political
O Action Committee
A 1500 Wilson Blvd.
A Suite 503
A Arlington VA 22209

e
N Mr. Mike Evans
O Lovers of Israel, Inc.
A Post Office Box 686
A Bedford TX 76021

e
N Mr. Arthur Fellwock
T Commander-in-Chief
O Veterans of Foreign Wars
A c/o Cooper Holt
A 200 Maryland Avenue, NE
A Washington DC 20002

e
N Mr. El Feulner
O The Heritage Foundation
A 513 C St. N.E.
A Washington DC 20006

e
N Mr. John Fisher
T President
O American Security Council
A 499 S. Capitol St. SW
A Washington DC 20003

e
N Mr. Jack Flynt
T National Commander
O The American Legion
A c/o Mylie Kriza
A 1608 K Street, N.W.
A Washington DC 20006

e
N Mr. Jeff Gayner
O Heritage Foundation
A 513 C Street NE
A Washington DC 20002

e
N Dr. Ron Godwin
O Moral Majority
A 499 S. Capitol Street SE
A Washington DC 20003

e

652-
2135

522
2800

817
540-0346

543-
2239

546-
4400

546-
4400

484-
7511

23) O Non-Comm. Officers Assoc.
 24) A c/o Mack McKinney
 25) A 110 Maryland Ave. NE Box 43
 26) A Washington DC 20002
 27) e
 28) N General Dan Graham
 29) O Coalition for Peace Through
 30) O Strength
 31) A 499 S. Capitol St.
 32) A Washington DC 20003
 33) e
 34) N Mr. Francis S. Greenlief
 35) T Executive Vice-President
 36) O National Guard Association
 37) A 1 Massachusetts Ave. NW
 38) A Washington DC 20001
 39) e
 40) N Admiral Mark Hill
 41) O Association of Naval Aviation
 42) A 5202 Leesburg Pike Suite 200
 43) A Falls Church VA 22041
 44) e
 45) N Mr. Evan Hultman
 46) T National President
 47) O Reserve Officers Association
 48) A One Constitution Ave. NE
 49) A Washington DC 20002
 50) e
 51) N Mr. Bunker Hunt
 52) A 2500 First National
 53) A Bank Building
 54) A Elm Street
 55) A Dallas TX 75202
 56) e
 57) N Lt. Gen. Oren Hurlbut
 58) T Chairman of the Board
 59) O Natl. Assoc. for Uniformed Svcs.
 60) A c/o Robert White
 61) A 5535 Hempstead Way Box 1406
 62) A Springfield VA 22151
 63) e
 64) N Mr. Woody Jenkins
 65) A Post Office Box 52889
 66) A Baton Rouge LA 70805
 67) e
 68) N Mr. Richard Johnson
 69) O Non-Comm. Officers Assoc.
 70) A 110 Maryland Ave. NE Box 143
 71) A Suite 304
 72) A Washington DC 20002
 73) e
 74) N Col. Phelps Jones
 75) O Veterans of Foreign Wars
 76) A 200 Maryland Avenue NE
 77) A Washington DC 20002
 78) e
 79) N Brig. Gen. Albion Knight
 80) O Stanford Research Institute
 81) A 7005 Radnor Road
 82) A Bethesda MD 20034
 83) e
 84) N Mr. William Lazarus
 85) T Executive Vice-President
 86) O American Legion Association

MR NORMAN GONSANS, PRESIDENT

789-0317

[Handwritten signature]
\$4673000

737-4979

546-7891

Look up in Maryland

998-1400

39) @
 90) N Mr. Ed Lozansky
 91) O Comm. of Separated Families
 92) O Sakharov Committee
 93) A 305 Massachusetts Ave. NE
 94) A Washington DC 20002
 95) @
 96) N Mr. Joseph Mammone
 97) T National Commandant
 98) O Marine Corps League
 99) A c/o Cy Kammeier
 00) A 933 North Kenmore St.
 01) A Arlington VA 22201
 02) @
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BULLETIN

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THE INFORMATION DIGEST

2828 N. Howard Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218
(301) 621-4164

Publisher
John Rees

November 9, 1982

file
Nuclear
Freeze

THE INFORMATION DIGEST v THE NATION

We at the Information Digest feel somewhat honored by a dishonorable publication ! In the November 6 issue The Nation spends a lot of space redocumenting our charges about the nuclear freeze campaign, and gives us more credit than we deserve for alerting people to the Soviet involvement in the U.S. and European "peace movement."

Enclosed for your information is a copy of The Nation's fulminations, together with a short fact sheet on the author, Frank Donner.

We have written to The Nation, saying " ...it is a pity that you could only find an old hack like Frank Donner to defend the nuclear freeze movement from our true and documented charges. Wasn't Gus Hall available ? "

We doubt that this will be published !

With best wishes, and
Sincerely

Jh.

FRANK J. DONNER

For more than a decade, Frank J. Donner has been head of the ACLU's Project on Political Surveillance.

In hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), three witnesses - Mortimer Reimer, Herbert Fuchs and Harry Cooper - testified under oath that they had known Donner as a Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) member during the period of their own CPUSA membership.

On June 28, 1956, in testimony before HCUA, Donner pleaded the protection of the First, Fifth and Sixth Amendments in declining to answer questions about CPUSA members employed by the U.S. Government, and about his own CPUSA membership.

On March 11, 1959, again before HCUA, Donner refused to say whether he had been a CPUSA member prior to June 28, 1956.

