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NUCLEAR FREEZE LOBBY SCANDAL

A Project by the Counter Freeze Committee
in cooperation with the Global Peace Foundation
and J.S. Bell and Associates

Leonard Holihan
Former Founder, Director
Coalition for Peace Through Security
now, Global Peace Foundation
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1237 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
Telephone: 202/546-7577

James S. Bell, Jr.
Former Director
Gallup Religion Poll
and Consultant with
Institute for Applied
Economics
30 Pierson Drive
Belle Mead, NJ
Telephone: 201/874-5732



March 21, 1983

Mr. Leonard Holihan
c/o Jim Bell
30 Piersen Drive
Belle Meade, NJ 08502

Dear Leonard:

Just a note to congratulate you on, and thank you, for the major role you played in stopping the Nuclear Freeze movement in its tracks last week in the U.S. House of Representatives.

As you know, I was not one of those who believed that it could be done even with the powerful information you had developed about this group.

I was wrong, and while there is no doubt that the information had a significant impact, I failed totally to take into consideration your commitment and your willingness to take on an almost impossible workload to achieve the goal.

As we both know, the fight is not over, but with your support and adequate support for you, there is sure far more reason for optimism now than there was just a few days ago.

Sincerely,



Eddie Mahe, Jr.

"P.S. You may use this as a quote for the media:

'I have no reason not to believe that when Tip O'Neill said he had a fifty-vote margin, he knew what he was talking about. Since the only group that seemed to move hard against the Pro-Freeze cabal was Leonard Holihan and the Counter Freeze Committee, he must have made the difference'."

MAUPIN, TAYLOR & ELLIS, P. A.

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

ARMISTEAD J. MAUPIN
WILLIAM W. TAYLOR, JR.
THOMAS F. ELLIS
CHARLES B. NEELY, JR.
THOMAS W. H. ALEXANDER
ROBERT A. VALOIS
JOHN T. WILLIAMSON
FRANK P. WARD, JR.
ALBERT R. BELL, JR.
RICHARD M. LEWIS
CHARLES B. ROBSON, JR.
DAVID V. BROOKS
NANCY S. RENDLEMAN
MARGIE TOY CASE
M. KEITH KAPP
MARK S. THOMAS
HOLMES P. HARDEN
JAMES A. ROBERTS, III

March 4, 1983

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SUITE 200
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336 FAYETTEVILLE STREET MALL

Mr. Leonard Holihan
c/o The Conservative Caucus
450 Maple Avenue, East
Vienna, Virginia 22180

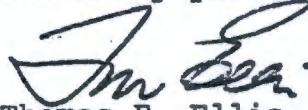
Dear Leonard:

Just a note to express the appreciation for all concerned North Carolinians to you for the great service you rendered in directing our Anti-Nuclear Freeze Forces. If it had not been for your and Andy Messing's timely visit to Senator Hardison, the Freeze Forces would have had a field day. As it is, they are fighting a tough battle and it is not over yet.

It is reassuring to know that there are people like you overseas who recognize the Communist scheme to disarm the West and are willing to try to do something about it.

With assurance of my high regard, I am

Sincerely yours,


Thomas F. Ellis

TFE/sm

PURPOSE

Because of the vacuum in conservative circles of political activism and the effectiveness of the other side, we have pioneered a lot of the specialized aspects of our political consultancy service with its three integrated points of research, education and action for our overall strategy.

Research includes close investigation of the other side, public opinion polling, monitoring media coverage, and a good working liaison with other "think tanks," government agencies, elected officials, other political consultants, youth groups, activists, etc. We also do a thorough investigation of the socio-political, economic and religious background of the issues and organizations involved on both sides of the political spectrum. We are internationally based in New York, Washington and London with associates in Amsterdam and other European cities.

We are available for consultative work on a national, state, or local level as required. We have long term projects and contingency plans for changing political situations, and specialize in creative solutions for special political problems that need immediate attention on a wide range of issues, from "street theater" to strategic studies.

THEORY

The particular political strategy for fighting the nuclear freeze was to get beyond the issue and arguments, both pro and con, for defending deterrence. We targeted instead what is the actual priority of the freeze movement itself -- legislation of the freeze.

We observe the sequence of steps that the Freeze is taking, and how they are put in motion, and look for the best opportunity to strike effectively when and where they least expect it. Because if you don't know where the Freeze is going, you can't "head it off at the pass" where it must pass through vulnerable choke points. Our strategy reaches to the heart of their strategy before it manifests into public support and sympathetic media coverage.

In this way we target their leadership in the sense of fighting the generals first rather than the full scale army. If the generals stay in their tents, the army doesn't move. We thus "piggyback" the Freeze strategy. Because in a political tail chase of "too little too late" with scarce resources, it's

more difficult to catch up directly in their wake. But one can go around them, and then ride their own bow wave, just as porpoises do; always ahead, heading them off, and stealing back the 'show.' Thus, we reframe the issue.

PRACTICE

The practice of this strategy requires comprehensive information gathering concerning the plans, personnel and problems of the other side. We specifically are looking out for references to more confidential material that can then be legally pursued in the appropriate manner. Also, we probe for any illegal activities or weak spots that may embarrass them and show the shallowness or falsehood of their ideas.

Then we analyze these materials and package them in a form that can emphasize the points we wish to share with the media, government officials, etc. Then we make sure there is a thorough follow-up to stress the significance of both the information itself, what can be done with it, and our original strategy of promoting our own conservative causes. We are often able to complete this entire cycle of strategy and show results without the other side realizing what has fully happened to them, or else they wind up blaming themselves internally for these problems. Ideally then, as in good billiards, we set them up exposed for the next shot and are able to continue with the next step in our longer range work.

NUCLEAR FREEZE LOBBY SCANDAL

We perceived the potential nuclear freeze lobby problem last fall as their weak link and began gathering information. This culminated in the finding of actual internal documents which conclusively proved illegal and covert lobbying of Congress. This powerful material and covering letter was delivered to every Congressman and Senator purposefully just three days before the Nuclear Freeze vote as an 11th hour effort. This was followed up with intensive phone calling to the so-called "swing vote" telling them of the other side's legislative hit list targeted against them, and the ensuing Freeze Lobby Scandal or "Lobby Gate" about to break. We also said that the media may be calling them for a reaction to see if they've been improperly influenced.

We also rang the media, as well as meeting personally with them, to make sure they understood the significance of the scandal, and asked them to phone Congressmen.

Our conservative colleagues were contacted to help activate their efforts against the Freeze. We spoke with a number of sympathetic Congressmen and Senators to encourage either a press conference, or other private ways of using the scandal rumors effectively in the overall counter-freeze strategy.

Out of courtesy, we also rang and left messages for leaders of the Monday Group (the secret lobbying group). This apparently created consternation within their ranks with each one accusing others of being the leak instead of nailing down the vote. We have since followed-up on our program to use the materials again when the vote comes up in the Senate. This is because the whole point of the project is to demonstrate that the Freeze doesn't have the real grassroots support they claim to have, and can be beaten by proper planning and perseverance.

Consequently, their massive lobbying machine stumbled over the truth, and was not effective over the next few critical days. News of this reinforced some of the "swing vote's" perception of scandal and indecision, while it helped to rally the conservative cause and convince them that all was not lost.

PAST PROJECTS

- o Setting up the main counter-organizations (Coalition for Peace Through Security) to fight the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in Great Britain. The work of the organization has been endorsed by Mrs. Thatcher; Peter Blaker, the Minister of State for Armed Forces; Alistair McAlpine, Treasurer of the Conservative Party; and Derek Howe, Political Secretary, #10 Downing Street.
- o Coordinating with government and other conservative organizations to counter unilateralism. The Coalition warned of the coming of the Freeze movement to America with the CND-led Euro-Peace Tour to 37 U.S. cities, and arranged countering activities in 27 of those cities, leading the fight ever since.

Some successful activities included:

- o Flying airplanes (or balloons) with banners over their marches, pop festivals, and demonstrations against American bases. Such slogans include "KGB loves CND,"

"CND's April Fools From the Kremlin," "Help the Soviets -- Support CND," "Welcome President Reagan," "NATO Keeps the Peace." We have always gotten good media coverage to re-frame the issue from our perspective.

- o Production of serious monographs as well as of spoof pamphlets, posters, and agendas which resemble their originals but contain our message instead. This infuriates the Left who has no sense of humor.
- o Actively countering their marches and defusing demonstrations with other media-attracting events such as "Catholics Against the Freeze" rally.
- o Special petitions, rallies and PR in support of President Reagan's arms control policies and the image of the United States, and NATO.
- o Packing the other side's meetings with our people who can ask the right questions. Alerting local media to the true facts when they are on a speaking tour, and directly confronting them in public debates, T.V., etc.
- o Keeping a running dialogue in letters to editors in various newspapers. Passing on useful information to both governments (United States and United Kingdom) and the conservative movement overall.

URGENT



PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY
PRESIDENT
68 FAIRMOUNT
ALTON, ILLINOIS 62002
(618) 462-5415

EAGLE FORUM

LEADING THE PRO-FAMILY MOVEMENT SINCE 1972

316 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., S.E., SUITE 203, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003. (202) 544-0353

March 10, 1983

Dear Senator,

I was shocked to discover that you personally are on a "lobbying assignment" hit list prepared by a special-interest group trying to masquerade as a spontaneous grassroots movement. This political machine is hoping that visits to your office can create the illusion that they represent the majority of your constituents back home.

This campaign of manipulation is directed by a secretive, highly-coordinated nucleus of nuclear-freeze/anti-defense groups known as the "Monday Group." It meets every Monday at Mott House, 122 Maryland Ave., N.E. Of the 18 Monday Group organizations represented on the Lobbying List, one-half are either 501 (c)(3) tax-exempt organizations (which are supposed to be non-political and non-lobbying), or they have a convenient in-house (c)(3) organization which uses the same equipment and people and has the same purposes.

In addition, at least four of these organizations involved in this political-advocacy campaign have received substantial funding from federal taxes, and four others received some federal benefits. They share the same Maryland Avenue address in Washington, D.C.

Other interesting members of the Monday strategy group include Gene LaRocque's Center for Defense Information, the Women's Strike for Peace, and a legislative assistant from the office of Congressman Markey who is sponsoring a freeze bill.

The enclosed materials show how you have been identified on this secret Lobbying List, and which groups are targeting you personally. The enclosed information also includes the overall "lobby strategy," the "time line" up to now, the integrated anti-defense "organizational priorities," the on-going political agenda, and how you are classified on their "Senate Lobbying List" for the freeze resolution.

I urge you to inspect this authentic information on the upcoming resolution, which has been leaked by someone who participated in the Group and is privately disenchanted. Whether you are for or against the idea of a U.S. freeze, their tactics reveal the freeze lobbyists as part of a well-oiled, professionally-orchestrated effort, rather than a movement supported by the American people.

The Congress has the awesome responsibility to fulfill its constitutional duty to provide for the common defense. We pray that the members of Congress will not be deceived into thinking that a professionally-manipulated lobbying campaign represents the majority of Americans. We believe that the overwhelming majority of the American people are not represented by the freeze lobbyists.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Phyllis Schlafly". The signature is written in dark ink and is somewhat stylized.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE CAMPAIGN

305 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-0880
Reuben McCornack
Washington Representative

National Clearinghouse
4144 Lindell Boulevard, Suite 404
St. Louis, MO 63108
(314) 533-1169

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Freeze Resolution Lobbying Strategy ✓ Discussion Points

1. Legislation
 - a. House
 - H.J. Res. 2 (Markey-Conte)
 - H.J. Res. 4 (Broomfield)
 - H.J. Res. 13 (Zablocki)
 - b. Senate
 - S.J. Res. 2 (Kennedy-Hatfield)
 - S.J. Res. (Warner-Jackson)

2. House Mark-up
 - a. Objective: Incorporation of H.J. Res. 2 Language into the committee resolution without limitations or qualifications.
 - b. Issues: Eurostrategic weapons, immediate freeze

3. Timeline
 - a. 17 Feb - Hearings by House Foreign Affairs Committee ^{AM} / ^{PM} _{AM} / _{PM}
 - b. 22-24 Feb - National call-in to ask members to co-sponsor, or if a co-sponsor, to lobby the Foreign Affairs Committee
 - c. 2 March - Hearing for House members, mark-up
 - d. 7,8 March - Citizens Lobby; national call-in to support the Foreign Affairs Committee Freeze Resolution
 - e. 9 March ? - House vote

4. Tasks for national organizations - time line
 - a. Enlist co-sponsors now
 - b. Publicize the ~~vote~~ ^{strategy} in newsletters, etc. now
 - c. Share local ~~national~~ contacts 26 Jan
 - d. Promote participation in the Citizens Lobby now
 - e. Urge co-sponsors to call on the House Foreign Affairs Committee to adopt H.J. Res. 2 21 Feb to Mar
 - f. Send a letter to all Representatives supporting Foreign Affairs Committee Freeze Resolution by Mar 3
 - g. Activate local networks
 - h. Lobby Representatives

5. Tasks for local organizations
 - a. Publicize Citizens Lobby now
 - b. Organize phone trees now
 - c. Coordinate with other networks 1 Feb
 - d. Get proxies and money now
 - e. Letter-writing parties, collect money now

(over)

THE

- f. Call in for sponsors of H.J. Res. 2 or ask sponsors to lobby the committee
- g. Citizens Lobby
- h. Call in for lobbying the Foreign Affairs Committee Resolution

