

Foundations Bankrolling Anti-Nuclear Causes

F1 Private File

Tribune-Review, Thursday, April 21, 1983

Pg. A-10

By DORIS O'DONNELL
Of The Tribune-Review

In the early 1950s a Special House Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations documented charges that foundation grants were given to numerous Communists and Communist-front organizations.

After the hearings, U.S. Rep. Carroll Reece of Tennessee said: "Here lies the story of how Communism and Socialism are financed in the U.S.—where they get their money. It is the story of who pays the bill."

Is history repeating itself?

The New York Times of Sunday, Dec. 19, 1982, reported on a two-day session, called "Funding the Prevention of Nuclear War." The participants were anti-nuclear groups who raised "only \$20 million last year for their movement," The Times reported.

The Times further stated that the people at the session were individual philanthropists and foundation representatives who make grants in the disarmament field. A loosely-knit organization, it brought together 148 people from 20 states.

The venture, according to The Times, was financed by the Field Foundation, Jay Harris, the Levinson Foundation, New World Foundation, Rockefeller Family Associates and the Rockefeller Family Fund.

Organizers told The Times that they had restricted invitations to the meeting to those known to be supporters of the campaign against nuclear war.

Now, months later, various writers are catching up on the meeting and its significance.

Robert H. Goldsborough, who writes a column called "Washington Dateline," commented: "The Rockefellers are at it again! In years past, the Rockefellers have funded numerous other left-wing causes through their tax-exempt foundations."

Bishops' Letter

"The pro-freeze participants were apparently overjoyed that the Catholic bishops had denounced America's nuclear defense, thus legitimizing the peace movement and removing the small danger that efforts to paint the movement as Communist-inspired would succeed."

However, it should be noted that in April of 1983, the nation's Roman Catholic bishops adopted a more conciliatory tone in a third draft of the proposed official statement on the morality of nuclear weapons. This came on the heels of criticism by the Reagan administration and by Catholic Church leaders in Europe.

The revised document puts the bishops nearer to agreement with the U.S. and NATO policies and follows traditional Catholic lines on a nation's "just" wars to defend itself and protect citizens.

Susan K. Reed, writing in Foundation News for January-February 1983, goes into great depth on the role of foundations in the arms control movement and how the influence of foundations remains generally unpublished.

"Until the meeting (last December), almost no one—even those

to which foundation funding has played a role in expanding the nationwide awareness of the issue. The press has ignored it, and indeed, no one had bothered trying to tabulate it," she wrote.

She said the "Funding the Prevention of Nuclear War" conference was divided into six panels: religion, politics, economics, grass roots, updates and frontiers, and next steps.

She reported that Norman Cousins, a veteran peace activist and former editor of the Saturday Review, headed the religion panel. Philanthropist Philip Stern chaired the politics panel. (Stern is heir to the Sears' fortune and head of the Stern Fund. He is a former trustee of a radical left-wing think tank, Institute for Policy Studies, in Washington, D.C.) Two of the panel members were Russell Hemenway, director of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, and Robert Shrum, press secretary to Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts.

On the economics panel were Seymour Melman, professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University, and Marion Anderson, a specialist on military spending.

"The conference closed with a ringing speech by Randall Forsberg, founder and director of the Institute for Peace and Disarmament, but who is best known as a pioneer of the nuclear freeze movement," Reed wrote.

"Her words followed strategy reports from various other leaders: Randy Kehler, director of the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign in St. Louis, and Morton Halperin, former National Security Council (NSC) staffer and currently director of the Center for National Security Studies."

Reed quoted Sidney Shapiro, director of the Max and Anna Levinson Foundation in Boston and one of the conference organizers, as saying: "There's no pressure from grant seekers. Funders can report back to their boards and develop program areas if they want."

TMI Impact

Shapiro also told her that the Three Mile Island accident was a catalyst and a group of foundations as early as 1979 began to talk about nuclear power.

About that time, Reed wrote, a small group interested in European developments held a meeting at the New York Yacht Club to talk about the overseas peace movement.

Among the participants, she said, were W.H. "Ping" Ferry, a long-time anti-war activist; Stewart Mott, funder of liberal causes; David R. Hunter, director of the Stern Fund and the Ottinger Foundation; Robert Scrivner, director of the Rockefeller Family Fund, and Wade Green, an adviser to the Rockefeller Family Associates."

Ferry was a supporter of the Corporate Data Exchange Inc. independent tax-exempt research organization formed in 1975 to "investigate economic concentration and corporate control." CDE's incorporators are three people who have been publicly identified as associates of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), the intelligence and policy research organization.