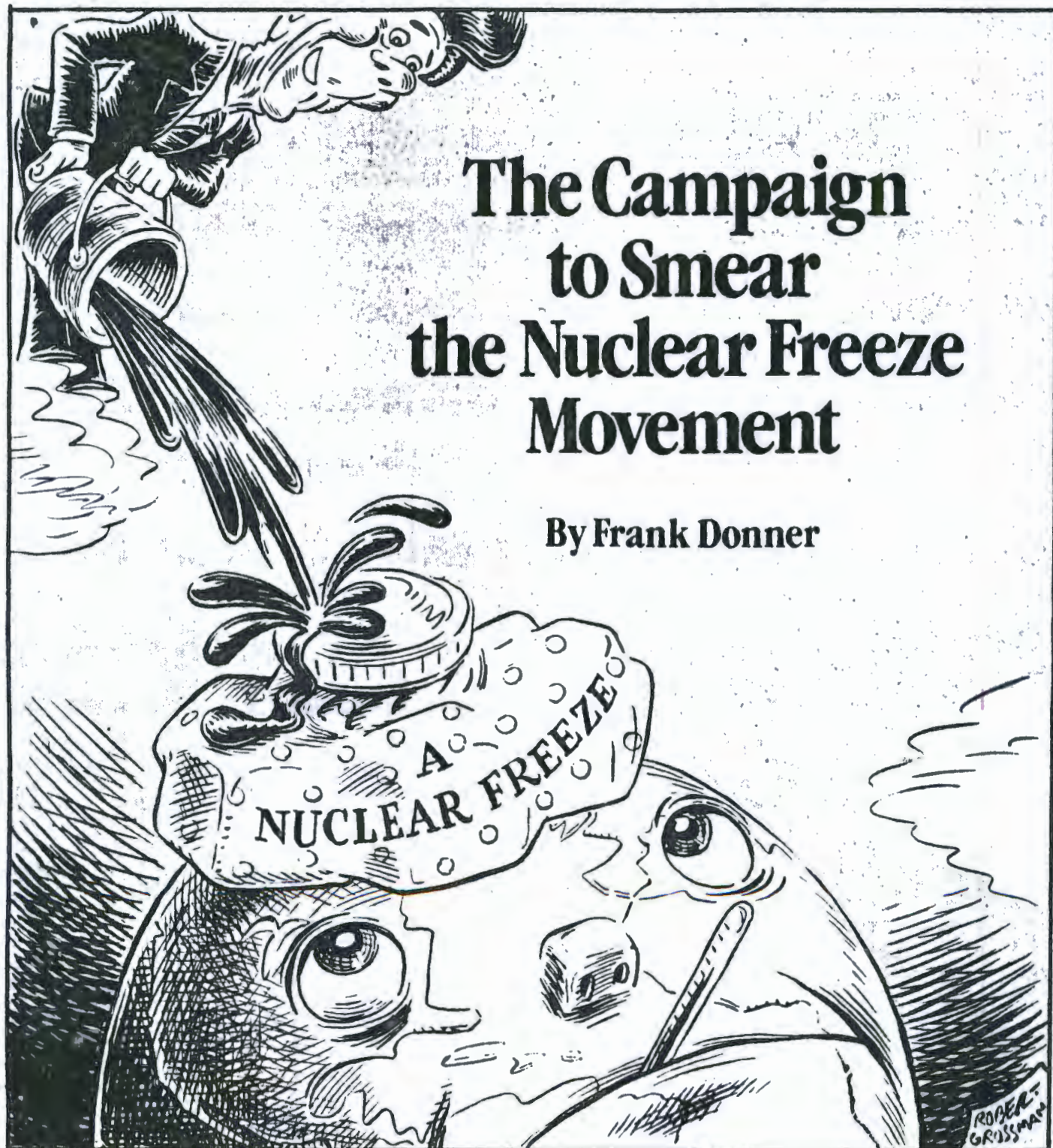
Donner, born February 25, 1911, is a graduate of Columbia University Law School. In the early 1940s, Donner was an attorney with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). From 1946 to 1948, he was assistant general counsel for the CIO. Donner entered private practice in 1948, and was a law partner of Arthur Kinoy. In 1956 Donner became general counsel of the CPUSA-dominated United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UE) where he remained until the late 1960s. He then took a teaching post at Yale, and founded the ACLU Project on Political Surveillance.

Since the late 1950s, Donner has devoted a considerable amount of energy to anti-internal security projects. His 1961 book, The Un-Americans, served to create publicity for the CPUSA's "Operation Abolition" - a drive to press Congress into abolishing HCUA and its successor, the House Committee on Internal Security (HCIS). The HCUA report, "Communist Legal Subversion: The Role of the Communist Lawyer, published in 1959, noted that "Speaking on such topics as 'Informers as a Means of Suppression,' and 'Informers as Tools,' Donner has excoriated all individuals who have been of assistance to congressional committees."

With the "respectability" accorded the director of a major ACLU project, Donner's articles were accorded a much wider range of outlets than is customary for CPUSA polemicists - appearing in the New York Review of Books and Civil Liberties, as well as The Nation. During 1975-76, Donner served as a member of the advisory board of the Philip Agee-related Counter-Spy magazine; and also spoke for Counter-Spy's speakers bureau, called "Operation Truth and Light." His recent book, The Age of Surveillance attacks collection of information on political extremist and revolutionary groups by private individuals as well as law enforcement.

The ~~Motion~~ Motion.

November 6, 1982 \$1.25; U.K. 65p



The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement

By Frank Donner

ARTICLES.

But Will They Come?

The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement

FRANK DONNER

*Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.**Hotspur: Why, so can I, or so can any man;**But will they come when you do call for them?**—William Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part I*

The American past offers nothing in the way of anti-government protest comparable to the nuclear freeze movement in numbers, geographic scope, social and economic diversity, extent of organizational involvement and depth of commitment.

The proposal for a mutual freeze—on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons, as an essential, verifiable first step toward reducing the risk of nuclear war—is supported by more than 276 city councils around the nation. In addition, 446 New England town meetings, 56 county councils, 11 state legislatures from Hawaii to New York and one chamber of 6 other state legislative bodies have voted to endorse the freeze. More than 2.3 million people from rural, semirural, suburban and urban areas have signed freeze petitions circulated by a host of organizations and coalitions—many local ad hoc committees, others national and long active in the peace movement.

Ballot victories have been scored in at least seven referendums in state senatorial districts. In September, Wisconsin voters overwhelmingly favored the freeze in a statewide referendum. In October, the voters of Anchorage and Juneau, Alaska, supported the freeze. Nine states, the District of Columbia and the cities of Chicago and Philadelphia, as well as numerous towns and counties, are voting on the freeze proposal in this week's elections.

The institutional endorsers of the freeze include religious, professional, educational, minority rights, arts, labor and scientific organizations. Among the religious endorsers are 140 Roman Catholic bishops, the National Council of Churches, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the United Presbyterian Church, the American Baptist Church (Annual Meeting), Benedictines for Peace, the Catholic Peace Fellowship, the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council, the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, the Jewish Peace Fellowship, the Mennonite Central Committee, the Na-

tional Federation of Priests' Council, the Rabbinical Assembly, the Unitarian Universalist Association, the United Methodist Church Board of Church and Society and the World Council of Churches, Central Committee. Secular organizations include the National Education Association, Common Cause, the Council for a Livable World, labor unions like the United Automobile Workers and the International Association of Machinists and such veteran peace groups as the American Friends Service Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, SANE, the War Resisters League and Women Strike for Peace.

It must be stressed that these groups are not passive supporters but active participants. They work with local networks, committees and coalitions to organize demonstrations, gather signatures, lobby, write letters to the press, sponsor films and lectures and distribute literature. There are now freeze canvassing cadres in more than 190 Congressional districts.

The growing list of prominent individuals who have endorsed the freeze includes former Director of Central Intelligence William Colby, former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, former Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, three former ambassadors to the Soviet Union, U.S. Marine Corps Maj. Gen. William Fairbourn of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and several career officers, including Gen. James Gavin, Adm. Noel Gayler and Vice Adm. Ralph Weymouth. Other supporters are Herbert York, former director of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, four Nobel laureates, including atomic physicist Hans Bethe, and columnists Ann Landers and James Kilpatrick.

A Senate resolution sponsored by Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield, a slightly modified version of the freeze proposal, was introduced on March 10 and promptly attracted 25 co-sponsors in the Senate and 125 in the House. A House resolution introduced by Clement Zablocki, which also included a call for approval of SALT II, was narrowly defeated (204 to 202) on August 5—an imposing result particularly because, according to *In These Times*, 2,000 corporate lobbyists opposing the freeze twisted Congressional arms before the vote.

It is only one measure of the depth of support for the freeze in the land that it inspired the largest demonstration in the history of the United States, the gathering of nearly a million people in New York City last June 12 on the occasion of the United Nations second special session on disarmament.

Frank Donner, author of The Age of Surveillance (Knopf), is a longtime specialist on the activities of the American right. He wishes to acknowledge the research contributions of Sam Delson and Eric Friedman.