22-24 Feb
7-8 Mar

8 Mar

ARMS CONTROL TIMETABLE

Date	Resolution/Action
Early March.....	<p>Nuclear Weapons Freeze Resolution The House Foreign Affairs Committee is scheduled to hold hearings the freeze beginning February 10, with mark-up set for March 2. House floor vote could occur soon after, with action following the Senate.</p>
After March 1....	<p>MX Approval Resolution The President's recommendation on MX basing is expected sometime after March 1, 1983. Resolutions approving that recommendation will be introduced in both House and Senate and referred to respective Appropriations Committees. The resolutions must be reported out of Committee within 45 days, after which floor vote must occur.</p>
March/April.....	<p>Comprehensive Test Ban Resolutions. Resolutions calling for renewed negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty have been introduced in both houses of Congress, will probably be the subjects of hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.</p>
March/April.....	<p>First Concurrent Budget Resolution The House and Senate Budget Committees will begin hearings on Budget Resolution early in the Session. Funding levels for continuation of the Administration's five-year defense modernization plan will be included in the resolution.</p>
Spring/Summer....	<p>FY84 Defense Authorization/Energy Authorization Acts. Authorization for the proposed strategic weapons build-up will be considered as part of the DOD authorization bill. Included will be such programs as the MX missile, B-1B strategic bomber, air-, sea- and ground-launched cruise missiles, chemical weapons, Pershing missiles and the Trident II SLBM. Authorization for warhead research, development, and production for these weapons will be considered in the Department of Energy National Security Program Authorization Act.</p>
Summer/Fall.....	<p>FY84 Defense Appropriation/Energy Appropriation Acts. The actual appropriation of funds for new strategic weapons will be included in the DOD and DOE Appropriations bills.</p>

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"LOBBYING ASSIGNMENTS"

ORGANIZATIONS:

ABC American Baptist Church
ADA Americans for Democratic Action
CNFMP Coalition New For/Mil Policy
CC Common Cause
Council for a Livable World
JI John Isaacs
KM Katherine Magraw
FC Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
FF Nuclear Freeze Foundation
FOE Friends of the Earth
FCNL Friends Committee on National Legislation
GP Green Peace
NASW National Assn Social Workers
NET NETWORK
MX National Ctee on National Legislation
GP Green Peace
NASW National Assn Social Workers
NET NETWORK
MX National Campaign to Stop the MX
PSR Physicians Social Responsibility
SANE SANE
UCS Union of Concerned Scientists
UUA Unitarian Universalist Assn
UCC United Church of Christ
WILPF Womens Intl League Peace Freedom

Membership on key committees is noted with:

AS=Armed Services
Ap=Appropriations
Bu=Budget
FA=Foreign Affairs (House)
FR=Foreign Relations (Senate)

- ◄ = Chair of a key Committee or Subcommittee.
- = A Member who missed a substantial number of votes, and who has a high rating those missed votes are not included in the calculations.
- ⓪ = A Member who is not assigned to any lobbyist.

Democrats are in lower case letters.
Republicans are in UPPER CASE letters.

ORGANIZATIONAL PRIORITIES

ISSUE	ORGANIZATIONS
NUCLEAR FREEZE	CC (1), PSR (1), SANE (3), NASW (2), WILPF (3), UCS
MX	CC (1), SANE (1), MX (1), NASW (4)
FIRST STRIKE WEAPONS	NETWORK (1), PSR (3), SANE (2)
MILITARY SPENDING	SANE (4), NASW (1), WILPF (2)
PERSHING II	NASW (3), WILPF (1A)
CTB	NETWORK (3), PSR (2)
ABM	UCS (2)
GLCM	WILPF (1B)
NO FIRST USE	UCS (1)
MICA WEAPONS	NETWORK (2)

PRIORITY I-A
SWING MEMBERS



ARIZONA
2 Udall

FOE, UCS

ARKANSAS

1 Alexander
4 Anthony

Ap
Bu

SANE
SANE

CALIFORNIA

3 Matsui
4 Fazio
11 Lantos
13 Mineta
15 Coelho
16 Panetta
23 Beilenson
29 Hawkins
30 Martinez
31 Dymally
32 Anderson
36 Brown, G.
38 Patterson

Ap
FA
Bu

Bu

FC, GP
ADA, FC, UCC, WILPF
ADA, FC, UCS, GP
EM, FC
FC, WILPF, JI
FC, GP
FC, SANE
FC, FOE
FC, KM
FC
FC
FC, FOE, GP, KM
FC, UCC

COLORADO

5 Brown, H.

MX

FLORIDA

7 Gibbons
9 Fascell
14 Mica
18 Pepper

FA+
FA

GP
ADA, GP, UCS, KM
ADA, GP, UCS
GP

GEORGIA

4 FOWLER

FCNL, NASW

HAWAII

1 HEFTEL
2 AKAKA

Ap

FF, GP, UCC
ADA, GP, NASW

ILLINOIS

8 Rostenkowski
10 PORTER
11 Annunzio
16 MARTIN, L.
22 Simon

Ap

Bu
Bu

CNFMP
CNFMP, NASW, UCC
CNFMP, EM
CNFMP, NASW
JI, FF

INDIANA

2 Sharp
4 COATS
9 Hamilton

FA+

FCNL
JI
ADA, UCS

IOWA

3 EVANS, C.

CNFMP, SANE, UCC

KANSAS

1 ROBERTS, P.
4 Glickman
5 WHITTAKER

FC
FC, UCS, FCNL
FC

2 Hatcher
3 Mazzoli
6 HOKKINS
7 Perkins

Ap

ADA, NET, SANE
KM, EM
NET
e

LOUISIANA

2 Boggs

Ap

ADA, NASW

MAINE

2 SHOWE

FA

ADA, CNFMP, UCC, UCS

MARYLAND

2 Long, C.
5 Hoyer
8 Barnes

Ap

FA+

SANE
FCNL, NET
ADA, JI, WILPF

MICHIGAN

10 Albosta
14 Hertel
16 Dingell

AS

CNFMP, GP
ADA, GP, WILPF
FF

MINNESOTA

2 WEBER
3 FRENZEL

Bu

FOE, UCC
FOE, SANE

MISSOURI

2 Young
3 Gephardt
9 Volkmer
8 EMERSON

Bu

e
NET, WILPF
SANE
e

NEBRASKA

1 BEREUTER
2 DAUB
3 SMITH, V.

Ap

UCC
UCC
ADA, MX, UCC

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1 DAMOURS
2 GREGG

FF, GP, KM, UCC
ABC, KM, UCC

NEW JERSEY

2 Hughes
4 SMITH, C.
5 ROUKEMA
6 Dwyer
7 RINALDO
8 Roe
14 Guarini

Ap

GP
KM
FOE, JI, NET
ADA
EM
SANE
EM, NET

NEW YORK

9 Ferraro
14 MOLINARI
19 Biaggi
29 HORTON

EM, FF
e
e
ABC, CNFMP

NORTH CAROLINA

1 Jones, W.
7 Rose

e
FCNL

OHIO

1 Luken

CNFMP, NET

1 Eckert FA ADA,FOE,UCS
 15 WYLIE @
 17 WILLIAMS, L. @
 18 Applegate CNFMP
 20 Oakar WII.PF

OKLAHOMA
 1 Jones, J. Bu+ @
 2 Synar @
 3 Watkins @

PENNSYLVANIA
 6 Yatron FA ADA,FC
 13 COUGHLIN Ap CNFMP,FC,FOE,NET
 15 RITTER FC,UCC
 19 GOODLING FA ADA,FC
 20 Gaydos ABC,FC
 22 Murphy FC
 23 CLINGER CNFMP,FC

RHODE ISLAND
 1 St Germain NET

SOUTH CAROLINA
 3 Derrick FF,FOE,GP

SOUTH DAKOTA
 A Daschle FCNL,FOE,GP,JI

TENNESSEE
 6 Gore FOE,UCS

TEXAS
 9 Brooks CNFMP
 10 Pickle CNFMP
 20 Gonzalez NET
 22 PAUL FCNL,KM
 24 Frost CNFMP,JI

WASHINGTON
 2 Swift GP
 3 Bonker FA+ ADA,FOE,GP,UCS
 5 Foley GP,NET,UCC
 6 Dicks Ap ADA,GP,NET,UCC

WEST VIRGINIA
 4 Rahall JI

WISCONSIN
 1 Aspin AS+,Bu ADA,NET,UCS
 3 GUNDERSON @
 4 Zablocki FA+ ADA,JI,KM,UCS
 6 PETRI @
 9 SENSENBRENNER @

(Other than Swing Members) 5

ALABAMA
 3 Nichols AS+ ADA
 4 Bevill Ap+ @

CALIFORNIA
 8 Dellums AS(+) FC,KM,NET,NASH

FLORIDA
 3 Bennett AS+ ADA,GP

ILLINOIS
 9 Yates Ap+ CNFMP,GP,NET
 21 Price AS+ ADA

MICHIGAN
 3 Wolpe FA+ ADA,CNFMP,FOE,KM

MISSISSIPPI
 1 Whitten AS+ ADA,UCC
 3 Montgomery AS(+) ADA

NEW YORK
 6 Addabbo Ap+ UCS
 7 Rosenthal FA+ ADA,GP,UCS
 13 Solarz Bu,FA+ ADA,GP,JI
 23 Stratton AS+ ADA

VIRGINIA
 5 Daniel, D. AS+ ADA

REMAINING MEMBERS OF KEY COMMITTEES

ALABAMA

1 EDWARDS Ap FCNL, UCS

ARIZONA

3 STUMP AS UCS
4 RUDD Ap UCS

ARKANSAS

2 BETHUNE Bu JI, SANE

CALIFORNIA

19 Lagomarsino FA ADA, EM, FC
21 FIEDLER Bu FC
25 Roybal Ap FC, UCC
28 Dixon Ap FC, UCC
35 LEWIS Ap FC, UCC

COLORADO

1 Schroeder AS FF, SANE, UCS
2 Wirth Bu FF, FOE, SANE, UCC

CONNECTICUT

2 Gejdenson FA ADA, JI, UCS
5 Ratchford Ap UCS

FLORIDA

4 Chappell Ap GP, UCC
8 YOUNG, C.W. AP GP, SANE
10 Ireland FA ADA, GP
11 Nelson Bu GP
17 Lehman, Wm Ap GP

ILLINOIS

4 OBrien Ap CNFMP, UCS

INDIANA

7 MYERS Ap

IOWA

1 LEACH FA ADA, JI, UCC, UCS
4 Smith, N. Ap ADA, CNFMP, UCC

KANSAS

3 WINN FA ADA, FC, UCS

LOUISIANA

1 LIVINGSTON Ap SANE, UCC

MARYLAND

1 Dyson AS ADA, SANE, UCS
6 Byron AS ADA, KM, SANE, UCS

MASSACHUSETTS

1 CORTE Ap FF, KM, UCC, UCS
2 Boland Ap FF, SANE, UCC
3 Early Ap FF, NET, UCC
6 Mavroules AS ADA, FF, JI, SANE
9 Donnelly Bu FF, GP, UCC
10 Studds FA ADA, FF

MICHIGAN

2 PURSELL Ap CNFMP, GP, NET, UCS
8 Traxler Ap ADA, CNFMP, GP
13 Crockett FA ADA, GP
18 BROOMFIELD FA ADA, UCS

MINNESOTA

5 Sabo Ap FCNL, UCC

NEW YORK

2 Downey Bu JI
15 Green Ap ADA, JI, NET
22 GILMAN FA ADA, SANE
28 McHugh Ap KM, SANE, UCC

NORTH CAROLINA

8 Hefner Ap, Bu ADA, UCC
9 MARTIN, J. Bu UCC

OHIO

5 LATTI Bu NET
10 MILLER, C. Ap UCS
14 Stokes Ap, Bu ADA, UCC
16 REGULA Ap, Bu UCC, UCS

OKLAHOMA

4 MCCURDY AS ADA
5 EDWARDS, M. Ap e

OREGON

1 AuCoin Ap GP, JI, UCC

PENNSYLVANIA

1 Foglietta FA ADA, FF, SANE, UCS
2 Gray Ap FF, SANE, UCC
9 SHUSTER Bu FF, UCC
10 MCDADE Ap FF, SANE, UCC
12 Murtha Ap ADA, FF, SANE