Mrs. Heinz

corporate targets in the U.S. and overseas. Michael Locker, a former activist in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was a director and president of CDE.

By July of 1982, the group had grown, more meetings were held and finally some felt the subject "was so important that another meeting was held in September, this time to discuss nuclear proliferation," she said.

Among the 40 or 50 funders who attended, she said, were representatives of the CS Fund of Santa Rosa, Cal., the W. Alton Jones Foundation from Charlottesville, Va., and the New World Foundation and the Field Foundation.

(The Field Foundation, founded in 1940, is known as a generous supporter of pro-socialist projects, particularly in the area of anti-intelligence. The Field's largest grants are made to the Center for National Security Studies. It directly supports the IPS. It also awards fellowships. Andrew Young, now mayor of Atlanta, received \$15,000 in 1971 for research. In 1975, the foundation listed New York Times reporter Seymour M. Hersh as a fellow, and he received \$15,000 for research on U.S. national security.

(The Field Foundation published the book Taps, Bugs, and Fooling the People, a report calling for abolishment of national security electronic surveillance.

(The foundation was founded by Marshall Field III, president of Field Enterprise, which owns the Chicago Sun-Times, World Book Encyclopedia, and other publishing firms. He died in 1956, and his widow, Ruth P. Field, has a history of involvement in leftist causes—from Friends of the Spanish Re-

public to an Appeal to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee to the Committee for Public Justice, an anti-FBI, CIA and law enforcement legal group.)

The result of all the small gatherings was the December meeting which drew 148 participants.

Heating Up

Miss Reed wrote: "The climate, foundation directors agree, has been heating up for the last two years, fueled by growing fear of a nuclear holocaust, publication of Jonathan Schell's *The Fate of the Earth*, the 'limited nuclear war' concept of the Reagan campaign, and the escalating defense budget.

"The nuclear arms issue is closely tied to the economy," emphasizes Ann Zill of Stewart R. Mott Associates. "Fear of unemployment and an unstable economy have contributed to a spreading psychology of fear."

Reed said it is difficult to gauge the level of foundation support in the activism over nuclear weapons and arms control area. However, she learned that the Field Foundation in 1982 spent \$416,000 on military, peace and defense issues, nearly 20 percent of its annual \$2.5 million budget.

The Rockefeller Family Fund, she said, will make \$350,000 worth of grants in the area of nuclear arms control, or about 25 percent of its \$1.4 million budget.

She said the Rockefeller Family Fund made its first grant, \$20,000 to Physicians for Social Responsibility in 1979. In 1980, the fund gave \$33,000 for the executive director's salary.

"PSR took root and flowered," she said. "Last year it reported 100 local chapters, 16,000 members, 30,000 supporters and an annual budget of \$500,000. Moreover, its 'establishment' credentials undoubtedly created a credibility that sped the growth of concern over the issue."

The Rockefeller Family Fund grant went to a group called "Ground Zero," founded by former National Security Council member Roger Molander. Its \$25,000 funded planning of "Ground Zero Week," a program of educational programs about nuclear arms, she said.

She called it a "major building block toward events tied six weeks later to the U.N. Second Special Session on Disarmament when an estimated 700,000 people — the largest peace demonstration in U.S. history — came from all over the world to march in New York City."

She reported foundation funds going to national educational organizations such as SANE, Freeze, Ground Zero, Lawyers Alliance for

Nuclear Arms Control, Union of Concerned Scientists, and Citizens Against Nuclear War. Funders are giving to specific research organizations, such as Princeton University Center for Energy, and to grass-roots groups.

"The surge of interest that has taken hold among funders has been more than duplicated at the grass-roots level as well," she wrote. "One of the most successful, ... Peace Links, was founded a year ago by Betty Bumpers, wife of Sen. Dale Bumpers of Arkansas. Its purpose: to involve women's groups — Junior Leagues, garden clubs, PTAs — in the nuclear arms control movement.

"When Bumpers decided to stage a Peace Day in Arkansas, she approached the Arkansas-based Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation for funding.

Group Delighted

"We were delighted," says Tom McCrea, director of the foundation. "We've been interested in the issue for quite a while, but no one ever approached us. ..."

"Peace Links was granted an initial \$1,000 for communications, then \$50,000 for an office from which to coordinate Peace Day. Peace Links has expanded to seven states and plans to be in all 50 by the end of 1983," Miss Reed said.