Fearmongers in High Places

It is plain that the instincts and convictions of the freeze supporters are rooted solidly in the American tradition of liberal humanism, a social vision reflecting a concern for the lives and fates of others. The critics and opponents of the freeze, however, the paladins of unlimited weaponry, are committed to the modern secular religion of a long, twilight struggle with the Soviet Union in which our ultimate victory is assured by our moral superiority. At bottom this is a conflict between a constituency tormented by the vision of worldwide death and destruction and one for whom nuclear confrontation is worth risking to achieve the conquest of the Soviet Union and world domination.

The anti-freeze campaign relies in large part on the use of fear, the most efficient weapon in the American political arsenal. One of its goals, which the right has been pressing for years, is to instill the fear of Soviet aggression so as to gain support for nuclear confrontation and its preparations; but another, newer goal—and in these days an increasingly important one—is to instill the fear that the freeze movement is Soviet-inspired and manipulated by agents and their dupes. This is unquestionably a risky gambit, given the scope and diversity of the movement and a climate generally unreceptive to McCarthyite Red-baiting, but the Reagan Administration and its allies in Congress and along the Far Right obviously feel that the unprecedented outpouring for peace demands an all-out response.

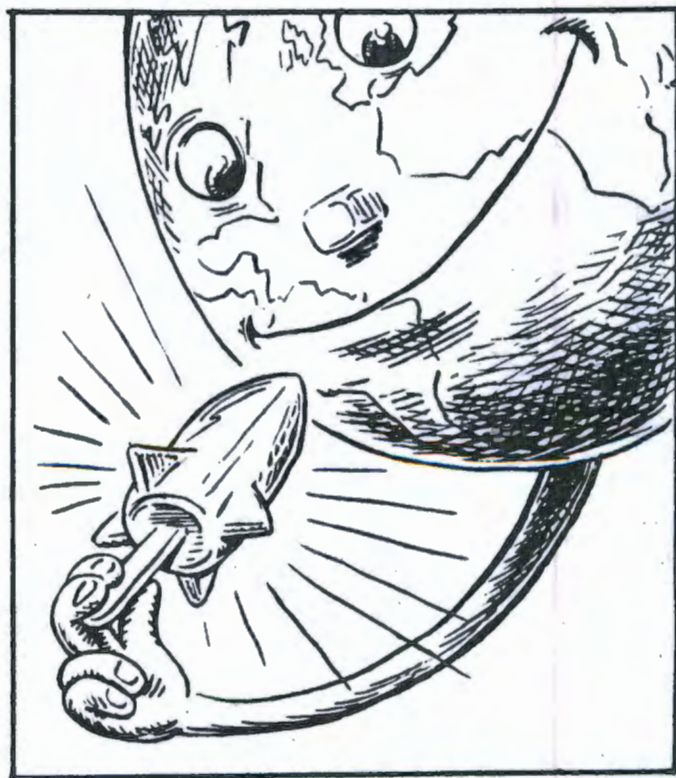
The President himself has joined in the fray. In a speech to a veterans' group in Ohio on October 4, he said the freeze campaign, a movement "that's sweeping across the country," is "inspired by not the sincere, honest people who want peace, but by some who want the weakening of America and so are manipulating honest people and sincere people." (Subsequently rebuked for Red-baiting, he replied he "did not have any Americans in mind." This, it should be noted, repeats an earlier Administration charge that the Soviet Union controls the European peace movement.) The "dupe" formulation is designed, of course, to make Reagan's attack more credible in view of the immense size of the domestic movement, the unassailable political, professional and religious credentials of the freeze activists and the pitifully depleted ranks of the U.S. Communist Party. Because the dupe charge pays lip service to the sincerity of the duped innocents, it has become the armature for the anti-freeze movement, both its "respectable" sectors and its more garish nativist counterparts.

Finding plausible links between these domestic dupes and their Soviet masters is the task assigned to the New Right. Its most prominent spokesman is Jeremiah Denton, Senator from Alabama and head of the Security and Terrorism Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

A few days before the Reagan remarks, Denton spoke on the floor of the Senate in opposition to an amendment offered by Dale Bumpers (and co-sponsored by a bipartisan group of thirty-five senators) proposing that October 10 be proclaimed National Peace Day. The amendment was approved by a large majority in a voice vote, but Denton provoked a bitter clash by charging that one organization sup-

porting the resolution, Peace Links-Women Against Nuclear War, chaired by Bumpers's wife, Betty, was tainted with subversion and "lends itself to exploitation by the Soviet Union." No fewer than four organizations represented on the Peace Links advisory board, he insisted, "are either Soviet controlled or openly sympathetic with, and advocates for, Communist foreign policy objectives," and two other board members are "radical, left-oriented." To bolster his extraordinary charges, Denton placed in the record forty-five agate-type pages of smear literature, mostly from the Far Right. (He also for some unaccountable reason included two State Department documents dealing only marginally with domestic matters or Peace Links; an article by pollster Louis Harris on the women's vote; another about activists in the Boston-based Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament [WAND]; a *New York Times* story about Peace Links' plans; and a statement by Representative Patricia Schroeder on the "Stop the Arms Race Campaign.")

In the tumult that followed, as many angry senators clamored for the floor, Patrick Leahy and Paul Tsongas rebuked Denton, pointing out that their wives were confederates of Betty Bumpers. Senator Bumpers himself mockingly explained that his wife was not a K.G.B. agent. Gary Hart joined in denouncing Denton for his McCarthyist conduct, but he went further: he said he hoped the Senate would be equally ready to recognize McCarthyism if the victim was not a senator's wife. Then Hart, arguing that "the policy of the United States for over twenty years has been to seek bilateral disarmament," confronted Denton in these words: "The Senator seeks to link by scurrilous, conspiratorial, ideological literature people who seek to promote that policy with the Communist threat and the Com-



DRAWINGS BY ROBERT CROSSMAN

munist menace." Reaching a climax, he pointed a finger at Denton and said: "I intend consciously and on purpose to breach the protocol of the U.S. Senate and . . . say to the Senator from Alabama, 'Shame on you.'"

A defense of Denton by Jesse Helms and John East did not improve matters. Helms referred to Denton's sufferings "at the hands of brutal communist tyrants"—he had been a prisoner of war in North Vietnam—and East falsely maintained that nothing Denton had said could be "interpreted as a personal affront to Mrs. Bumpers." The best defense, or at least extenuation, of Denton's performance was that of Bill Bradley, who said the Senator was "confused."

The senators may have found Denton's attack unfounded, but the dangerous effect of that sort of airing even of scurrilous nonsense can be seen in the response of *The Washington Post*. A few days later, on October 6, it published an editorial deploring the Reagan-Denton slurs but picking up Denton's charge that two groups connected to Peace Links—the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women Strike for Peace—are Soviet fronts or dupes. The editorial generously conceded that the two groups "have the right" to soil themselves as fronts. But why, it went on, "does Peace Links abide the taint that even the slightest connection to a Soviet stooge group imparts?"

The national leaders of the W.I.L.P.F. and W.S.P. promptly responded with detailed, documented refutations of the smear, printed on October 9. These epistles were accompanied by a vigorous protest by the A.C.L.U., pointing out that the implication of the editorial was that Peace Links "should dissociate itself from such organizations, so it does not invite the kind of attacks by President Reagan and Senator Denton. Is *The Post* suggesting that Peace Links should impose a loyalty oath: 'Are you now or have you ever been a Soviet front or connected with one?' Should this test come in the form of a list of suspect groups—drawn up, for example, by the attorney general—so Peace Links will know who to avoid in order not to be branded a 'Soviet stooge' by Senator Denton or President Reagan or *The Post* itself?"