SOUTH CAROLINA

4 CAMPBELL Ap e

TEXAS

4 Hall, R. Ap e
11 Leath Ap e
12 Wright Bu e
13 Hightower Ap MX
21 LOEFFLER Ap e
23 Kazen AS ADA

VIRGINIA

2 WHITEHURST AS ADA, NET
7 ROBINSON Ap FCNL

WISCONSIN

7 Obey Ap, Bu ADA, FF, JI, UCC
8 ROTH, T. FA ADA, UCS

MONDAY LOBBYING GROUP

Code	Name	Organization	Telephone	Status
UUA	Robert Alpern	Unitarians Universalists	547-0254	
NET	Catherine Brusseau	Nuclear Network	526-4070	c (3)
	James T. Bush	Center for Defense Information	484-9490	c (3)
FF	Wally Chalmers	Nuclear Freeze Foundation	544-2596	c (3)
CNFMP	Steve Daggett	Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy	546-8400	c (3)
FF	Lucinda Ebersole	Nuclear Freeze Foundation	544-2596	c (3)
UCC	Gretchen Eick	United Church of Christ	543-1517	
GP	Eric M. Fersht	Greenpeace	462-1177	c (3)
	Anne Gorsuch	Federation for American Scientists	546-3300	
FC	Par Harmon	Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign	544-0880	
CC	Jay Hedlund	Common Cause	833-1200	
CLW(JI)	John Issacs	Council for Livable World (JI)	543-4100	
	Lucille Kenny	✓ Women Strike for Peace	543-2660	
	Arthur Klein	Center for Defense Information	484-9490	c (3)
SANE	Charlie Kraybill	SANE	546-7100	c (3)
FC	Reuben McCornack	Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign	544-0880	
CLW(KM)	Katherine Magraw	Council for a Liveable World (KM)	543-4100	
UCS	Charles Manafort	Union of Concerned Scientists	296-5600	
SANE	Michael Mawby	✓ SANE	546-7100	c (3)
WILPF	Jane Midgley	✓ Women's Int. League for Peace & Freedom	543-7110	
MX	April Moore	National Campaign to Stop the MX	546-2660	
	Karen Mulhauser	Citizens Against Nuclear War	822-7483	c (3) (applied)
	Christopher Paine	Federation for American Scientists	546-3300	
UCS	Joshua Sarnoff	Union of Concerned Scientists	296-5600	c (3)
PSR	Wendy Silverman	Physicians for Social Responsibility	547-7990	c (3)
FCN	Ed Snyder	Friends Committee on Nat. Legislation	547-6000	
ABC	Robert Tiller	American Baptist Church	544-3400	
	Edith Villastrego	Women's Strike for Peace	543-2660	
	Doug Waller	<u>Legislative Ast. to Congr. Markey</u>	225-2836	
ADA	Greg Weaver	Americans for Democratic Action	638-6447	
FOE	Steve Wheeler	Friends of the Earth	543-4312	c (3)

Soviet Role in Pro-Freeze Lobbying

Internal "Strategy" documents of the so-called nuclear freeze movement expose a well oiled and sophisticated lobbying campaign that involves prominent participation by an officially documented Soviet front organization.

The "Freeze Resolution Lobbying Strategy" prominently lists and assigns specific lobbying tasks to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

It is also listed, by the U.S. State Department, as among "well known international front groups" of the Soviet Union's Communist Party.

"In recent months," the State Department says, "the main thrust of such front activity has been to try to see that the peace movement in Western Europe and the United States is directed solely against U.S. policy and that it avoids and criticism of the Soviet nuclear threat."

The "Strategy" documents also reveal that the WILPF is given "lobbying assignments" for specific senators and representatives. Most prominent among them is Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio. Others include Rep. Bruce Morrison, D-Ct.; Sen. Lawton Chiles, D-Fla.; Rep. Mary Rose Oakar, D-Ohio; Rep. Richard Gephardt, D-Mo.; Rep. Vic Fazio, D-Calif.; and Rep. Dennis Hertel, D-Mich. The "Lobbying Strategy" also uses a code for rating how these and most other members of congress stood on the freeze resolution.

The Lobbying Strategy minutes repeatedly mention Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill. On Dec. 20, 1982, they recommended "notes of appreciation" to O'Neill, others and to staff. On the same date the minutes say, "Rubin stressed with Percy, Cranston, Pell and Kennedy the Freeze Campaign's judgement is that they need a Senate vote before the summer recess."

Overall the Lobbying Strategy discloses a well coordinated use of pressure politics to hit the offices on Capitol Hill with appeals from a variety of groups, each secretly assigned to certain congressmen so all salient ones will be covered appropriately.

Altogether there are 31 groups that meet at a "Monday Lobbying Group. It appears that groups in the Monday

Lobbying Group correspond to those assigned in the Freeze Resolution Lobbying Strategy.

Great stress is placed on "grass roots" efforts. For example "a national call-in to ask members of Congress to co-sponsor and if (already) a cosponsor, to lobby the Foreign Affairs Committee."

The Lobbying Strategy also calls for organizing "phone trees" a device where one calls for another person to make one or more calls each requesting that the next person extend the chain. Another suggestion is "letter writing parties." Activities are carefully targeted to times of likely congressional activity.



WASHINGTON INQUIRER

March 18, 1983

The utter futility of a nuclear freeze is aptly depicted in this "Ask an Afghan About Soviet Peace" poster displayed during an anti-freeze demonstration

Tax-funded groups lobbying for N-freeze

Times

By Glenn Emery
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

MARCH 21,

Legislators who have been wavering or undecided on the nuclear freeze issue have been targeted for intensive lobbying in recent weeks by a coalition of freeze organizations, some of which are tax-funded, according to documents obtained by The Washington Times.

Representatives of more than 30 freeze groups, known as the Monday Group, have been meeting each Monday at Mott House, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, since early January to discuss strategy, share information and make lobbying assignments.

A reporter for The Washington Times was brusquely asked to leave the Monday Group's business meeting on Feb. 22 after having been invited to attend by one of the participants.

Steve Daggett of the Coalition for a

New Foreign and Military Policy told the group he had no objection to press coverage of the meeting on the condition that it be off the record, but he was promptly overruled with cries of "no press."

Circulated at the meetings are updated lists of the congressmen and their rating, on a scale of 1 to 5, on the freeze resolution. Congressmen identified as being undecided on the issue, especially freshmen and those sitting on key committees, were given the greatest emphasis.

"Obviously, we have a co-sponsor list and we have a list of members we don't believe would be with us on any account on any arms control issue," Kathleen Sheekey of Common Cause told The Times. "And then we have those in the very important middle — the people we have identified as our swing list. That is the crowd upon whom we are concentrating the bulk of our efforts."

Sheekey denied that specific lobbying assignments were made, saying only that each group was encouraged to meet with as many representatives as possible.

Documents leaked to The Times reveal, however, that lobbying assignments are methodical and pervasive, with some legislators being assigned three or more organizations. Groups like the National Campaign to Stop the MX were assigned to lobby congressmen from Western states, where the new MX missiles probably would be based, while Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace tackled legislators from states where environmental issues are important.

While well-orchestrated lobbying is a political fact of life in Washington, groups receiving federal funds are prohibited from engaging in political activity. Of the numerous groups identified

in the lobbying effort, approximately half are known to receive some federal funding or subsidies. Scientists Against Nuclear Energy (SANE), for example, reportedly received \$105,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities to finance radio programs advocating unilateral disarmament.

Some of the groups have circumvented the legalities of politicking by creating in-house organizations that conform to Federal Election Commission standards, even though they often use the same personnel, office space and equipment salaried and purchased with government grants and loans.

Under the tutelage of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, the freeze organizations received detailed instructions on how to inflate the perception of constituent support for a freeze and thereby persuade lawmakers to leap onto the freeze bandwagon.

THE NEW BI-MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF THE WORLDWIDE DEBATE ON DEFENCE & DISARMAMENT & WESTERN RESPONSE. THE WAR CALLED 'PEACE' & OUR COUNTER MEASURES

Publishers: The Coalition for Peace Through Security New Newsletter c/o L. Holihan (202) 546-7577
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All profits from this newsletter go to the Coalition for Peace Through Security whose aims and objectives are:

- To counter the West's drift towards neutralism
- To support the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in opposition to the Warsaw Pact
- To support the maintenance of the Alliance's nuclear deterrent
- To support the maintenance by NATO of well-paid well-manned and well-equipped armed services
- To promote multilateral and balanced nuclear and conventional disarmament by all nations
- To promote a credible Civil Defence capability as part of NATO's strategic deterrent
- To promote opportunities of international exchange between like-minded bodies within the Alliance and the non-Communist world by building up a global strategy for peace through strength and security.

THE COALITION RECEIVES NO FUNDING FROM ANY GOVERNMENT SOURCE

PEACE AT ANY PRICE?

In the last two years, a new phenomenon has arisen in international politics: the rapid growth of the "peace" movement, first in Britain, West Germany, the Benelux States and subsequently in the U.S. in the debate on a "nuclear freeze".

This "peace at any price" hysteria has been whipped up by sinister forces to manipulate the well-intentioned who are anti-war and pro-peace. Unfortunately for those who are so motivated, there are only unilateral movements to join. These are anti-Western, anti-U.S., and anti-NATO while being tacitly pro-Soviet. In contrast to all the noise of this vocal minority and its media coverage, the voice of the Silent Majority and of common sense and practical experience has hardly been heard.

Our side has been losing vital strategic ground by default. This is because not enough men and women of goodwill have spoken out to counter these attacks and offer real, viable alternatives for an idealistic new generation.

WE WILL BURY YOU

Think tanks are worthless if their results do not ultimately reach grass-roots level — the front line of today's real war. We are now involved in a struggle for the minds of men and the Soviet forces are already well-entrenched in the methods of psychological warfare and the tactics of disinformation to achieve their ends. These professional agitators manipulate the "buzz-words" of peace and mislead the well-meaning with pious platitudes that actually make war more likely. The Kremlin's strategy has always been "to bury us" by persuading us to dig our own graves on the road to their kind of "peace" so that we are being both unwilling and unable to defend our way life.

This internal war, and our actions that must effectively counter it if we are to survive, is the greatest single challenge we face.

The Coalition for Peace Through Security was set up actively to counter the spectre of pacifism with deeds, not just words. Thus this Newsletter is about action and not just information about what is wrong. Hopefully, the Coalition's pioneering actions and operations on both sides of the Atlantic can inspire you to join us in our fight knowing that *all contributions go directly to our fighting fund to help turn back the tide of half-baked peace-cults.*

The Coalition also considers itself a "peace movement" but dedicated to multilateral and verifiable, rather than unilateral one-sided disarmament.

In our first year of existence, we have proved ourselves, as evidenced by the insults and disinformation hurled at us by the extreme Left, which we will be including as a regular feature. Many of our friends, worldwide, have encouraged us to share our adventures with a larger audience about these issues so we can get more feedback. *We hope this bi-monthly newsletter will provide a useful continuing guide to the state of the peace debate and of the war that is happening in our own towns right now.*

We also hope it will provide the funds needed to sustain our private non-profit making group to scout ahead on the frontiers to protect our freedom and work towards real peace.

COALITION ROUND UP : UNITED STATES

FIGHTING THE FREEZE — TOP PRIORITY!

CENTRAL PARK

June 82. Various reports put the Disarmament Rally in Central Park at 500,000 to 1 million people, the largest rally ever staged in the U.S. and a vehicle for world-wide publicity portraying the American people as disenchanted with the policies of strong defence.

The Coalition was there with a small but determined band of 100 counter-demonstrators both outside the UN building and in the entrance to Central Park. Thus every one of the marchers had to pass by banners proclaiming the messages "Peace Through Security — Not Peace at any Price", "Don't Freeze our Options", "Can You Trust the Russians?". Commenting on the demonstration, American member of the Coalition Leonard Holihan told the media "We are ANOTHER Peace Group from both U.K. and U.S. and we are here to protest against the U.S. Freeze because it is dangerously one-sided and assures the Soviet advantage. Unfortunately back in Europe, most of the 'Peace Movement' has been taken over by the extreme Left and their fellow-travellers to push one-sided disarmament by the West. It is these U.K. and Euro peace mongers who laid the foundations for the so-called spontaneous U.S. Nuclear Freeze Movement, a "Freeze first, Pay later" strategy, and they are still providing experienced leadership and funds. These foreign peaceniks are the tip of the iceberg, so beware. Behind all the fun and festivities for the "Freeze" is the frosty breath of the Siberian Bear."

Media coverage included Channel 2 (CBS), 5(Ind.), 11, 7, Nat., PBS and many press and photographers.

It was good to see just how many young people were there in the counter-demo, saying "about time the other side is heard". Together with Coalition full-time Washington staffer Peter Nassetta and associate colleague Amy Moritz from the National Center's "Committee to Prevent Nuclear War" (which jointly publishes brochures with the Coalition), other activities were organised. We felt it was vital to prevent the freeze advocates and radical liberals from completely monopolising the N.Y. and national press for the weekend. By demonstrating one could be FOR Peace but AGAINST the Freeze, we showed

there is another side to this whole issue and that it is not a foregone conclusion that the majority want to put their heads in the sand and ignore reality.

PRESS CONFERENCE

We jointly sponsored a Press Conference at which Representative William Carney (R.NY -1) was given the first Peace Award by the Committee for his 'Parity first' Bill (H.R.29.7) opposing an immediate nuclear freeze and his work for long-range meaningful nuclear arms reduction. His acceptance speech was published in the Congressional Record. A letter from 6 Congressmen (Jack Kemp R-NY, Robin Beard R-TN, Robert Dornan R.CA, Richard White D.TX, Bill Chappell D.FL and Dan Daniel D.VA), drew attention to the counter-Freeze 'Peace Through Strength Resolution' that has passed 12 State legislatures and has 230 co-sponsors in the U.S. House and 51 in the Senate. (The Coalition and National Center are continuing to assist further acceptance of this important anti-Freeze measure.)