(Peace Links is holding a luncheon in Pittsburgh at noon Friday in Heinz Hall. A film, "The Last Epidemic," will be shown at 11 a.m.

(An invitation states: "Peace Links invites you to a luncheon with Teresa Heinz (wife of the senior Pennsylvania Sen. John Heinz) and Betty Bumpers (wife of the Arkansas senator). ..."

("Teresa Heinz ... and Betty Bumpers are women who care enough about the threat of nuclear war to devote their energies to organizing Peace Links."

(The brochure says "Peace Links" only stand is preventing

nuclear war. It does NOT offer specific solutions on how to prevent nuclear war ... but empowers women to have a voice and to take actions they are comfortable with in helping find ways to lessen the threat of nuclear war.")

Reed reported that many foundations are caught up in the current movement, but Enid C.B. Schoettle, program officer in charge of the International Affairs Program of the Ford Foundation said large foundations like Ford and Rock-

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efeller have been funding areas of international security and arms control since the early 1950s.

"The two areas have been a major focus of Ford's International Affairs program since 1973, involving a total outlay of \$30 million over that period," Miss Reed said.

Schoettle said Ford supports a wide range in the "middle" to enrich public debate.

Reed said grantors "take a position" in the act of deciding what to fund.

"And in the arms control arena, indeed, major organizations such as The Heritage Foundation and the Scaife Family Trusts have long since carved out equally strong positions on the other side of the nuclear weapons and arms control issue," she said.

Reed, concluding her article, noted: "So even though *The New York Times* reported that 'anti-nuclear' groups were able to raise 'only' \$20 million last year the amount is impressive in two respects: that none came from government or corporations, and that it has spawned what may well amount to a broad-based political movement."

Miss Reed, a former staff writer for *Saturday Review*, is now a freelance writer.

Reds Woo Some U.S. Peace Leaders

Edward O'Malley, assistant director of the FBI's Intelligence Division, testified on July 14, 1982, before the House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence in Washington, presenting an overview of Soviet "active measures" in the U.S. relating to forgeries, disinformation and "black propaganda."

Among the exhibits O'Malley presented were documents relating to the World Peace Council bureau meeting for International Dialogue for the Disarmament and Detente held in Washington in January 1978; documents relating to the U.S. Peace Council's second national conference in New York in November of 1981, and material relating to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

O'Malley stated: "The Soviets use the KGB (the Soviet intelligence agency responsible for the implementation of most covert active measures operations) to clandestinely transfer funds to the Communist Party of the United States.

"The basic aims of Soviet active measures, of course, are to weaken opponents of the U.S.S.R. and to create a favorable environment for the promotion of Soviet views and Soviet foreign policy objectives. As you know, the Soviets describe the U.S. as the main enemy."

O'Malley explained one of Russia's "more sophisticated ways... is to seize upon issues that people

may sincerely believe in, such as peace and disarmament. The Soviets hope to influence individuals either wittingly or unwittingly, to support Soviet views on these issues."

O'Malley testified that the Soviets make "liberal use of non-ruling Communist parties and international front organizations."

He said that the Communist Party of the U.S. (CPUSA) is one of the most loyal and pro-Soviet parties helping to promote Soviet policies abroad.

"The Soviets have used the CPUSA to mount campaigns against the neutron bomb, NATO theater nuclear force modernization, and administration of defense policies. Furthermore, the Soviets have requested the CPUSA to reinforce and mobilize the peace movement in the U.S.," O'Malley said.

O'Malley said the CPUSA "has initiated letter-writing campaigns, sponsored and participated in demonstrations and rallies, formed coalitions with other organizations, and sponsored seminars and workshops to promote Soviet views on arms... matters to spur the American peace movement."

He said that foremost among "front or affiliated organizations working to implement Soviet active measures" is the U.S. Peace Council, an affiliate of the World Peace Council.

O'Malley described the World

Peace Council as the largest and most active Soviet front organization with affiliates in 135 countries.

"The World Peace Council has placed the highest priority on the peace movement, and a program of action for 1982 calls for a worldwide campaign against the danger of nuclear war, and is clearly directed at U.S. defense and arms control policies," O'Malley warned.

"World Peace Council activities in the U.S. have been coordinated in the past by the CPUSA. In 1979, however, the CPUSA assigned two of its longtime members to establish a U.S. chapter of the World Peace Council," he testified.

"At its founding convention in November 1979, the U.S. Peace Council was formed as a U.S. World Peace Council affiliate. The key leadership positions in the U.S. Peace Council were given to CPUSA members," O'Malley claimed.