The letters produced an editorial retraction, printed on the same day, admitting that "the available public record" did not support its charge. The following Tuesday, October 12, Robert McCloskey, *The Post's* ombudsman, applauded the retraction and explained that the slurring editorial had reached "faulty conclusions" and "lost its bearings" by relying too literally on a State Department report. The next day *The Philadelphia Inquirer* added its protest and noted, "The slur ironically was committed in an editorial accusing the others of smearing the peace movement."

Publicists on the Far Right

The main movers of the anti-freeze campaign—those who feed the likes of Denton—are ideologues and publicists on the Far Right. They serve a considerable network of groups and lobbies and foundations and think tanks, and their views are expressed by any number of columnists and commentators and journals and newsletters, but to a re-

markable degree the key themes pour out from a small coterie of true believers.

Chief among them is a veteran Red-hunter (and a protégé of right-wing Representative Larry McDonald), John Rees. Rees, who has been the publisher of a periodical called *Information Digest* since 1968 and is the Washington correspondent for the John Birch Society's weekly, *The Review of the News*, also had a career as a spy. In the late 1960s, he and his wife—she subsequently joined McDonald's staff—penetrated the left community in Washington, D.C. Later, while disguised as a cleric, he posed as a member of a group contesting a Georgia utility company's proposed nuclear plant.

Until the mid-1970s, Rees was shunned by mainstream Red-baiters as an extremist, serving as a foil, if you will, for their "moderate" credentials. The Birch forces were the only ones to see him as "an internationally respected investigative journalist." Today, however, even the *National Review* calls his reporting on the peace movement "meticulously documented," and his authority as a reliable source is glibly assumed by publications such as *Barron's* and *Reader's Digest*.

Rees became a leader of the anti-freeze pack with the publication, accompanied by his own typically hugger-mugger annotations, of a memorandum dated February 21 to philanthropist Stewart Mott from an aide, Anne Zill. Although it was referred to by the Far Right media as a zealously guarded secret document wrested from its subversive source by skillful deception and derring-do—inserting it in the *Congressional Record*, McDonald mentioned how "Mr. Rees had uncovered this Moscow directed 'Peace' offensive strategy"—the memorandum had in fact already been distributed to at least 150 people.

The Zill memorandum was nothing more than a description of the organizational components of the peace movement, with an introduction on its transformation from a rather despairing campaign into a creative, energetic enterprise, but Rees managed to give it a heavily subversive slant. After a reference to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, for example, Rees wrote: "In the U.S., the W.I.L.P.F. has been thoroughly penetrated by members of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; it has had a program for the past 20 years of exchange visits of Soviet and U.S. 'peace activists.'" Not only that, but "the W.I.L.P.F. works closely with the World Peace Council and its sister front, the Women's International Democratic Federation," and, as anyone on the right knows, "the World Peace Council is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Soviet Union."

Indeed, the W.P.C. does seem to serve as the *fons et origo* of the entire right-wing analysis. Based in Helsinki, Finland, it is said to be—by no less than Reagan himself ("Oh, those demonstrations," he said in a television interview, "these are all sponsored by a thing called the World Peace Council, which is bought and paid for by the Soviet Union")—the main channel of Soviet propaganda and the Rasputin of the European disarmament movement. The fact that the W.P.C. is recognized by the United Nations as a nongovernmental organization and has been invited to participate in

official discussions on disarmament and colonialism does not seem to diminish its sinister character.

The American affiliate of the W.P.C. is the United States Peace Council, cast not only as the link to the domestic peace movement but as its main foment and guide. The Peace Council, which has chapters across the country, has some Communist Party members in its midst, but it also has members from Congress, state legislatures, city councils and legal and religious groups.

Rees uses as the cornerstone of his conspiracy theorizing a meeting held at New York City's Riverside Church in October 1981 by some seventy-two groups, including not only the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Peace Fellowship, the International Association of Machinists, the War Resisters League and Clergy and Laity Concerned but—you guessed it!—the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and their splinter groups. To these must be added "Vietniks" (also referred to in some right-wing publications as "the usual crazies") like Cora Weiss, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr. and ex-priest Paul Mayer. "The leadership role," in this conference, according to Rees, "was taken openly by representatives of Communist Party front groups, by the U.S. affiliates of international Soviet fronts, and by other organizations that have close ties with Soviet fronts"—in other words, they are controlled by the Kremlin through the World Peace Council.

The Rees line is simple. A political voyeur, he eyes his victims through subversion-colored spyglasses, working on the fixed assumption that peace activists are *prima facie* Communists whose Soviet parentage he then proceeds to establish through intricate and frequently invented lines of consanguinity. For example, to smear the American Committee on East-West Accord, he points out that "its leaders have consistently urged U.S. trade, foreign policy and arms control concessions to the USSR in order to promote 'detente,'" and its newsletter "carries articles promoting the extreme view standard among radical disarmament groups that any use of nuclear weapons will bring total extinction of all life on earth." One of the committee's chairs is Seymour Melman, who as co-chairman of SANE is already tainted enough but who also "provided a strident attack on the concept of U.S. defense" at a March conference; the other is George Kennan, whose policy of Soviet "containment" meant that "the U.S. would refrain from contesting Soviet control of Eastern Europe" and who is further suspect for falling into the Moscow trap of calling on "the U.S. to immediately reduce its number of nuclear weapons by 50 %."

In Rees's mind, the real threat of the peace activists is explained by the thesis that what the freeze movement's insiders really have in mind is unilateral disarmament, a goal he calls feasible only for those who see nothing wrong with the Soviet conquest of the world. To achieve that ultimate objective, the K.G.B. has initiated a vast "disinformation" campaign, and its dastardly plot in this country has been prefigured by its success in capturing the European peace movement. "Our point," Rees has written, "is that the Soviet Union is running the current worldwide disarmament

campaign through the K.G.B. and front organizations led by the World Peace Council. Leaders of the U.S. disarmament groups are up to their necks in this effort."*

Polemics Among the Respectable

Rees's grotesque linkage of virtually all disarmament and freeze initiatives to Soviet Communism has been sanctified by articles from other true believers in more respectable rightist organs such as *The Wall Street Journal*, *The American Spectator*, *Barron's* and *Reader's Digest*. Perhaps the most influential and widely cited articles in this genre are "The Building Blocks of the Freeze Movement," a *Wall Street Journal* piece by Dorothy Rabinowitz, a contributor to *Commentary* since the late 1960s, and Rael Jean Isaac and Erich Isaac's long article in *The American Spectator*, "The Counterfeit Peacemakers: Atomic Freeze." Both articles appeared on the eve of the June 12 freeze demonstration and were clearly intended to discredit the demonstrators by subversifying the rally's principal sponsors.

The Rabinowitz article makes the peace movement part of a wider U.S.-Soviet conflict in which any group questioning American policies—especially if it uses the term "imperialism"—is ipso facto subversive. According to Rabinowitz, not only have such groups as the W.I.L.P.F., the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Clergy and Laity Concerned and the War Resisters League betrayed their pacifist commitment but many have actually supported revolution; their newsletters, moreover, "contain no word of condemnation for the invasion of Afghanistan or the events in Poland." The W.R.L. is characterized as a "nominally pacifist group . . . whose chief energies are today spent advancing the cause of world revolution."