Following this, a number of other groups and key individuals were there or had statements read in our Press Conference to record their opposition to the Freeze including Midge Decter (Comm. for the Free World), Col. Eileen Bonner (Reserve Officers Assn.), Col. Phelp Jones (representing the 1.9 million Veterans of Foreign Wars), Gen. Daniel O.Graham (former Director of D.I.A. and head of the High Frontier Space Project), Stuart Schwartzstein (Freedom House), Ian Ballon (Students for Peace & Security), Lori Merryman (Co. Reb. Nat. Comm.) Karen McKay (Comm. for Free Afghanistan), Jim McFadden (Am. Catholic Comm.). Rod Richardson also spoke and the N.Y. Times next day carried his story of the reversal of the 'nuclear free zone' resolution in Washington, Conn., and credited our Anglo-American Committee to Prevent Nuclear War for supplying 5000 free copies of our anti-Freeze' brochure to turn the tide.

Another key figure in that fight, Capt. Craig had been in London a few days before, meeting with the Coalition to map out a U.S. campaign to counter the 'nuke free zones' nonsense. You can help us to help you by contacting the Committee and doing the same in your town.

Press conference coverage was good, N.Y. TV, 2(CBS), 5(Ind), 9(NBC), Cable News Net., WBAF Radio, News World and Nat. Catholic Register followed later by interview between Rep. Carney and Leonard Holihan (Coalition) on C.N.N., CBS Network Evening News, and NY2 (also with 7 minutes live debate between Amy Moritz (Committee) and pro-Freeze rally organiser on 5 p.m. news.

GRAND CENTRAL STATION

Following day, while peaceniks were using illegal "direct action" at U.N.'s various Embassies (mostly Western!), our group protested by handing out over 15,000 copies of our "Preventing Nuclear War" brochure in Grand Central Station between 7am and 7pm. This education exercise was very well-received by the public and received good media attention with interviews and regular newscasts on TV9, 2 & 5, and on AM Radio 88 (CBS) and other radio stations. Moritz said "It is a discredit to any serious peace progress that the radical "peace" extremists feel it their right to break the rules of the land, to get arrested at public expense in order to seize publicity for a one-sided Freeze that ignores the blatant Soviet build-up." It was also pointed out that over ¼ million of the Committee's two brochures on preventing nuclear war and chemical atrocities had been requested and sent out all over the U.S. in the previous month.

SURPRISE!

Some commentators have expressed surprise at the rapid growth of the "peace at any price" lobby in the United States but back in October 81 we were already warning our American friends of the imminent assault by European "peace" leaders.

INTELLIGENCE BACKGROUND

The Coalition had been gathering information for some time to counter this global Soviet peace offensive. Holihan as a freelance journalist interviewed many of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) leaders at their National UK Convention in Oct. 81 where 3,000 delegates attended representing 30,000 hardcore members and 300,000 affiliates. Smug with the success of recent massive marches, CND leader Bruce Kent announced this year's published budget in excess of HALF A MILLION POUNDS! Privately, it was stated that a further £50,000 had been raised in the U.S. to export the peace revolution in the form of the 'Freeze' to America, in the Spring of 82 with 30 of their top agit-prop activists visiting 50 cities and 100 universities!

INVASION

Holihan, Leigh and Kerpel (the third CPS Director) had been visiting the States repeatedly since March 81 warning U.S. Colleagues of the seriousness of the pacifist problem in U.K. which strangely seemed to get little attention in the U.S., in contrast to the well-known movements in Germany and Holland. The message was simple: the grass-roots peace movement was actually numerically and proportionately stronger in the U.K. than in other European countries, and represented a greater strategic threat to the U.S. Nationwide U.K. opinion polls showed 42% favouring unilateral disarmament and 52% against the siting of Cruise missiles! (More background on this later).

WHITE HOUSE

Meanwhile, we repeatedly warned of the coming 'invasion'. We were well received at The White House, State Department, Pentagon, various Agencies, private Foundations, pressure groups, lobbies, concerned citizens and by patriots. We began to feel like modern-day Paul Reveres, riding around saying "The Redcoats are coming and let's give them the red carpet treatment they deserve!" While hardhitting, our work in Britain was greatly appreciated but generally the response was "this peace mania is a uniquely U.K. and Euro problem, our campuses and cities are relatively quiet. It can't happen here!" The Coalition commented that "the same thing was said in Britain 2 years ago". It was still being said just 12 months ago, when Kerpel drew up a memo on the scope of the peace phenomenon at grass-roots level. This memo was sent to Mrs. Thatcher and widely circulated. Back in the U.S., one group really listened . . . The College Republicans.

Holihan addressed a National meeting of State CR Chairmen, and they agreed this peace propaganda could really catch fire on campus, the way it was being presented by the Europeans. We agreed to work together and use their organisation of 15,000 members at 500 schools. Peter Nassetta was hired by the Coalition in Feb 82 to fight the 'Freeze' coming over as the so-called 'Euro Peace Tour' in mid-March. The first problem was intelligence, where and when to "head them off at the pass". The first mailing of the C.R. Report went out to all members primarily as a warning of what was yet to come and how to feed back data if they spotted any 'peace preparation' on campus. Next a more detailed report was sent to 500 CR Leaders on strategy and how to begin organising opposition.

OUR POSTER IN CONGRESS

We adopted a U.K. Youth for Multilateral Disarmament flyer saying "Help The Soviets, Support a U.S. Nuclear Freeze" with a picture of KGB troops goosestepping in Red Square, and had it blown up into a 17" x 22" poster. (This poster infuriated the Left, who seem to have no sense of humour!) As well as being distributed to colleges nationwide, it was also distributed in Capitol Hill and was reprinted in the Washington Inquirer. The poster became so well known that in a speech supporting a nuclear Freeze, Congressman Edward J. Markey (MA) called the poster an "affront to their integrity". (See Congressional Record, Mar. 30 82.)

We also wrote and printed a one page flyer entitled "Peace at What Price" attacking the European pacifists for sympathising with the Soviet Union. This was distributed at their speaking engagements along with a brochure on "yellow rain" provided by Amy Moritz and the National Center for Public Policy Research. This brochure on chemical warfare proved to be an effective counter offensive weapon.

We were also able to provide local organisers with tough and embarrassing questions for the Europeans. In particular, questions regarding why CND received discount advertising from The Morning Star (communist UK newspaper), and why 20% of CND executive committee turned out to be Communists and how some enjoyed expenses-paid vacations to Moscow. All proved to be most embarrassing.

Feedback of our nationwide preparation spread back to British CND and they actually scaled down this tour to a smaller 'exploratory' role. 3 weeks before their arrival we finally got the inside information from UK and confirmed it with special data in the US on which radical groups were co-operating with them. There would be 12 troublemakers led by UK CND leader Kent visiting 37 cities. In those cities every TV, Newspaper and Radio Station was targeted and received phone calls and Coalition press packs of articles that had appeared in national UK newspapers pointing out communist links to CND. The Coalition had helped research most of these articles including the UK Readers Digest exposé which has now upon urging from us, been reprinted in US to be read by over 20 million.

COALITION TAKES ON PHILLY.

Of the 37 cities, we were able to make personal CR contacts in 29 of them, and helped organise counter demos and action in 21 of them. For example Holihan and Leigh caught up with Kent in Pittsburg, and he almost fell off the stage in surprise and shock at our questions. Simply by being there and talking to media we kept him off TV. Next day in Philadelphia, Kent with the backing of the local Archbishop, Chief of Police, Town Council and Head Rabbi was on a platform in Independence Mall, by the Liberty Bell with a command performance of 15,000 people bussed in from 3 states. (The Archbishop's office had actually warned our local CRs to have nothing to do with those 2 foreign agitators, so the CRs left town!). We finally found 15 other brave and true people and counter demonstrated, getting one third of local TV coverage on all 3 stations, and an excellent interview in local papers to show the other side of the issue.

At Atlanta, Georgia, 30 of our protestors at Georgia Tech. distributed literature and carried signs including "KGB go home" and received good media coverage.

In Denver, Colorado, on a peace radio call-in show, 60% of questions were from our people. CND-er Anna Gringor did not know how to respond to communist allegations saying she had "never read the Morning Star paper" (although it is one of CND's biggest supporters), and "why should anyone over here

bother to hear of it anyway".

In Eugene, Oregon, without any enticement, Gringor complained of a vicious "smear campaign of CND by the Coalition". After questioning on the Morning Star issue again she went into a tirade for several minutes and lost media support.

HAMMER & SICKLE

Kent was also having his problems. In Boston after continuous pressure everywhere he went, he became infuriated by the Coalition's CND = Communist, Neutralist, Defeatist brochure, showing the broken cross of peace symbol turning into the hammer and sickle, being distributed. He cornered our Students for Peace & Security organiser Ian Ballon, and started a shouting fist-waving match. Unbeknown to Kent, he was being filmed and that evening on local TV it showed pacifist leader losing his cool, and the discontent of students for his brand of peace-mongering.

Kent actually left the tour early then, returning to Britain before the final press conference in Washington. We learned of his rapid departure and when he picked up his tickets at the Airport as a final parting shot across his stern, there was a note inside saying "Dear Brucie - hope you enjoyed your US tour, look forward to seeing you back in England-Eddie and Lenny". He must have enjoyed it, because next day in the red rag Morning Star, Kent dutifully reported that "Peace is a major issue in the US now, and that he had heard no serious critical voice against the call for a genuine (one-sided) freeze, but that his meeting had been trailed by Edward Leigh and others from Britain! Kent's exasperated photo clearly showed our Communist, Neutralist, Defeatist brochure on his desk!

In Washington D.C. in the Capitol Building (thanks to Congressman Markey, (MA)), the grand finale press conference was a disaster. Three quarters of the questions were our people, bone fide press and, after queries about where are Soviet peace movements and what is the real chance for a Soviet Freeze, Congressman Markey left early, embarrassed to be handed the Coalition's now famous press pack. Then a German peacenik amused everyone by "reminding" us that it really was the Americans who invented and used chemicals in World War 1, not the Germans! The Conference was cut short and coverage was very poor.

CHRISTIAN MORALITY?

Meanwhile Leigh was given a 15 minute interview with Pat Robertson of the 700 Club on the Christian Broadcasting Network. This was shown in over 100 cities and is part of our special project to alert Christians and other religious people to avoid the false teachings of peace-preaching that is often the wolf lurking in the lambskin of pseudo-morality. More on this next issue.

We were invited back to the White House and met a number of people on the President's staff. Our predictions had unfortunately come true about the Freeze 'spontaneously' springing from wherever the Euro-peace tour had passed and was now a major issue. We were tired yet pleased with our accomplishments as the only initial organised resistance to the Freeze. Lack of time and funds had prevented us from doing more. In the areas where we did not counter the Euro-tour, they were generally well-received. More in the next issue about fighting the Freeze.

AMERICAN 'FRIENDS OF THE FALKLANDS'

The Falklands crisis now loomed before us, and we thought it was vital to show solidarity with Britain as U.S.'s greatest ally and condemnation of the aggressor. Holihan and Leigh with their CR friends staged the first demonstration on the steps of

Argentine Embassy. Leigh was interviewed before we were moved on by the Police, and that was shown on BBC TV News at 9 pm that evening back in Britain. When we returned to England, we discovered that the demo was an important signal of US public support in an atmosphere of otherwise deteriorating feeling for America in the UK not long before the President's visit. Holihan flew back and organised 4 more demos, and an American Friends of the Falklands Committee, (recognised by UK Ambassador) for a whole campaign, with Congress finally doing its bit for the Anglo-American alliance (fascinating story with behind-the-scenes in Washington, - next issue.).

COALITION ROUND UP : BACK IN ENGLAND

Kent & Co were busy with the anti-nuclear, anti-NATO, anti-Reagan, anti-Falkland campaign and joined forces under extremists's Tony Benn's red banner for mass march May 23rd past Parliament, Number 10 (and the Coalition's office 27-31 Whitehall). We warned the media, and they and masses of extra police were there. As the march, 4,000 strong, came by our offices, a loud trumpet blast and amplified cries of "Shame!" were heard, and every one looked up to our building. The National Anthem continued to swell up out of our four 3' diameter 600 amp speakers, now visible on the roof and all but drowning out the radical speeches in Trafalgar Square. Union Jacks were flung out and banners unfurled with slogans "Ban the Benn", "Traitors", "Communists, Neutralists, Defeatists" etc. As strains of Rule Britannia followed, the crowd was incensed at this very British form of humorous insults, and hurled back abuse and threats. The media got a good look at another side of the 'pacifists'. When a British flag was accidentally dropped, it was shredded by the Socialist crowd. In the commotion, police fearing the worst, stormed over the rooftops. Holihan and 7 others were arrested, led away but eventually released uncharged with a wink and a nod.

HYDE PARK RALLY

June 6, 1982. CND claimed they had quarter of a million people protesting against the bomb. Police estimated the numbers to be not more than 115,000, well below last year's level. Perhaps the CND's hysterical anti-Falklands Task Force campaign has lost them some support.

During the day, the Coalition flew three white 20-foot barrage balloons 100 ft above the crowds representing symbolically the 3 White Feathers traditionally shown to pacifists and cowards unwilling to defend their country's freedom.

As "red" Ken Livingston, leader of Labour's Greater London Council, led the march from County Hall, he could not avoid seeing a large balloon flying above the Thames proclaiming in 6 ft letters "Help the Kremlin - Support a Nuclear Free London" later shown on BBC Television News. (HSL439!)