He said the World Peace Council has taken "a direct hand in organizing and mobilizing the American peace movement. Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council, and other officials of the organization, have headed delegations that have come to the U.S. in connection with the peace movement."

O'Malley said the Soviet's political influence measures are difficult to trace because they often "fall in the gray area between the

non-first use of nuclear weapons. "Their call for action at the SSOD II was accompanied by a pointed notice that they intended to join forces and converge on New York City for a mass rally on June 12 in conjunction with SSOD II."

He said the Soviets were involved in the June 12 rally through CPUSA and its fronts. On June 12, the disarmament rally was attended by over 500,000 and was one of the largest demonstrations of its kind in the U.S.

O'Malley said the World Peace Council was "deeply engaged" in preparation for SSOD II, and the U.S. Peace Council was also directly involved in the June 12 demonstration. He said the latter group was a member of the June 12 coalition which was responsible "for actually coordinating and planning the rally. The USPC reportedly attempted to channel the theme of protest away from the Soviet Union and against the U.S.," O'Malley said.

The U.S. Peace Council, listed at 7 E. 15th St., New York City, in a March 1981 letter asked for support for its newly formed Peace Education Fund Inc., a tax-exempt organization.

The U.S. Peace Council listed as one of its campaigns — "massive education and mobilization of public opinion to support arms negotiations with the Soviet Union, to defeat the Pentagon's escalation of the arms race with new weapons systems...."

"Peace organizations were urging concrete accomplishments from SSOD II, in particular, a U.S.-Soviet freeze on nuclear weapons, a comprehensive nuclear test ban, and a pledge of

Rockefeller 'Recipients'

These are the organizations involved with arms control that are receiving grants from the Rockefeller Family Fund Inc.:

Film Arts Foundation, San Francisco; \$20,000 on Feb. 19, 1982; Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control Inc. of Boston; \$15,000 on Feb. 19, 1982; Federation of American Scientists Fund, Washington, D.C.; \$24,000 on April 16, 1982; Peace Corps Institute; \$10,000 on April 16, 1982; Student Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War; \$15,000 on April 16, 1982.

Arms Control Association of Washington; \$15,000 on June 18, 1982; Center for Law in The Public Interest, Los Angeles; \$25,000 on June 19, 1982; Ground Zero Fund Inc.; \$25,000 on June 18, 1982; Communicators for Nuclear Disarmament of Boston; \$10,000 on Sept. 24, 1982; Global Tomorrow Coalition Inc. of Washington; \$25,000 on Sept. 24, 1982.

Harvard University of Cambridge, Mass.; \$19,000 on Sept. 24, 1982; Natural Resources Defense Council Inc. of New York City; \$20,000 on Sept. 24, 1982; American Committee on East-West Accord; Washington; \$15,000 on Oct. 29, 1982; The Forum Institute, Washington; \$1,200 on Oct. 29, 1982.

Center for Education on Nuclear War, Washington; \$20,000 on Dec. 17, 1982; International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War Inc., Boston; \$25,000 on Dec. 17, 1982; International Society of Political Psychology, Williamstown, Mass.; \$10,000 on Dec. 17, 1982; American Civil Liberties Union Foundation Inc., Washington, D.C.; \$15,000 on Feb. 14, 1983.

Business Executives for National Security Education Fund Inc., Washington; \$5,000 on Feb. 14, 1983; The Forum Institute, Washington; \$10,000 on Feb. 14, 1983; and Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control Inc., Boston; \$15,000 on Feb. 14, 1983.

The Rockefeller Family Fund indicated its grant to the Film Arts Foundation is towards costs of a film, "No Place to Hide: The Physicians' Movement Against Nuclear War." The film was to include an interview with Dr. Eugene Chazov, physician for the late Soviet Chairman Brezhnev.

Its \$10,000 to Peace Corps Institute went for "general support of the Institute's Peace Links International Project," the one with which Mrs. Teresa Heinz and Mrs. Betty Bumpers, both wives of U.S. senators, are associated with.

Here's 'Peace Issues' Guest List

These are the individuals and foundations that were invited to attend the July 7, 1982, meeting of leaders concerned with Nuclear Arms Control and Peace Issues, held at the United Nations Plaza.