Veteran peace activist and W.R.L. leader David McReynolds responded to the last charge in a letter to *The Journal*: "This is simply and categorically untrue—either Rabinowitz knows better and was lying, or she is incompetent and therefore misleading." (Interestingly, *The Journal* chose to delete this from the version it printed.) The F.O.R. similarly denounced Rabinowitz's accusation that it was pro-Soviet, noting its sponsorship—along with the A.F.S.C. and the W.R.L.—of a demonstration in front of the Soviet mission in New York City protesting the invasion of Afghanistan. To the equally false charge of silence on Poland, the F.O.R. pointed to an editorial it published in support of Solidarity

* One of Rees's most ardent admirers, it should be noted, is Reed Irvine, head of Accuracy In Media, whose *AIM Report* devoted an entire issue (May 1) to "The New Nuke Hysteria." This recycled the Rees oeuvre, including the Zill memorandum, with an emphasis on how the media betray the country by keeping from readers and viewers all that hot dope peddled by Rees. (The press was even silent about a protocol agreed on by the organizers of the October Riverside Church conference; despite their private conviction that the United States is the real culprit in the arms race, they would achieve credibility by addressing both contending parties.) Irvine also complained that NBC gave too much time (four and a half minutes) to an interview with a Soviet peace spokesman (Stanislav Menshikov) and about an hourlong CBS documentary on the perils of a nuclear explosion as well as a ten-minute segment on the horrors of nuclear war. He was especially aroused by a PBS documentary, "Thinking Twice About Nuclear War," which had the gall to tell viewers about a source of further information on the subject.

and noted that, unlike its anti-Communist critics, it refused to remain silent about the plight of workers in El Salvador, South Korea and the Philippines.

Rabinowitz sniffs a subversive scent everywhere. Not only in quotations, which she takes almost uniformly out of context, from peace group literature—as, for example, the observation in a W.I.L.P.F. report that “the healthy relation of the individual to society is a priority in Cuba”—but even in titles, such as a 1981 flyer from the F.O.R. and the Methodist Peace Fellowship, “Anti-Soviet Fixation Rules the U.S.” and two W.I.L.P.F. pamphlets, “Who Sets the Pace for the Arms Race?” and “The Myth of the Soviet Threat.”

Rabinowitz, predictably, finds the U.S. Peace Council particularly sinister. She argues—mark this well—that “there is almost no distinguishable difference between the foreign policy pronouncements . . . of the U.S. Peace Council . . . that the main threat to world peace is the U.S. military industrial machine” and “similar statements by officials” of other domestic peace groups. Therefore, she warns, “those multitudes now enlisting in their ranks would do well to consider these credentials and to ponder just whose music it is they will be marching to behind the nuclear freeze banners.”

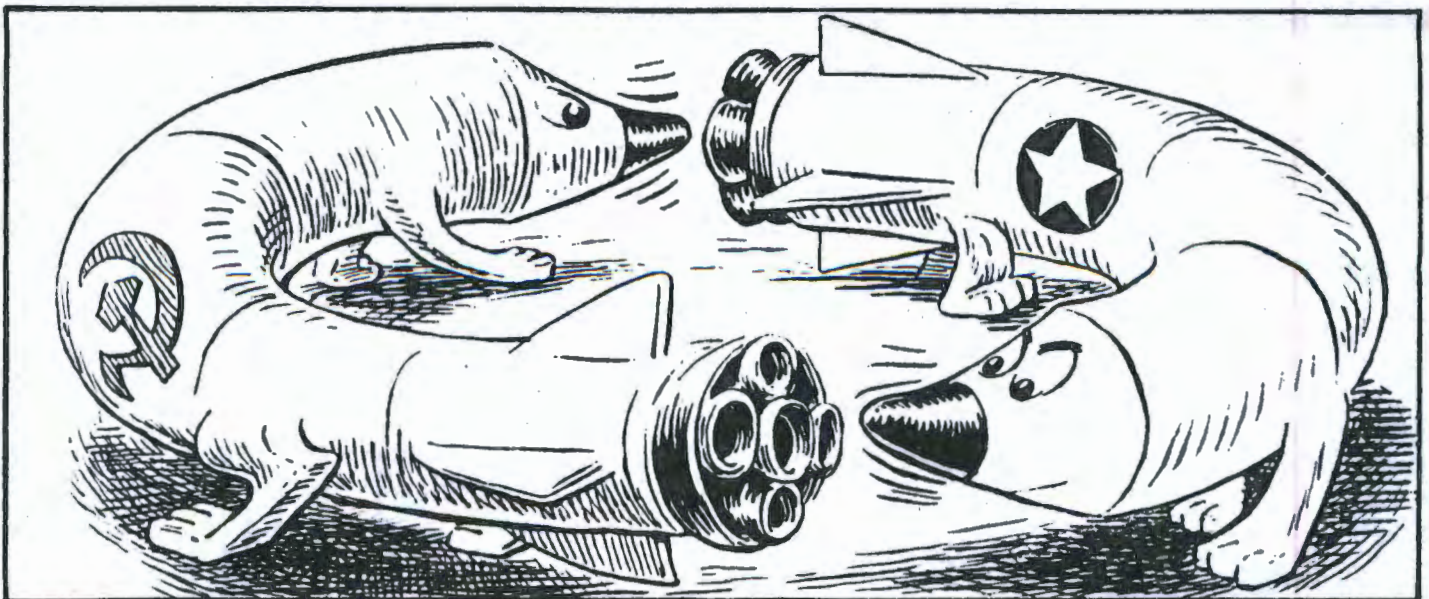
The Isaacs' article echoes the Rabinowitz line but adds more detail.* Their key charge is that pacifism has become an instrument of revolutionary socialism; pacifist groups, they allege, “are centers of radicalism” and “in practice they condone violence” for “liberation movements.” They even dredge up George Orwell's forty-year-old charge about “the attraction some leading pacifists felt toward Hitler.” The supporting proof for this statement is so wispy as to be invisible.

* Rael Jean Isaac is no stranger to aggressive polemics. Her highly slanted article on the Institute for Policy Studies in the June 1980 *Midstream* was so prized by the New Right that it was widely reprinted and was inserted in the *Congressional Record* by none other than Representative McDonald. She originally gained a reputation as a smear queen for her wild accusations against the liberal peace group Breira, charging, quite falsely, that it was dominated by P.L.O. agents who had duped innocent peace-loving Jews.

As proof of the pacifists' commitment to violence, the Isaacs point to the favorable attitude of the A.F.S.C., the W.I.L.P.F. and the F.O.R. toward the P.L.O., “the world's chief terror organization.” “The identification of pacifist organizations with the P.L.O. is a particularly striking illustration of the breakdown of pacifist principles,” they write, citing as evidence, for example, the fact that the A.F.S.C. once ran a Community Information and Legal Aid Center in East Jerusalem. But, they go on, “almost any Third World ‘liberation movement,’ provided it attacks the West, can count at the very least on full moral support from the U.S. pacifist organizations”; for that they offer no evidence at all.