For an hour and a half, as the marchers went up Whitehall, they were greeted with patriotic American and British music played from the Coalition's HQ. Worse, they were greeted by a voice with an exaggerated American Southern accent saying "We are just as pleased as punch you all are down there marching your hearts out in support of Mrs. Thatcher, and to show your welcome to The President. We can see you all know that NATO's nuclear deterrent has kept the peace and you all haven't been conned by the communist propaganda. We want you to know that whatever you feel for us, we feel for you only twice as much." A balloon was flown saying "Welcome President Reagan - Britannia Rules O.K. - Support Peace Through Security", and was still flying when the President himself drove up Whitehall 2 days later.

From Hyde Park, the marchers could see yet another

large balloon floating above Park Lane with the messages "KGB ♥ CND" and "CND=Communists, Neutralists, Defeatist". An antique open-topped bus manned with students and British and American flags and slogans "Reagan is our friend" made the rounds of the park perimeter.

ACTION TO COUNTER THE ANTI-REAGAN EFFORT

The Left centred their attack on the U.S. President personally and were whipping up anti-Reagan hysteria with violent direct action for his visit. The Coalition had advised on this in Washington at The White House, and in the U.S. Embassy in London. Leigh suggested a petition of welcome as a way to reflect the majority in welcoming the President and to balance the angry crowd's media attention out in the street. The Coalition idea was taken up as a special project through a new committee "Peace Through Freedom". Members are: Air Marshal Sir Neil Cameron, President of the British Atlantic Committee, General Sir Harry Tuzo, President of the Royal United Services Institute, Norris McWhirter, Vice-Chairman of the Freedom Association, Alan Lee Williams; Chairman of the English-Speaking Union, Winston Churchill, MP, Chairman of the Conservative Party's Campaign for Peace and Multilateral Disarmament, and Edward Leigh of CPS. In welcoming the President, the petition supported the "Zero Option" and condemned the deployment by the Soviet Union of 300 SS-20 missiles against the cities of Western Europe. It was sent out all over the country with the co-operation of the Conservative Party, and within a few weeks 18,000 were returned, and handed to the American Minister after a 24hr vigil by British Atlantic Youth outside the American Embassy, to underline the reality that NATO is the foremost peace organisation having given Europe the longest period of peace she has ever enjoyed.

STOP PRESS : CND LAUNCHES FIRST STRIKE

When CND held their Glastonbury Pop Festival for 30,000 devotees, a lone plane, hired by the Coalition buzzed the demonstration repeatedly for an hour trailing a fifty foot long banner proclaiming the message "Help the Soviets - Support CND". The reaction of the peaceniks? - first to draw up giant obscene messages on the ground along the lines of "F. . . . Off!", not very polite, and then to launch a rockets at the plane!

(to be continued next issue!)

NEXT TIME : PEACE STUDIES HIT SCHOOLS

Extracts from letters received by members of the Coalition on its work and objectives:

"I wish every success to your efforts as I consider this to be a matter vital to our security and the preservation of peace."

Margaret Thatcher, The Prime Minister

"The Prime Minister was very pleased to hear of your endeavours and those of your colleagues during your recent visit to the United States. . . . It is essential that the case for nuclear deterrence is put clearly to the general public in Britain. It is for this reason that the Prime Minister very much hopes that you will continue your work here, and in the United States, on this issue vital to our national security"

Derek Howe, Political Secretary, 10 Downing Street

The Coalition relies entirely upon donations from concerned people. We have access to tax-exempt status for our US work.

The annual subscription rate for this Newsletter is US\$50.00 or UK£25.00 for 6 issues. Any donation above this sum automatically entitles you to a free annual subscription. Please send your cheque or money order, crossed and made payable to "The Coalition for Peace Through Security" to either our Washington or London Office, together with your name and address.

P.S. Warm thanks to Harry Schultz, HSL & Friends

Nuclear Freeze Grants

Tax-funded groups lobbying for N-freeze

By Glenn Emery
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

Legislators who have been wavering or undecided on the nuclear freeze issue have been targeted for intensive lobbying in recent weeks by a coalition of freeze organizations, some of which are tax-funded, according to documents obtained by The Washington Times.

Representatives of more than 30 freeze groups, known as the Monday Group, have been meeting each Monday at Mott House, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, since early January to discuss strategy, share information and make lobbying assignments.

A reporter for The Washington Times was brusquely asked to leave the Monday Group's business meeting on Feb. 22 after having been invited to attend by one of the participants.

Steve Daggett of the Coalition for a

New Foreign and Military Policy told the group he had no objection to press coverage of the meeting on the condition that it be off the record, but he was promptly overruled with cries of "no press."

Circulated at the meetings are updated lists of the congressmen and their rating, on a scale of 1 to 5, on the freeze resolution. Congressmen identified as being undecided on the issue, especially freshmen and those sitting on key committees, were given the greatest emphasis.

"Obviously, we have a co-sponsor list and we have a list of members we don't believe would be with us on any account on any arms control issue," Kathleen Sheekey of Common Cause told The Times. "And then we have those in the very important middle — the people we have identified as our swing list. That is the crowd upon whom we are concentrating the bulk of our efforts."

Sheekey denied that specific lobbying assignments were made, saying only that each group was encouraged to meet with as many representatives as possible.

Documents leaked to The Times reveal, however, that lobbying assignments are methodical and pervasive, with some legislators being assigned three or more organizations. Groups like the National Campaign to Stop the MX were assigned to lobby congressmen from Western states, where the new MX missiles probably would be based, while Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace tackled legislators from states where environmental issues are important.

While well-orchestrated lobbying is a political fact of life in Washington, groups receiving federal funds are prohibited from engaging in political activity. Of the numerous groups identified

in the lobbying effort, approximately half are known to receive some federal funding or subsidies. Scientists Against Nuclear Energy (SANE), for example, reportedly received \$105,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities to finance radio programs advocating unilateral disarmament.

Some of the groups have circumvented the legalities of politicking by creating in-house organizations that conform to Federal Election Commission standards, even though they often use the same personnel, office space and equipment salaried and purchased with government grants and loans.

Under the tutelage of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, the freeze organizations received detailed instructions on how to inflate the perception of constituent support for a freeze and thereby persuade lawmakers to leap onto the freeze bandwagon.

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS**

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/(202) 628-7911

file Nuclear Freeze

NEWS RELEASE

**FOR RELEASE:
JULY 5, 1983**

**CONTACT:
Robert P. Dugan, Jr. Director
Office of Public Affairs
(202) 628-7911**

NAE COMMISSIONED GALLUP POLL RELEASED
ON EVANGELICAL VIEWS ABOUT THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

Washington, D.C. — For the first time a national poll has been conducted to determine what evangelical Christians believe about the nuclear arms race. The poll was commissioned by the National Association of Evangelicals and was recently conducted by The Gallup Organization, Inc. Enclosed are the results of the poll and an accompanying NAE analysis.

The National Association of Evangelicals is an association of over 36,000 churches from 78 denominations including 43 member denominations. NAE has a membership of 3.5 million and serves a larger constituency of 10-15 million people through its commissions and affiliates, such as World Relief and National Religious Broadcasters.

- NAE COMMISSIONS Christian Education Commission Commission on Chaplains
- Evangelical Churchmen Commission Evangelical Social Action Commission Evangelism and Home Missions Association
- Higher Education Commission Stewardship Commission Women's Fellowship ■ AFFILIATES
- American Association of Evangelical Students Evangelical Foreign Missions Association
- National Religious Broadcasters ■ SUBSIDIARY CORPORATION World Relief Corporation
- SERVICE AGENCIES Evangelical Child and Family Agency, Chicago Evangelical Family Service, Syracuse, NY
- Evangelical Purchasing Service Family Ministries, Carrizos, CA Universal Travel Service
- NATIONAL OFFICE: 450 E. Gundersen Drive/P.O. Box 28/Wheaton, Illinois 60187 / (312) 685-0500

NAE / GALLUP POLL

on

Evangelical Views about the Nuclear Arms Race

When the President of the United States addressed the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida on March 8, he sought support for his Administration's position on national defense. NAE realized that it had no empirical data indicating how evangelicals felt about the nuclear arms race. For that reason, NAE commissioned a Gallup Poll to provide insight on the thinking of evangelicals regarding this crucial issue. In-person interviews were conducted with 1,540 adults, 18 and older, in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period May 13-16, 1983.

Of those interviewed, 17% categorized themselves as evangelicals by their response to three background questions. (This projects to approximately 28 million adults.) Evangelicals are Christians with a high view of the Word of God, regarding it as inspired and trustworthy; they say that they have been born again, that is, experienced a conversion when they committed themselves to Jesus Christ; and they have urged others to believe in Jesus Christ or receive Him as Savior.

The answer to the first question reveals that of those evangelicals holding an opinion on President Reagan's handling of the nuclear arms situation, 61% approve. When those who have no opinion are included, 41% approve of the President's handling of the nuclear arms race, 26% disapprove, and 33% are undecided.

The second question reflects two competing philosophies on how best to maintain world peace in the nuclear age. It focuses on the peace through strength concept of deterrence through nuclear parity versus strategies which might allow the United States to fall behind the Soviet Union in nuclear weaponry. A majority of evangelicals (54%) believe that America's falling behind in the arms race would increase the danger of nuclear war more than a continuation of the arms race. Just 19% believe that continuing the arms race would be more dangerous. When the no opinion category is removed the results become even more polarized. Almost 3/4

of evangelicals (74%) believe that the chances of nuclear war are increased if the United States is placed in a vulnerable position. This is not to say that evangelicals are opposed to arms reduction, but that in their judgment a strategic disadvantage for the United States would jeopardize world peace.

The third question asks respondents to evaluate the comparative nuclear strength of the United States and the Soviet Union. Only 21% of evangelicals expressing an opinion believe that America is stronger than the Soviet Union, while 49% believe that the Soviets enjoy nuclear superiority, and 30% see the two nations as about equal. This answer, along with the answer to the previous question, implies general agreement with President Reagan's insistence that America match Soviet nuclear arms capability.

Of those evangelicals expressing an opinion, 77% would favor an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union for an immediate verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons. If the no opinion category is included, 60% of evangelicals say they favor a freeze. These results may initially seem surprising, considering the general peace through strength stance of evangelicals revealed by this poll. However, it is apparent that evangelical approval of a nuclear freeze is heavily dependent on any such freeze being verifiable and bilateral, as the answers to the next two questions indicate.

When asked in question five if the Soviets would agree to verification through on-site inspection, evangelicals overwhelmingly believe (93% of those expressing an opinion) that the U.S.S.R. would not agree. Any evangelical approval of a nuclear freeze would thus seem heavily qualified in terms of verifiability.

When asked in question six whether they would favor or oppose a nuclear freeze if the Soviets do not also agree to it, 82% of evangelicals with an opinion would be opposed. Only 18% would favor a unilateral freeze by the United States.

The last question asks whether a person can be a good Christian and still support the possession of nuclear weapons for defensive purposes only. Of those evangelicals who have reached a decision on this issue, 85% believe that it is not inconsistent with their biblical faith to support the possession of nuclear weapons for defensive purposes only. This view stands in sharp contrast to the view which questions the morality of nuclear deterrence under any circumstances.

VIEWS OF EVANGELICALS ON THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

A Survey conducted for the National Association of Evangelicals by
THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, INC.
June, 1983

Following are the national results for the total adult population, and also the evangelicals extracted from that group, with the no opinion included in the first table and excluded in the second:

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan is dealing with the nuclear arms situation?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Approve	43%	41%
Disapprove	34	26
No opinion	23	33

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Approve	56%	61%
Disapprove	44	39

2. In your opinion, which of the following increases the chances of a nuclear war more--a continuation of the nuclear arms buildup here and in the Soviet Union, or the U.S. falling behind the Soviet Union in nuclear weaponry?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
U.S. falling behind	51%	54%
Continuation of arms race	31	19
No opinion	18	27

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
U.S. falling behind	62%	74%
Continuation of arms race	38	26

3. At the present time, which nation do you feel is stronger in terms of nuclear weapons, the United States or the Soviet Union—or do you think they are about equal in nuclear strength?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Soviet Union	36%	38%
United States	16	16
About equal	34	23
No opinion	14	23

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Soviet Union	42%	49%
United States	19	21
About equal	39	30

4. Would you favor or oppose an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union for an immediate verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	75%	60%
Oppose	16	18
No opinion	9	22

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	82%	77%
Oppose	18	23

5. Do you think the Soviet Union will or will not agree to on-site inspection of nuclear weapons in their nation?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	10%	6%
Oppose	78	76
No opinion	12	18

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	11%	7%
Oppose	89	93

6. Would you favor or oppose a freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons at this time if the Soviet Union does not agree to a freeze?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	22%	15%
Oppose	68	67
No opinion	10	18

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	24%	18%
Oppose	76	82

7. Do you think a person can be a good Christian and still support the possession of nuclear weapons for only defensive purposes, or not?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Yes, can be a good Christian	77%	72%
No, cannot	13	13
No opinion	10	15

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Yes, can be a good Christian	86%	85%
No, cannot	14	15

APPENDIX: PROFILE OF EVANGELICALS

The following table shows the proportion in key population groups who can be classified as "evangelicals" compared to the proportions found in the sample as a whole:

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Men.....	48%	38%
Women.....	52	62
Whites.....	86	74
Non-whites.....	14	26
College background.....	30	19
High School.....	56	56
Grade school.....	14	24
18-29 years old.....	27	21
30-49 years old.....	37	33
50 and older.....	36	45
Protestants.....	54	89
Catholics.....	30	10
East.....	28	15
Midwest.....	27	23
South.....	27	50
West.....	18	12



General Conference of

Seventh-day Adventists

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TELEPHONE: (202) 722-6000 • CABLE: ADVENTIST, WASHINGTON • TELEX: 89-580

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May 2, 1983

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
White House Executive Office Building
Room 136
Washington, D.C., 20500

Dear Morton:

I have just written a letter to President Reagan in care of your office in harmony with our telephone conversation this morning.