Ruth Adams, MacArthur Foundation; Robert L. Allen, Henry P. Kendall Foundation; Anne Bartley and Jack Ciric, Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation; June Bingham, Bronx, N.Y.; Brenda Brimmer, Ploughshares Fund; Arthur Macy Box, Washington; Frederick Crossland, Alton Jones Foundation;

Gloria Duffy and Sally Lilienthal, Ploughshares Fund; Jane Lee Eddy, Taconic Foundation Inc.; Dr. Helen Edey, Scherman Foundation Inc.; Marion Edey, Washington;

David Fenton and Richard Pollack, David Fenton Communications; Ping and Carol Ferry, Scarsdale, N.Y.; David F. Freeman, Scherman Foundation Inc.;

Scott McVay, Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation; Monica Melamid, Joint Foundation Support; Dr. Roger Molander, Ground Zero; Stewart R. Mott, New York City; John Mroz and Michael Neiditch, Institute for East-West Security Studies; Mrs. Hilary Palmer, Rockefeller Brothers Fund; Jeffrey Pryear, Ford Foundation; David Ramage, New World Foundation;

Marcus Raskin, Institute for Policy Studies; Tricia Ruhacky, Youth Project; Madeleine H. Russel, Columbia Foundation; Erwin A. Salk, Salk, Ward, & Walk; Dr. Marshall D. Shulman, Russian Institute, Columbia University;

Wendy Schartz, A.J. Muste Memorial Foundation; Robert W. Scrivner, Rockefeller Family Fund; Sidney Shapiro, Max and Anna Levinson Foundation; Susan C. Silk, Columbia Foundation; Hildy Simmons, Norman Foundation

Inc.; Peace Development Fund;

Jarobin Gilbert Jr., NBC TV; Wade Greene, Rockefeller Family Associates, Colin Greer, New World Foundation; Steven Haft, Bydale Foundation; Jay Harris, Silver Spring, Md.; Frances Hart, Columbia, S.C.; James Hickman, Esalen Institute; Louis Harris, Louis Harris & Associates; David R. Hunter, Stern Fund;

James Kettler, Ruth Mott Fund; Geraldine S. Kunstadter, Albert Kunstadter Family Foundation; Edward A. Lawrance, Veatch Program, North Shore Unitarian Society; Jane Lawrence, Grantmaking International; Estelle Linzer, Johnson Foundation; Prof. John Mach, Harvard Medical School;

Joshua Mailman, New York City; Carl Marcy and Jeanne Vaughn Mattison, American Committee on East-West Accord; David Rockefeller, New York City; Rob Stein, Field Foundation; Dr. John Stremmlau, Rockefeller Foundation; Betsy Taylor, Nuclear Information and Resource Service; Leslie Van Derzee, David Rockefeller's Office;

Cora Weiss, Samuel Rubin Foundation Inc.; Stanley Weiss, Washington; Harold Williams, Los Angeles; Dorian Yates, New York City; Anne Zill, Stuart R. Mott & Associates; John Steiner, Oakland, Cal., and Leo Harris, Cleveland, Ohio.

Carl Marcy of the American Committee on East-West Accord is also on the board of the Center for International Policy (CIP), a spinoff of the radical left-wing think tank, IPS. The co-chairman of the American Committee is Seymore Melman who co-chairs SANE and who has worked with the World Peace Council (WPC) and the Communist Party, USA

(CPUSA) in organizing speaking engagements at various conferences.

Fund for Peace also works with the World Peace Council. The IPS spinoff — Center for International Policy (CIP) — operates under the tax-exempt umbrella of the Fund for Peace. Fund for Peace's principal backer is Stewart Mott. Mott works with CIP, WPC, the Marxist Women's Strike for Peace, and other groups.

A Youth Project was formerly headed by Marge Tabankin, who visited Hanoi in 1972 to support the efforts of the North Vietnamese. She was elected to the ruling council of the Soviet-organized World Peace Assembly, and was director of VISTA under President Carter.

Cora Weiss works with the Samuel Rubin Foundation and is director of the radical Riverside Church Disarmament Program which works with Soviet Embassy Counselor Yuri Kapralov to promote the Soviet view of the arms race. She formerly was with the Marxist Women's Strike for Peace and the U.S. Communist Party-controlled People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Her husband, Peter Weiss, is on the board of IPS.

The Rubin Foundation was founded by Samuel Rubin who worked with Communist sympathizers during World War II to smuggle rare varieties of perfume out of Spain, enabling him to become a millionaire with his Faberge business. He sold the firm and now works with Breira Inc., a Jewish organization which opposes the existence of Israel. His daughter is Cora Weiss.

The Stern Fund supports IPS, the radical National Lawyers Guild, Campaign to Stop Government Spying, and others. Stern is an IPS trustee.

Ann Zill worked for Ralph Nader groups such as Congress Watch and Fund for a Constitutional Government.