The A.F.S.C. comes in for special treatment from the Isaacs (as it does from Rabinowitz), being accused of a pro-Soviet bias despite its clear record of having often and openly criticized the Soviet Union for its deployment of nuclear weaponry. In particular, the authors attack the A.F.S.C.'s disarmament director, Terry Provance, claiming he is a “sponsor” of the U.S. Peace Council, the Kremlin's arm in America, and, worse, “is one of 40 official U.S. members of the World Peace Council,” elected “at the W.P.C.'s 1977 meeting in Warsaw.” These charges, which probably originated with the artful John Rees, are falsehoods. The truth—which the authors could have readily discovered—is that the W.P.C. in 1977 listed Provance as a member without his permission, an error which was remedied after he wrote two letters of protest. Nor was he a U.S. Peace Council sponsor: he attended a founding meeting in Philadelphia and supported the convening of the organizing conference, but explained then that his presence—for all of two hours—should not be construed as either membership or an endorsement.

For the Isaacs, the policies of the domestic freeze movement prove that it is unable to resist Soviet manipulation and reflect the success of Communist infiltration. The dangers of this Communist-inspired movement, they say, are intensified by its growing influence in churches of all denominations, as well as among professional groups like



Physicians for Social Responsibility and environmental groups like the Sierra Club. "Fear of nuclear war," they write, "has in the past been tempered by other fears and by confidence in public authorities. . . . Whatever moral reservations were held regarding nuclear bombs, the right and even necessity of their being a component of the U.S. arsenal was not generally challenged." What has gone wrong?

It is really simple: "What is new is distrust of the U.S. government by its citizens." And, they add: "Long nurtured by the extreme Left, this attitude has spilled over to segments of the media, to the universities, to the leadership of mainline churches." This view of America as a "global oppressor" makes the climate ripe "for Soviet propaganda offensives conducted chiefly through the World Peace Council," which has "been able to establish ties with elements of the adversary culture." Their conclusion is highly ironic. The nuclear freeze movement began and prospered because it gave voice not to an adversary culture but to traditional American values.

The Isaacs stress the alleged subversive role in the freeze movement of the coalition group Mobilization for Survival. The M.F.S., they say, "can serve as a model of how Communist and peace organizations have become intertwined." The proof? Simple. The U.S. Communist Party and "three of its fronts" are sheltered by its umbrella; W.P.C. representatives have participated in its demonstrations; and some individuals identified as Communists by the House Internal Security Committee were active in its formation.

One reason for the attention paid to the M.F.S. is that it laid the groundwork for the June 12 demonstration in New York City and was an important part of the rally coalition. Another reason is that piling blame on the M.F.S. helps the Far Right solve a desperate dilemma. To assign such a small and isolated group as the U.S. Peace Council the role of sole go-between in the Soviet master and American dupe scenario is to make a tiny tail wag an enormous dog. In order to make the Soviet transmission belt more plausible, the M.F.S. was tapped as the chief agent of the W.P.C.

But because the M.F.S. is a nationwide coalition of 140 religious, peace, women's and civic organizations, it was a little hard to make the charge of foreign control seem very convincing. The Far Right was up to the task. First, John Rees, in the February 1981 edition of *Western Goals*, a publication of Representative McDonald's Western Goals Foundation, presented a lengthy article, replete with weird data, charging that the M.F.S. was formed for the express purpose of bringing domestic antinuclear forces into a Soviet-controlled network. Second, in testimony to the Denton subcommittee two months later, Arnaud de Borchgrave charged there was "irrefutable proof" that the Soviet Union was playing "a covert role in promoting the anti-nuclear lobby." De Borchgrave, author of the spook novel *The Spike* and a professional Red-hunter, gave as proof the fact that the U.S. Peace Council and the Communist Party were affiliated with the M.F.S. This is the material the Isaacs subsequently polished up for their smear and which has since become the stock in trade of anti-freeze propaganda.

Disinformation at "Reader's Digest"

However skillful—or bizarre—the polemics of *The Journal* and *The American Spectator*, the master of the ingenious smear is *Reader's Digest*. For the last year it has been raising the specter of the Soviet nuclear menace. In June it ran an article on how radicals influence antiwar groups, which—though generously conceding that the "small minority of communists in the peace movement do not control it"—made the point that the movement's success would reduce the United States "to an isolated second-rate power." In August it published "The Russian Knife at America's Throat," an overheated warning of a massive Cuban buildup "turning this client state of the Soviets into a serious threat to U.S. security." (And this from a journal which, it will be recalled, was hailed by Susan Sontag in February of this year as a more reliable source "about the realities of Communism" than *The Nation* or *New Statesman*.)

But the *Digest's* biggest gun to date was fired in October, in a book segment, "The KGB's Magical War for 'Peace.'" It was written by John Barron, a senior editor of the *Digest* and the author of an earlier book on the K.G.B., *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents*—a work that is widely understood to have been based on material fed to Barron by former C.I.A. superspook James J. Angleton.

In an opening blurb we are warned that the "patriotic, sensible people who make up the peace movement have been penetrated, manipulated and distorted to an amazing degree by people who have but one aim—to promote Communist tyranny by weakening the United States." Barron, it assures us, documents the "secrecy, forgery, terrorism and fear" used to implement this plot. Barron does nothing of the kind. The greater portion of his article deals with alleged K.G.B. capers in Europe; when he talks about the United States, he gives us warmed-over Rees, only now all the Soviet actors are "KGB agents."

For example, he describes a conference in March 1981 at Georgetown University to plan freeze organizing strategy. The conference was reportedly attended by 275 to 300 delegates from thirty-three states and Britain, and two invited guests from the Soviet Union. One, Barron says, was a specialist in hanky-panky ("Active Measures"), the other a K.G.B. agent with a cover of Soviet Embassy counselor. "Thus, little more than two miles from the White House, the K.G.B. helped organize and inaugurate the American 'nuclear freeze' campaign. While many civic and church groups of unassailable reputes were to join in advocating the 'freeze,' in terms of the strategy and organization of the drive, this little-noted conference at Georgetown was a seminal meeting." Faulty logic aside, nowhere do we find a syllable of proof for these claims—nor an answer to the puzzle of why the Russians would endanger their credibility in peace circles by deploying two spies who could be exposed by the likes of John Barron.

But that is only half the story. According to Barron, "U.S. counterintelligence identified more than 20 Soviet agents endeavoring to influence elements of the peace movement, particularly leaders in religion, labor and science. . . .

The Soviets supplemented the labors of their New York and Washington residencies by sending people from the Center"—that's K.G.B. headquarters in Moscow—"into the United States on temporary assignment." Again Barron fails to provide any sources for this startling information (C.I.A.? F.B.I.? N.S.A.?), surely something we would expect from a reputable journalist writing in a magazine of huge circulation.

The M.F.S. predictably comes in for attack again, though Barron has nothing to add to the standard smears and distortions except to describe Terry Provan as a W.P.C. "activist" and an "energetic leader." The best Barron can do is tell of an M.F.S. conference last December in Milwaukee where one organizer said that a coalition "makes it easier to call out more people to demonstrate" and where "in workshops, allies of the revolutionary Weather Underground lobbied for terrorism in general." This supposedly "climactic strategy session" came up with the sinister idea of forming "task forces to write letters to newspapers and importune elected officials in behalf of the nuclear freeze and against major American weapons systems."

Barron also takes a swipe at the sponsors of the freeze resolutions in Congress. After all, they knew the resolutions would not be binding, yet they went ahead and thus "significantly augment[ed] the Soviet campaign to prevent the United States from producing the weapons that would ensure a balance of strategic power." This strange, purely political, jab suggests Barron may have friends in the White House as well as in the C.I.A.