It was nice talking with you. Enclosed I am sending you an article on the question of war, peace and disarmament, which was recently published in our general church organ.

It is a pleasure working with you.

Cordially as ever,

B. B. Beach
Director

bof

Enclosure

P.S. My direct-line telephone number is 722-6681.

BBB

Adventists and disarmament

By BERT B. BEACH

What stand should the church take concerning the nuclear freeze movement and similar issues?

One of the great—some would say the greatest—political and ethical issues is the question of war and peace. It is both complicated and convoluted. Despair hovers around hearts and minds, for millions expect a nuclear holocaust without the basic hope of afterlife or eternal life.

Christians believe that war is the result of sin. Since the Fall of man, strife has been a perennial fact of human existence. It is true that peace has reigned for 38 years in Western Europe, the battlefield of two world wars. Global conflicts have been prevented. However, there have been perhaps 150 international and civil wars since 1945, and millions have perished in them. "Satan delights in war. . . . It is his object to incite the nations to war against one another."—*The Great Controversy*, p. 589. It is a diversionary tactic to interfere with the gospel task. He is able to use even "peace" movements to achieve his purpose. In fact, the apostle Paul makes reference to those who are "talking of peace and security," rather than getting ready for "the Day of the Lord" (1 Thess. 5:2, 3, N.E.B.).

War and conflict have become so much a part of humanity's sinful psychological makeup that even when many talk about or demonstrate for peace, violent actions are employed at times and belligerent terminology used, such as "war against war," "fighting for peace," and "peace militants."

The peace movement has become a worldwide phenomenon encompassing a bewildering collection of peace organizations. Many books on the subject are gliding from the presses, politicians offer varied and even contradictory solutions, and ballot initiatives are perplexing the voters. Simple-minded solutions are being offered for highly complex problems, and such solutions are indeed simple-minded.

Some see peace in isolation, overlooking other vital sociopolitical needs such as liberty, justice, and security. Furthermore, while the danger of nuclear holocaust is a significant moral issue, for the Seventh-day Adventist the greatest moral issue is not military disarmament but spiritual armament and the danger of eternal annihilation, something the peace movement tends either to ignore or soft pedal.

Of course, it is logical, right, and proper for Christians to promote peace. Today there is a new situation, unparalleled in history. Human beings developed the means of human-

ity's own destruction, means that are becoming more and more "effective" and "perfected"—although these are hardly the right words. Furthermore, total war eliminates any discrimination. Noncombatants are no longer just occasionally or incidentally harmed; they are no longer simply the victims (as in World War I). Since World War II they have become the target.

Some urge Adventists to climb on the peace bandwagon and identify with one or more popular peace organizations. The church, we are told, should speak out publicly about nuclear freeze proposals, deployment of MX missiles, draft registration, disarmament negotiations, and the value of deterrence. Some of the voices speak as Christians of convictions, while others are suspect, either in motive or theology, or both.

The antinuclear movement, in addition to having strong political and ideological leanings, at times has revealed an emotional, irrational side to it. This was displayed, for example, in various violent demonstrations and recently by the irrational siege of the Washington Monument. Many religious leaders support the "peace" movement from a postmillennial perspective, believing nuclear war threatens the establishment of God's kingdom on earth. It seems important for the Seventh-day Adventist Church not to march under other people's banners, but to keep its own eschatological identity as God's church of the remnant.

From a Christian perspective the question of war and peace becomes more complicated still, and ambiguous, because people holding similar theological positions often arrive at different interpretations from them. The same theological view does not necessarily lead to a unified, clear, ethical view and practical application. The same ideological position can lead to opposing ethical practices.

Facts seen differently

Dedicated Christians have been pacifists and crusaders, while on the other hand, fervent Marxists have been pacifists and militant revolutionaries. It is fully possible for devout Christians to perceive facts differently and reach diametrically opposed conclusions on sociopolitical questions such as those of war and peace.

Church leaders lack access to all the information needed to make sound policy recommendations dealing with the issue. Furthermore, governments cannot be naively and unquestioningly believed. Governments have much to hide. Dealing with war and peace, public statements cannot always be taken at face value. Especially in totalitarian societies, control, manipulation and deception regarding information is widely practiced. Even democratic governments are at times capable of Byzantine deviousness.

Today virtually every government claims it is working for disarmament and peace. Often the known facts appear to point in a different direction. In addition, there are countless

Bert B. Beach is director of the Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department of the General Conference.

unknown factors, innumerable classified documents, and clandestine activities. Secret aims and strategy often contradict avowed public policy.

It appears self-evident that churches and their leaders do not have the expertise to measure national security. They have no access to classified information and intelligence reports. They have no expert knowledge regarding armaments and military capacity. They know next to nothing about the dense-packing of MX missiles, and not much more about the balance of power. This being the case, it is hardly appropriate for church officials to act as experts and speak out regarding government defense and security policy. What churchmen can and must do—however, with great care and circumspection—is deal with moral principles and implications from a Biblical perspective. They must avoid the pitfall of becoming less religious and more political in reasoning.

Since a great variety of views have received respectable support of Christians, the Seventh-day Adventist Church's involvement must be highly circumspect or it will become recklessly divisive. Involvement in issues of war and peace must be guided by Biblical, ethical principles and values, not political directives. It is possible—perhaps even desirable at times—for individual Christians to engage in particular

public affairs in ways that the church as a whole must avoid. Religious movements have their greatest potential for influence and success at the grass-roots level, not in ecclesiastical pronouncements. Every Seventh-day Adventist has the right—the duty—to follow his enlightened conscience regarding great public issues of moral importance.

The Adventist sees "the field" not just as the nation but as the world. His ethical convictions must transcend narrow nationalism. He must have regard for the welfare of all God's children. He is a loyal, patriotic citizen, but not a blind citizen. He will not want to act with disregard of the security and legitimate rights of others.

The heavenly proclamation that heralded the first coming of Christ spoke of worldwide peace. As the field is the world, so the harvest is the end of the world. At the second coming of our Lord peace will be reestablished in the universe. It is God who will bring eternal peace to earth and its inhabitants, not man. Peace cannot be found in official church pronouncements or man-made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, but in the New Jerusalem (Isa. 66:12). The Christian church is the peacemaking link between the first and second advents. God equates being a child of God with being a peacemaker (Matt. 5:9).

There is a universal desire for peace, but a lack of sanctified will for peace. Global economic, political, and social instability and injustice are not conducive to peace (Isa. 59:8). However, the root cause of war is man, not defective society and its structures that need changing. War lies inside man, because sin dwells there. The charter of UNESCO, using secular language, affirms a similar thought: "Wars start in the minds of men."

Compassion and reconciliation

The basic change that needs to take place is not sociopolitical convulsion, but multiplied personal conversion. There are many Christians who hesitate to appeal to the ethic of the New Testament regarding society, war, and peace because it was conditioned by the expectation of the soon coming of Christ. However, it is precisely because this expectation is so basic and vital to the Seventh-day Adventist Church that she clings with fervor to the Biblical focus on last things. The New Testament deals in principles rather than specific precepts regarding Christian attitudes toward war and peace. It presents a meaningful ethic that seeks to keep proper balance between love and justice, personal integrity and that of the other person—even should he be an antagonist. Not vengeance, not retaliation, but compassion and reconciliation are the New Testament themes.

Hope in the Second Coming must not live in a social vacuum. Our Adventist hope must manifest and translate itself into ethical actions of social concern. Otherwise Adventism becomes simply a form of escapism. True, Christian action today and tomorrow will not usher in the coming kingdom of peace; God alone brings in this kingdom. Seventh-day Adventist peacemakers will witness to this coming kingdom by reaping the harvest of true justice "from seeds sown in a spirit of peace" (James 3:18, N.E.B.). Seventh-day Adventists desire to be known as peacemakers and work for worldwide justice and peace under Christ as the head of a new humanity. □



The peace movement has become a worldwide phenomenon encompassing a bewildering collection of peace organizations.



INSIGHT

Prepared by: NAE Office of Public Affairs, 1430 K Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone 202-628-7911
Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director/Forest D. Montgomery, Counsel/Richard Cizik, Researcher

Washington, DC / July, 1983
Volume V, Number 7

Dear Evangelical Friend:

There are several "firsts" in this INSIGHT. For the first time we have an exclusive NAE/Gallup Poll on which to report. Further, it is the first poll of its kind, exploring the views of evangelicals on the nuclear arms race. Should we be ashamed that this is the first time we've been cheerleaders for the IRS? Finally, a forthcoming vote will be the first ever on an Amendment to the Constitution which would reverse the Supreme Court's 1973 abortion decision.

POLL DATA AT LAST When the President of the United States spoke to NAE in Florida in March, he sought support for his position on national defense. NAE realized that it had no data to reveal how evangelicals felt about the nuclear arms race. That void has now been filled through an NAE-commissioned Gallup Poll. Of the 1540 adults personally interviewed in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation, 17% categorized themselves as evangelicals by their response to three standard background questions used by Gallup since 1979. The survey was taken May 13-16.

Of those evangelicals holding an opinion on President Reagan's handling of the nuclear arms situation, 61% approve. When undecideds are included, 41% approve of the President's handling of the nuclear arms race, 26% disapprove, and 33% have no opinion.

TWO KEY QUESTIONS One question reflected the competing philosophies on how best to maintain world peace in this nuclear age. It focused on the peace through strength concept of deterrence through nuclear parity versus strategies which might allow the U.S. to fall behind the Soviet Union in nuclear weaponry. A majority of 54% believe that the United States' falling behind would increase the danger of nuclear war more than would a continuation of the arms race. Just 19% believe that continuing the arms buildup would be more dangerous. When the no opinion category is removed, the results become even more polarized. Almost 3/4 of evangelicals think that the chances of nuclear war are increased if the U.S. is placed in a vulnerable position. This is not to say that evangelicals are opposed to arms reduction, but that, in their judgment, a strategic disadvantage would jeopardize world peace.

Another question asks views of the comparative nuclear strength of the two super powers. Only 21% of evangelicals expressing an opinion believe that the U.S. is stronger than the U.S.S.R., while 49% see the Soviets as having nuclear superiority and 30% see the two nations as about equal. So, 3/4 of evangelicals with minds made up think that the real danger of nuclear war lies in U.S. nuclear inferiority to the U.S.S.R.; half think that the U.S.S.R. is currently ahead in the arms race. This implies general agreement with the President's insistence on catching up to Soviet nuclear capability.

PARADOX? Considering the evangelical tendency toward a peace through strength position revealed in this poll, it may seem contradictory that 77% of those expressing a view favor an immediate, verifiable freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Even if the no opinion category is included, 60% say that they favor a freeze.

However, bear in mind that this nuclear freeze approval is predicated on stringent conditions: it must be verifiable and bilateral. Verifiability alone seems a stumbling block, if the only sure way of knowing whether nuclear weapons are being tested, produced or deployed is on-site inspection. An overwhelming 93% of those with an opinion believe that the U.S.S.R. would not agree to on-site inspection. Not only is the desire for a nuclear freeze heavily qualified in terms of verifiability, but also in terms of being two-sided. When asked whether they would favor or oppose a nuclear freeze if the Soviets do not also agree to it, 82% of evangelicals with an opinion are opposed. Only 18% would favor a unilateral freeze by the United States.

The poll's final question finds significance in the current debate over the morality of nuclear deterrence. In this national sampling, 85% who have reached a decision believe that it is consistent with biblical faith to support the possession of nuclear weapons for defensive purposes only. Our Washington office will be pleased to send a copy of its press release on the Gallup Poll, along with complete statistics on all questions asked, including comparative figures on the total population, to anyone sending a self-addressed, stamped business size envelope.

THE SHADOW OF BOB JONES In an 8-1 decision, the Supreme Court on May 24 upheld the authority of the IRS to deny tax exemption to Bob Jones University because of its policy prohibiting interracial dating and marriage. If ever there was a case exemplifying the old legal maxim that "hard cases make bad law," the Bob Jones case is it. The racial discrimination context of the BJU case has blinded many to deeper implications of the decision. What the Court has done, in effect, is to rule that government is free to tax unpopular beliefs. The message? Conform or be taxed. While the Court attempted to confine its ruling to cases of "fundamental public policy" and pointed out that it was speaking about educational institutions rather than churches, we discern no principled basis for thus confining the Court's holding in future decisions.

To appreciate fully the ramifications of the decision, consider two educational institutions. Would a Mennonite College, with a traditional pacifist stance, lose its tax-exempt status at a time when public policy is to be at war? Would a Roman Catholic Seminary, preparing only men for the priesthood, be in jeopardy? If the ERA ever becomes part of the Constitution, of course there would be no doubt whatever that sex discrimination would be on a par with racial discrimination as fundamental national policy. Such problems are only the tip of the iceberg. We are convinced that Congress should specify what public policies must be observed to qualify for tax-exemption, instead of leaving such decisions to non-elected IRS officials.

