

FOUNDATIONS BANKING

Anti-Nuclear Causes

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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 beliefs 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 middle of last December, almost no one knew these

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 Schwier, director of the Rockefeller Family Fund, and Wade Green, an adviser to the Rockefeller Family Associates."

Ferry was a supporter of the Complete Data Exchange Inc., an 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 anti-Communist pro-



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 Field's 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.