The question of Barron's provenance is not academic. Those familiar with intelligence operations in Europe have reported that Western intelligence agencies, desperate to check further defections to the peace cause from such pillars as the churches and the Social Democratic parties, have mounted a full-scale disinformation campaign there. For example, Coalition for Peace Through Security, a British group linked to the deceptively named Committee to Prevent Nuclear War (it is actually a right-wing group in Washington, D.C.), has played a key role in various "dirty

tricks" attacks on the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. And a skillfully forged letter on the stationery of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, presumably the work of an intelligence agency, was sent to at least thirty European newspapers. Expressing concern over "the alarming rise of pacifism in Western Europe," the forgery went on to deplore the young people "who turn a blind eye to the Soviet nuclear buildup in Europe [and] blame the United States for the arms race and the danger of war."

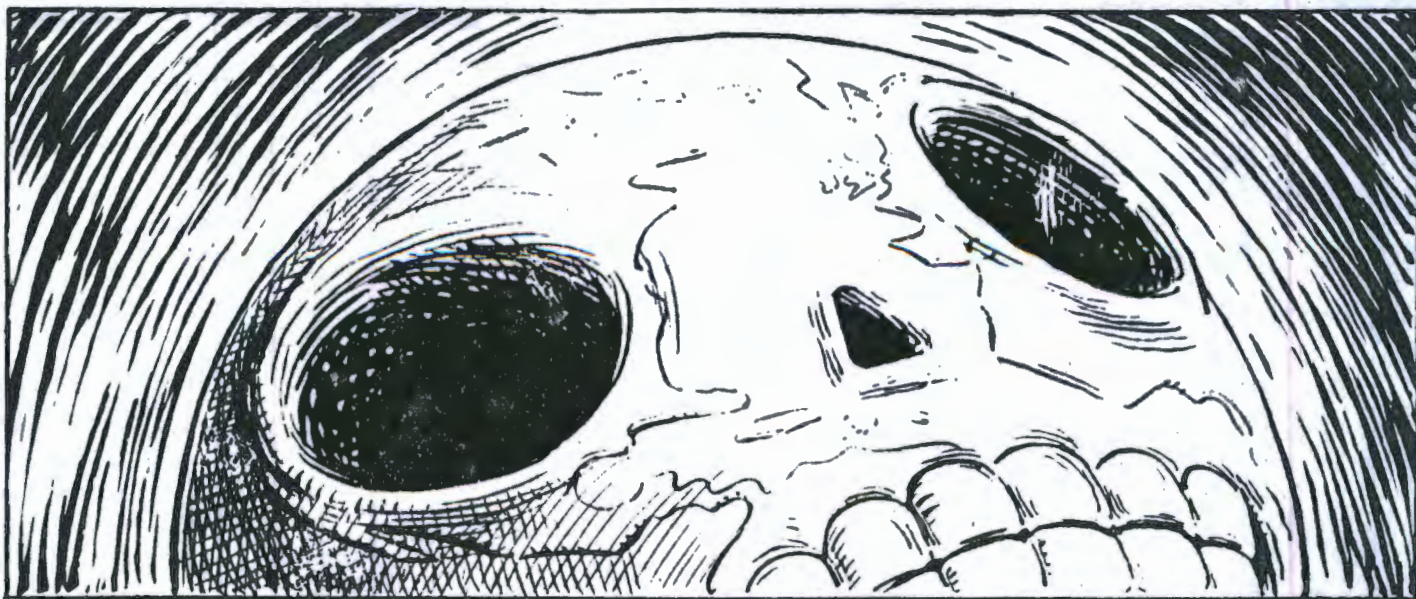
Given Barron's past performances, one may wonder whether he is not part of a disinformation campaign in this country. After all, the C.I.A. did admit in June—in a statement filed in connection with the settlement of a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit—that it had been using journalists not only to gather information but also to promote and disseminate C.I.A.-inspired or -produced stories in support of U.S. foreign policy.

More Salvos on the Right

Several other right-wing publications have fired salvos of their own in the anti-freeze campaign, again skillfully mixing (and hyping) the fear of Russia's might and Russia's subversion.

The citadel of neoconservatism, *Commentary*, offered no fewer than seven articles from January to August on arms-related themes. Two of them ("Why We Need More 'Waste, Fraud and Mismanagement in the Pentagon'" and "How to Think About Nuclear War") are by Edward N. Luttwak, the supreme neoconservative authority on military and defense matters, a senior fellow at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies and a professional defense consultant. Luttwak lives in a world in which nuclear weaponry and warfare are nothing special. He decries the "great outpouring of horrific imagery of Hiroshima and its victims, of mushroom clouds and radiation burns," and scolds the Reagan Administration for "appeasing the protesters, the church men and the media."

My favorite in the *Commentary* series is Edward Jay Epstein's "Disinformation: Or, Why the CIA Cannot Verify



an Arms-Control Agreement." Epstein's success formula may be familiar to *Nation* readers (see my article, "Conspiracies Unlimited," December 22, 1979). In his book *Legend* (published by Reader's Digest Press), Epstein, like Barron, served as a flack for superspook Angleton's claim that Lee Harvey Oswald was a K.G.B. agent equipped with a "cover story." Here an equally arcane source provides material for the thesis that the Russians can easily deceive the satellite and electronic wizardry now assumed to be able to force Soviet compliance not merely with the freeze restraints but "with any new arms-control agreement."

Commentary also provided a long article by Vladimir Bukovsky, a British-based Soviet defector. But apart from the fact that it is distorted by ferocious anti-Soviet demonology, it tells us almost nothing about the peace efforts in this country except that they are Soviet-inspired, naïve and illusionary. His heated conclusion: "Just as it did in the 1950s, the movement today probably consists of the same odd mixture of Communists, fellow-travelers, muddleheaded intellectuals, hypocrites seeking popularity, professional political speculators, frightened bourgeois, and youths eager to rebel just for the sake of rebelling. . . . But there is also not the slightest doubt that this motley crowd is manipulated by a handful of scoundrels instructed directly from Moscow."

The *National Review* joins the anti-freeze forces with a predictable sneering hauteur: the monocle is always glinting through the prose. Contributor John P. Roche warned in a column before the June 12 demonstration that "what we are witnessing is an extremely primitive but nonetheless frightening campaign against nuclear buildup." A month later he scolded the people of Vermont for failing to realize that their support of freeze resolutions will further Soviet strategic aims. Other *National Review* contributors viewed the June 12 demonstration as either a "populist" affair or an expression of middle-class guilt. A favorite put-down involved the theme of fear-ridden masses gripped by apocalypticism. (There is a phenomenon of apocalypticism related to nuclear war, but it doesn't grip people on the left. Rather, it affects those attracted to survivalist cults who plan to retreat to underground safety to wait for the post-Armageddon millenium.)

The *National Review's* principal response to the rally was a nine-column jeer by New Right commentator Joseph Sobran, which ran the gamut of baiting from Reds to liberals to the media. The central target of his sarcastic discourse was what he called "the Hive"—you know, the familiar crowd, Robert Drinan, Bella Abzug, Barry Commoner, Coretta Scott King et al.—people who share not only hidden political agendas but even a special vocabulary of buzzwords like "peace" (really meaning "enfeeblement of capitalism") and "human needs" ("socialist programs"). And as for that miserable *New York Times*, while it gave the rally extensive coverage, it suppressed its subversive political character. Can you imagine?—"the *Times* evinced not the slightest discomfiture that so many people should gather under semi-totalitarian auspices."