THREE CHEERS FOR THE IRS As ministers are painfully aware, the Internal Revenue Service early in 1983 eliminated a tax benefit of some twenty years. No longer would they be able to deduct mortgage interest and property taxes on their homes when those were paid from a non-taxable parsonage allowance. Like anyone else, clergy have relied on those deductions in long-range financial planning.

NAE did not contest IRS' removal of this double deduction, first granted in 1962. Rather, recognizing the financial hardship produced by this unexpected change, NAE individually and as part of a religious coalition requested that IRS delay implementation of the June 30, 1983 effective date of the ruling. Happily, IRS has postponed the date an extra 18 months to January 1, 1985. The delay should help churches and ministers to cope with the new rules. We applaud the IRS for tempering justice with mercy.

DEATH MARCH TO CONTINUE Tragically, there are almost half as many abortions as live births in the U.S. today. The Supreme Court's June 15 decisions, affirming a "right" to abortion, assure that the death march will continue. Not only did the Court judicially legislate a right which cannot be found in the Constitution in its infamous 1973 Roe v. Wade decision, but it now has even struck down state attempts to make sure a woman considering abortion has all the facts. Invalidating a 24 hour waiting period before an abortion exemplifies the Court's extreme pro-abortion bias.

But there is a ray of hope. The dissent, written by Justice Sandra O'Connor, joined by Justices White and Rehnquist, includes a stated conviction that "the state's interest in protecting potential human life exists throughout the pregnancy." Justice Lewis Powell observed for the six member majority that the dissenting opinion "rejects the basic premise of Roe and its progeny." In the long run, the 6-3 decision indicates that two new appointments to the Supreme Court - perhaps even one - could result in a reversal of its disappointing decisions. Many thus predict that pro-life forces will jump on Ronald Reagan's re-election bandwagon, to guarantee that future Court appointments will be in the O'Connor mold.

Meantime, can anything be done now? The Hatch/Eagleton Amendment may well be the subject of debate in the Senate just as INSIGHT

reaches you. Frankly, unless an unforeseen avalanche of public opinion falls upon the Senate, a favorable two-thirds vote is unlikely. Want to start an avalanche? Phone the U.S. Senators representing your State and urge friends to do the same. By the way, the Amendment's sponsorship by conservative Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and liberal Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-MO) illustrates how the pro-life cause crosses both party and ideological lines.

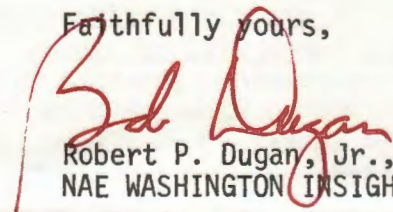
GLAD DAY FOR
RELIGIOUS
LIBERTY

When the Supreme Court months ago declined to review the Lubbock case, we were distressed. We saw no good reason why high school students should not enjoy the same free speech rights as college students were held to have in the *Widmar v. Vincent* decision. Now we are happy to report that this view has been vindicated in a U.S. district court in Pennsylvania. In *Bender v. Williamsport School District*, the court held that a student initiated prayer club can meet during a student activity period. It found that the school's "equal access" policy neither connoted state approval or sponsorship nor embarrassed students. Refusal to permit such activity would violate the students' free speech rights. Hats off to Christian Legal Society's Sam Ericsson and staff, who were instrumental in obtaining this victory for religious liberty. Appeal of the decision by a member of the school board is not to be deplored but welcomed, for the appeal could pave the way for final resolution of this religious free speech issue by the nation's highest Court.

WORLD HUNGER

As givers of multiplied millions to alleviate hunger, evangelicals will be interested in H Res 15, almost sure to pass the House this summer. The Select Committee on Hunger thereby established would coordinate U.S. response to world hunger, now dealt with by at least seven standing committees.

Faithfully yours,



Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Editor
NAE WASHINGTON INSIGHT

July, 1983

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS**

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:
JULY 5, 1983

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NAE COMMISSIONED GALLUP POLL RELEASED
ON EVANGELICAL VIEWS ABOUT THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

Washington, D.C. — For the first time a national poll has been conducted to determine what evangelical Christians believe about the nuclear arms race. The poll was commissioned by the National Association of Evangelicals and was recently conducted by The Gallup Organization, Inc. Enclosed are the results of the poll and an accompanying NAE analysis.

The National Association of Evangelicals is an association of over 36,000 churches from 78 denominations including 43 member denominations. NAE has a membership of 3.5 million and serves a larger constituency of 10-15 million people through its commissions and affiliates, such as World Relief and National Religious Broadcasters.

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□ Evangelical Churchmen Commission □ Evangelical Social Action Commission □ Evangelism and Home Missions Association
□ Higher Education Commission □ Stewardship Commission □ Women's Fellowship ■ AFFILIATES
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NAE / GALLUP POLL
on
Evangelical Views about the Nuclear Arms Race

When the President of the United States addressed the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida on March 8, he sought support for his Administration's position on national defense. NAE realized that it had no empirical data indicating how evangelicals felt about the nuclear arms race. For that reason, NAE commissioned a Gallup Poll to provide insight on the thinking of evangelicals regarding this crucial issue. In-person interviews were conducted with 1,540 adults, 18 and older, in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period May 13-16, 1983.

Of those interviewed, 17% categorized themselves as evangelicals by their response to three background questions. (This projects to approximately 28 million adults.) Evangelicals are Christians with a high view of the Word of God, regarding it as inspired and trustworthy; they say that they have been born again, that is, experienced a conversion when they committed themselves to Jesus Christ; and they have urged others to believe in Jesus Christ or receive Him as Savior.

The answer to the first question reveals that of those evangelicals holding an opinion on President Reagan's handling of the nuclear arms situation, 61% approve. When those who have no opinion are included, 41% approve of the President's handling of the nuclear arms race, 26% disapprove, and 33% are undecided.

The second question reflects two competing philosophies on how best to maintain world peace in the nuclear age. It focuses on the peace through strength concept of deterrence through nuclear parity versus strategies which might allow the United States to fall behind the Soviet Union in nuclear weaponry. A majority of evangelicals (54%) believe that America's falling behind in the arms race would increase the danger of nuclear war more than a continuation of the arms race. Just 19% believe that continuing the arms race would be more dangerous. When the no opinion category is removed the results become even more polarized. Almost 3/4

of evangelicals (74%) believe that the chances of nuclear war are increased if the United States is placed in a vulnerable position. This is not to say that evangelicals are opposed to arms reduction, but that in their judgment a strategic disadvantage for the United States would jeopardize world peace.

The third question asks respondents to evaluate the comparative nuclear strength of the United States and the Soviet Union. Only 21% of evangelicals expressing an opinion believe that America is stronger than the Soviet Union, while 49% believe that the Soviets enjoy nuclear superiority, and 30% see the two nations as about equal. This answer, along with the answer to the previous question, implies general agreement with President Reagan's insistence that America match Soviet nuclear arms capability.

Of those evangelicals expressing an opinion, 77% would favor an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union for an immediate verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons. If the no opinion category is included, 60% of evangelicals say they favor a freeze. These results may initially seem surprising, considering the general peace through strength stance of evangelicals revealed by this poll. However, it is apparent that evangelical approval of a nuclear freeze is heavily dependent on any such freeze being verifiable and bilateral, as the answers to the next two questions indicate.

When asked in question five if the Soviets would agree to verification through on-site inspection, evangelicals overwhelmingly believe (93% of those expressing an opinion) that the U.S.S.R. would not agree. Any evangelical approval of a nuclear freeze would thus seem heavily qualified in terms of verifiability.

When asked in question six whether they would favor or oppose a nuclear freeze if the Soviets do not also agree to it, 82% of evangelicals with an opinion would be opposed. Only 18% would favor a unilateral freeze by the United States.

The last question asks whether a person can be a good Christian and still support the possession of nuclear weapons for defensive purposes only. Of those evangelicals who have reached a decision on this issue, 85% believe that it is not inconsistent with their biblical faith to support the possession of nuclear weapons for defensive purposes only. This view stands in sharp contrast to the view which questions the morality of nuclear deterrence under any circumstances.

VIEWS OF EVANGELICALS ON THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

A Survey conducted for the National Association of Evangelicals by
THE GALLUP ORGANIZATION, INC.
June, 1983

Following are the national results for the total adult population, and also the evangelicals extracted from that group, with the no opinion included in the first table and excluded in the second:

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan is dealing with the nuclear arms situation?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Approve	43%	41%
Disapprove	34	26
No opinion	23	33

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Approve	56%	61%
Disapprove	44	39

2. In your opinion, which of the following increases the chances of a nuclear war more—a continuation of the nuclear arms buildup here and in the Soviet Union, or the U.S. falling behind the Soviet Union in nuclear weaponry?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
U.S. falling behind	51%	54%
Continuation of arms race	31	19
No opinion	18	27

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
U.S. falling behind	62%	74%
Continuation of arms race	38	26

3. At the present time, which nation do you feel is stronger in terms of nuclear weapons, the United States or the Soviet Union—or do you think they are about equal in nuclear strength?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Soviet Union	36%	38%
United States	16	16
About equal	34	23
No opinion	14	23

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Soviet Union	42%	49%
United States	19	21
About equal	39	30

4. Would you favor or oppose an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union for an immediate verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	75%	60%
Oppose	16	18
No opinion	9	22

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	82%	77%
Oppose	18	23

5. Do you think the Soviet Union will or will not agree to on-site inspection of nuclear weapons in their nation?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	10%	6%
Oppose	78	76
No opinion	12	18

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	11%	7%
Oppose	89	93

6. Would you favor or oppose a freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons at this time if the Soviet Union does not agree to a freeze?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	22%	15%
Oppose	68	67
No opinion	10	18

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Favor	24%	18%
Oppose	76	82

7. Do you think a person can be a good Christian and still support the possession of nuclear weapons for only defensive purposes, or not?

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' INCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Yes, can be a good Christian	77%	72%
No, cannot	13	13
No opinion	10	15

TOTAL WITH 'NO OPINION' EXCLUDED

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Yes, can be a good Christian	86%	85%
No, cannot	14	15

APPENDIX: PROFILE OF EVANGELICALS

The following table shows the proportion in key population groups who can be classified as "evangelicals" compared to the proportions found in the sample as a whole:

	<u>General Public</u>	<u>Evangelicals</u>
Men.....	48%	38%
Women.....	52	62
Whites.....	86	74
Non-whites.....	14	26
College background.....	30	19
High School.....	56	56
Grade school.....	14	24
18-29 years old.....	27	21
30-49 years old.....	37	33
50 and older.....	36	45
Protestants.....	54	89
Catholics.....	30	10
East.....	28	15
Midwest.....	27	23
South.....	27	50
West.....	18	12

From: Dee
Sepser
Gina Bessey

Man Killed in Canyon Rapids As Colorado River Rampages

GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK, Ariz.—A rafting accident in a flood-swollen rapids killed one man and injured others as the Colorado River, fed by torrents of Rocky Mountain snow melt, roared through four states and into Mexico yesterday.

The river overflowed in parts of Colorado, Nevada, Arizona and California, forcing hundreds out of their homes. At Grand Junction, Colo., the river reached its highest stage in the 66 years that records have been kept. In Mexico, two men drowned and thousands fled.

Rising water in reservoirs, fed by heavy snow melt, has forced the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation to open the dams' floodgates, causing more flooding downstream.

In western Colorado, heavy rain poured more water into the river, driving more people from their homes and closing part of Interstate 70. The rain also unleashed boulder-laden mudslides. In Arizona, National Guardsmen and volunteers reinforced banks and dikes.

Mexican authorities said 55,000 acres of farm land are flooded and up to 20,000 homes are in danger.

Rangers at Grand Canyon National Park required commercial river raft passengers to walk around Crystal Rapids after several rafts capsized Saturday, killing William Wert, 62, of Aspen, Colo., and injuring 15 others. The injured were flown out of the canyon by helicopter.

EX
5/27/83

Church of Christ Votes to Support Freeze

PITTSBURGH—The United Church of Christ's biennial General Synod voted to "work shoulder to shoulder" with Roman Catholic bishops protesting the nuclear arms race.

The 705 delegates to the 1.75 million-member denomination, which have met since Friday, unanimously approved a resolution supporting the bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear armament and the arms race.

The resolution said the church joins with the bishops in urging negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union to halt the testing, production and deployment of new nuclear weapons.

Gay Rights Parades Held on Both Coasts

Supporters of homosexual rights marched in New

AROUND THE NATION

York City in a parade dedicated to victims of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, while thousands in San Francisco staged a festive parade of costumes and floats.

At New York's St. Patrick's Cathedral in mid-town Manhattan, a group of Roman Catholics who objected to the parade as blasphemous gathered for a prayer vigil. More than 700 police officers were assigned to the parade to prevent disturbances between the marchers and anti-homosexual demonstrators, but it was generally peaceful.

In San Francisco, police had no immediate estimate of the number of people attending the 13th annual "Gay Freedom Day Parade."

The parade also was dedicated to AIDS victims, and a group of AIDS sufferers rode a motorized cable car near the head of the parade.

About 30,000 people lined the streets on Chicago's North Side lakefront for the city's 14th annual Gay and Lesbian Parade, led by former mayor Jane S. Byrne. In Columbus, Ohio, about 600 people rallied at the state house.