Human Events, "the national conservative weekly,"

scorns the *National Review's* felicities. An article by William A. Rusher, a favorite in New Right intellectual circles, warns that the freeze actions "play right into the hands of the Russians," who will direct the campaign as "an exercise in pacifist propaganda, useful for softening up the West." Moreover, the pacifists are really encouraging war: "The people who are agitating most energetically for an end to the threat of war are exactly the people who, by encouraging the Soviet leaders to think they could win it, make war more likely." Then Rusher adds, in a rather chilling coda: "In this as in other respects, our era is determining whether democracy is a practical technique for survival in the world that dreamers never made."

A subsequent issue of *Human Events* berates the media for concealing the involvement of radical or "Marxist-oriented" groups in the freeze campaign. The subversive connections of the Mobilization for Survival, it charges, are blithely ignored by reporters who should know better, while the coverage of de Borchgrave's Senate testimony moaned about his McCarthyism but gave him no credit for his accuracy.

In April, *Human Events* exploded its big blast, "How Far Left Is Manipulating U.S. Nuclear 'Freeze' Movement," a report based on "an internal document of the anti-nuclear forces obtained by *Human Events*," which is nothing more than the Zill memorandum. The piece is a Rees rehash. We look in vain for the promised disclosure of "the inner workings of the anti-nuclear movement and how it is manipulating the media" and find instead a diatribe against Randall Forsberg, said to be the "intellectual author" of the freeze campaign. Forsberg, it seems, "is well connected with" peace organizations, including the "extreme-left" Institute for Policy Studies and the M.F.S., "one of the most radical anti-nuclear groups on the scene." And she was sinister enough to have enlisted Senators Kennedy and Hatfield into her ranks: "the Kennedy-Hatfield forces contact[ed] Ms. Forsberg's Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies before they went ahead."

Action in the Trenches

One should not think, with all this blather in the right-wing media, that there is no Red-baiting going on in the right-wing trenches. As early as May of this year the Heritage Foundation, the conservative think tank in Washington, disseminated a "Backgrounder" on "Moscow and the Peace Offensive" in which it called for a massive nationwide anti-Soviet campaign to check the growth of the peace movement. It urged an all-out effort and the expenditure of many millions of dollars to mobilize "a corps of speakers to travel to the towns, cities and campuses across the United States" to blunt the freeze drive.

The Heritage report also called on NATO and "its affiliated public support organizations" to mount a similar campaign in Europe to disseminate "information concerning the links . . . between known Communist front groups and the 'independent' peace groups." That this suggestion reached the right places is indicated by the fact that this fall NATO actually flew American opinion makers on free junkets to

Europe to be briefed on such subjects as the hidden backers of the European disarmament movement. Among those accepting the free trips were editors from *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Harper's*, *The New Republic*, *Washington Quarterly* and *International Security*.

A group called the Washington Legal Foundation has also offered a series of suggestions on how to "defrost the freezeniks." One was to discredit freeze supporters by prompting reporters to quiz them on their stands on "controversial" issues such as normalizing relations with Cuba, "one world government," aid to El Salvador and free enterprise. This was followed by a more open smear suggestion: "Expose them as a left group. (What about being hit with the charge of McCarthyism?) What do you have to lose. . . . And state your case strongly, as if you knew what you were talking about."

One suggestion for combating the freeze, presented by an "Anti-Freeze Command Post" in Sharon, Connecticut, is the formation of ad hoc committees. These have multiplied over the past several months under a variety of titles—from Citizens for a Free and Independent America, in Willimantic, Connecticut, to the Alliance to Halt the Advance of Marxism in the Americas, in Grant's Pass, Oregon. Not as numerous as the pro-freeze groups (nor as effective in the political marketplace), their primary activities include placing newspaper advertisements, writing letters to the editor and circulating petitions, particularly in connection with balloting.

These groups Red-bait wildly, in some places with the support of local editors and columnists. Their sources include the Rees *oeuvre*, handouts from Young Americans for Freedom, posters from the College Republican National Committee (for example: "THE SOVIET UNION NEEDS YOU! SUPPORT A U.S. 'NUCLEAR FREEZE' " against a photograph of soldiers parading in front of the Kremlin) and reports from various foundations and fronts, most notably the deceptive Committee to Prevent Nuclear War. The ad hoc group in Grant's Pass charged in a newspaper ad that thirteen freeze sponsors—from SANE and the A.F.S.C. to Friends of the Earth and Physicians for Social Responsibility—"HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS." The source for this startling intelligence? A newsletter distributed by something called the Young Americans Foundation, which also warns about "the Marxists who are planning subversive demonstrations aimed at causing massive unrest on our college campuses." The Willimantic group uses local papers to disseminate its smears about "The Russian Assault on American Institutions" and similar specters.

Again and again in these local efforts we see the same allegations and attenuated connections that are found in the right-wing magazines. Most of the stuff is warmed-over Rees or Barron, and some of it pops up in virtually every flyer or letter—the lies about Terry Provan, for example, which are so juicy that no one on the right seems able to resist them (or check them). Whatever you can say about those in the trenches, originality is not one of their strong points.

Spirits From the Deep

One can sense the despair in right-wing circles over the paucity of useful smear material. The same sources are cited repeatedly, the same meager connections made much of, and in the end the evidence is so sparse that calumny must suffice. Perhaps it was for this reason that the rightists tried to seize on another issue this summer: the alleged dispersal of Federal and tax-exempt foundation funds to help anti-nuclear groups in their nefarious work. The charge was taken up by M. Stanton Evans and other conservative commentators. "Tax dollars have been funneled," Evans wrote, to a variety of "New Left" groups, including such "proponents of disarmament" as the A.F.S.C., SANE, the National Council of Churches and the Union of Concerned Scientists. This charge soon fizzled, too. Though some of the groups had received Federal grants for specific projects, none of the money was used to support freeze or other political activities. The A.F.S.C., for example, showed that the \$1.4 million it got from Federal sources between 1978 and 1981 was passed directly (without anything taken out even for overhead) to such projects as a housing rehabilitation program for unemployed youths in New York City and the purchase of seed rice to be distributed in Cambodia. Not the stuff from which to spin much of a conspiracy theory.

Evans is a perfect exemplar of the Far Right's dilemma, as witness another column this summer in which he treated his readers to a number of "disclosures," borrowed from the Isaacs' article, on the subversive nature of the M.F.S. and how its June demonstration was manipulated by the Kremlin. Imagine it, Evans shuddered in print, "the supposed friends of 'peace' . . . marching . . . with representatives of the most brutal despotism . . . in history." Then, echoing a deepening discontent in New Right circles, he grumbled, "The American people have a right to know the degree to which the Communists are trying to manipulate opinion and events in the United States. Our fearless journalists, for some peculiar reason, refuse to tell them."

The "peculiar reason" is not all that peculiar: the efforts to reverse the pro-freeze tide have been fueled not by convincing evidence but by crude witch-hunting appeals. The Far Right has called its spirits from the vasty deep—but they have not come. ☐

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