Third Poisoned 'Liquid Gravy' Bottle Found

NEWARK, N.J.—A third bottle of a liquid gravy recalled in New Jersey was found to contain enough insecticide to kill anyone swallowing a teaspoonful, a FBI entered the case, authorities said.

The bottle of Gravy Master Seasoning and P. Sauce was seized late Saturday from a Pathmark Jersey City and analyzed early yesterday, said Koplin, deputy state health commissioner. Officials said there have been no reported illnesses tainted gravy mix.

The maker, Gravymaster Inc. of Norway, called the sauce Saturday after officials sulfate in two bottles. The bottles were New York Post printed excerpts of a letter

PATRICK BUCHANAN

W. Time
2/2/83 file
Bush

A 'real peace president?'

A diplomat is an honest man sent abroad to lie for his country.

That chestnut came to mind re-reading George Bush's interview with James Reston, wherein our genial vice president on the eve of his mission to Europe, gushed, "I still firmly believe that Ronald Reagan has the opportunity to be a real peace president."

Hopefully, George was dissembling a bit. For the only way Reagan can become a "real peace president" in 1983 is to strike the kind of "deal" with Yuri Andropov that will make him the dupe, the pigeon of 1985.

Sounds cynical, does it not? Sounds like the gloomy muttering of an unregenerate anti-communist who hankers for the simplicities and clarities of the Cold War.

But before dismissing the idea — namely, that a real "deal" with Andropov is, quite simply, unattainable — consider the fate of our last "detente."

The centerpiece of Detente I, inaugurated by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger in Moscow in that happy spring of 1972, consisted first, of a

strategic arms agreement and, second, of a "new relationship," replacing the old "era of confrontation" with an "era of competition." Neither side, under the Code of Detente, was to seek unilateral advantage at the expense of the other. Remember?

We now know, however, that Henry was swindled at SALT I. His "understanding" with Leonid Brezhnev that the "light" SS-11 missile would not be replaced with a "heavy" missile was no understanding at all. The guarantees he gave Congress, based on conversations with the Soviets, proved worthless. The SS-11 missiles were replaced with giant, silo-busting SS-19s, missiles larger, more accurate, more destructive — and carrying twice as many warheads — than any missile in the American land-based arsenal.

Henry had been had, and so were we.

As for the "bridge building" and "confidence building" measures, we more than did our part. Remember the "Great Grain Robbery" of 1972, where the Russians emptied our granaries at bargain prices. Controls on U.S. technology transfers

were everywhere relaxed. U.S. computers were sent to Moscow to run the Soviet plants and factories built with Yankee know-how. Eighty billion dollars in credit eventually would go to Warsaw Pact shoppers in Western markets. The trek of U.S. scientists, artists, athletes, politicians, tourists, heading East to the Soviet Union, bringing billions in hard currency, was the greatest since the revolution.

We kept our end of the bargain. Did the Soviets?

In 1973, they conspired in the Egyptian-Syrian attack of Yom Kippur, and when the tide turned, Brezhnev threatened Nixon with Soviet airborne intervention, if he did not restrain the Israeli army.

In 1973 and 1974, violating solemn commitments given Kissinger, the Soviets massively rearmed North Vietnam for a final invasion of the South.

Before the decade had ended, the Soviets had intervened in force in Ethiopia and sub-Sahara Africa with Cuban proxies, had invaded and come near to annexing Afghanistan, had — under the able direction of Andropov — unleashed the KGB and its auxiliaries in East and Central Europe to smash and scatter the human rights and Helsinki watch organizations, in contemptuous disregard of the Helsinki Accords.

Who, then, destroyed detente?

Surely, it was not Nixon and Kissinger who inaugurated it; and Jimmy Carter and Cyrus Vance are simply not credible as saboteurs of peaceful co-existence. The answer is that the Soviets killed detente; or more exactly, *detente never existed*, except in the minds of Western politicians and Western peoples.

The problem is not a lack of flexibility or good will, as Walter Mondale implies with his risible pledge to "go to Andropov" immediately after inauguration. Nor is it a lack of imagination or skill on the part of the president. Nixon and Kissinger, after all, were arguably the most knowledgeable and skilled foreign policy team in recent American history.

The problem is systemic. Detente with the Soviet Union is simply unattainable, because the Soviet Union cannot survive permanent peaceful competition with the West. The closed Soviet society, the wretched police state, the ridiculous Marxist economic system cannot stand permanent side-by-side comparison with the material blessings of democratic capitalism and, more important, the individual rights and freedoms that are the birthright of Western peoples. For the Soviet Empire to endure, the West must be eliminated, liquidated, eradicated, as a political entity.

Poll Shows Evangelicals Support Nuclear Freeze

By Marjorie Hyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Evangelical Christians favor a nuclear freeze by better than 3 to 1, about the same as the public at large, according to a new Gallup Poll.

The findings appear counter to the views of many Americans, including President Reagan, who say they perceive evangelicals as hawkish on war-peace issues.

In March, Reagan appealed to the annual meeting of the National Association of Evangelicals to help defeat the nuclear freeze resolution then before Congress because, he said, a freeze would "reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military buildup" and leave the United States "increasingly vulnerable."

The poll, taken nine weeks after Reagan's speech, revealed that 77 percent of evangelicals questioned favor an immediate and verifiable nuclear freeze on testing, production and use of nuclear weapons. This compares with 82 percent of the general public on that question.

The poll was commissioned by the national association after the president's speech "to provide insight on the thinking of evangelicals regarding this crucial issue," an NAE spokesman said.

Evangelicals, who number around 40 million, are generally perceived to be pro-Reagan, in part because of the outspoken support of highly visible leaders like the Rev. Jerry Falwell and partly because of the president's championing of such topics as school prayer, Bible reading and the so-called pro-family issues.

But in fact there are wide differ-

ences of opinion among evangelicals on social and political issues.

The new Gallup study was based on interviews with 1,540 adults in more than 300 localities, of whom 17 percent were classified as evangelicals on the basis of three criteria: a born-again experience, acceptance of the Bible as the inspired word of God and efforts to persuade others to accept Jesus Christ as savior.

The views of evangelicals in the poll are strikingly similar to those of the general public, except for one area: evangelicals have a significantly higher percentage in the "no opinion" column on each of the seven questions in the survey.

Overall, 61 percent of the evangelicals and 56 percent of the general public said they approved of "the way President Reagan is dealing with the nuclear arms situation."

Also, 49 percent of the evangelicals and 42 percent of the general public said the Soviet Union is ahead in the nuclear arms race; 21 percent of evangelicals and 19 percent of the general public said the United States was ahead; 30 percent of the evangelicals and 39 percent of the general public said the two were "about equal."

Evangelicals and the general public were only a percentage point apart—85 and 86 percent, respectively—in saying that "a person can be a good Christian and still support the possession of nuclear weapons for only defensive purposes."

The widely publicized statement of the U.S. Catholic bishops, adopted in May, accepts possession of nuclear weapons for deterrence, but only as a step toward arms reduction talks.

First sentence a serious misrepresentation, repeated in fourth paragraph.
Facts:

60% favor
18% oppose
22% undecided

With 'no opinion' excluded, then

77% favor
23% oppose

Importance of these opinions missed in light of ques. #2: Which increases chances of nuclear war more...

US falling behind?	54%
Continuation of arms race?	19%
No opinion	27%

Story completely omits NAE observation that support of freeze is "surprising" (release) or a "paradox" (NAE Washington Insight in light of general peace through strength stance revealed in poll. Further, Post article does not mention at all two heavy conditions placed upon any freeze. There is no reference to ques. # 5 (93% of evangelicals with an opinion did not believe the Soviets would allow on-site verification) or to ques. #6 (82% of evangelicals with an opinion would oppose a freeze if the Soviets did not agree to it).

*File
Nuclear
Freeze*

MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF A FREEZE

A FREEZE WOULD:

- CODIFY SOVIET ADVANTAGES
- INCREASE THE VULNERABILITY OF OUR FORCES
- DERAIL REAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ARMS CONTROL

IN SHORT, A FREEZE WOULD UNDERCUT BOTH DETERRENCE AND NEGOTIATIONS.

FREEZE WOULD BE DANGEROUS FOR MILITARY BALANCE AND IMPEDE ARMS CONTROL

A FREEZE WOULD:

- REWARD THE SOVIET UNION FOR MASSIVE BUILDUP AND PUNISH AMERICAN RESTRAINT
- CODIFY DANGEROUS SOVIET ADVANTAGES
- PREVENT REPLACEMENT OF AGING AND VULNERABLE SYSTEMS
- PREVENT SAFETY AND SECURITY IMPROVEMENTS OF OUR SYSTEMS
- UNDERCUT NATO DETERRENCE
- BE A SETBACK FOR REAL ARMS CONTROL
- UNDERMINE U.S. LEADERSHIP AND ALLIANCE COHESION

A FREEZE AT CURRENT LEVELS WOULD REWARD THE USSR
FOR A MILITARY BUILDUP AND PENALIZE THE U.S. FOR RESTRAINT

USSR

- IN THE LAST 15 YEARS, 60 SSBNS DEPLOYED IN 5 NEW OR IMPROVED CLASSES
- SINCE SALT I, ABOUT 1/2 OF SLBM FORCE REPLACED WITH 3 NEW SLBM TYPES; A NEW SLBM TYPE IS BEING TESTED
- SINCE SALT I, ESSENTIALLY ENTIRE ICBM FORCE REPLACED WITH 10 VARIANTS OF 3 NEW ICBMs
- SINCE SALT I, OVER 250 BACKFIRE BOMBERS WITH INHERENT INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE
- SINCE SALT I AND ABM TREATY, SUBSTANTIAL ABM UPGRADE OF SINGLE PERMITTED SITE

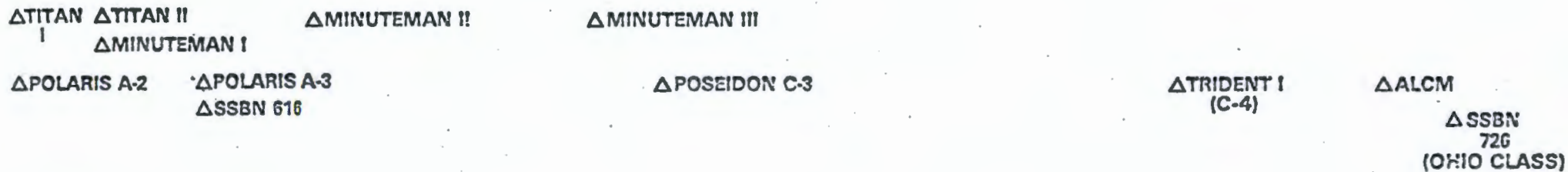
US

- NOW DEPLOYING TRIDENT SUBMARINES, THE FIRST SSBNS BUILT SINCE 1967
- 1 NEW SLBM DEPLOYED
- MINUTEMAN III MODIFIED, BUT NO NEW ICBMs DEPLOYED
- NO NEW INTERCONTINENTAL BOMBER IN OVER 20 YEARS
- ONLY ABM SITE DISMANTLED IN 1976

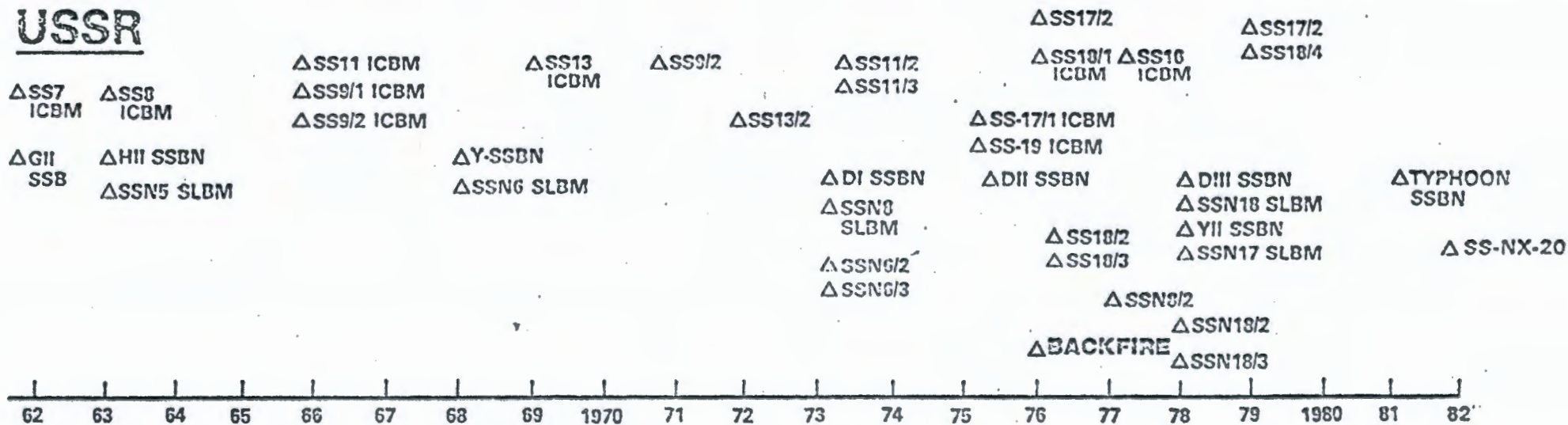
SINCE SALT I WAS SIGNED, THE USSR HAS SPENT APPROXIMATELY \$140 BILLION MORE THAN THE U.S. ON STRATEGIC FORCES

THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS "RACE"

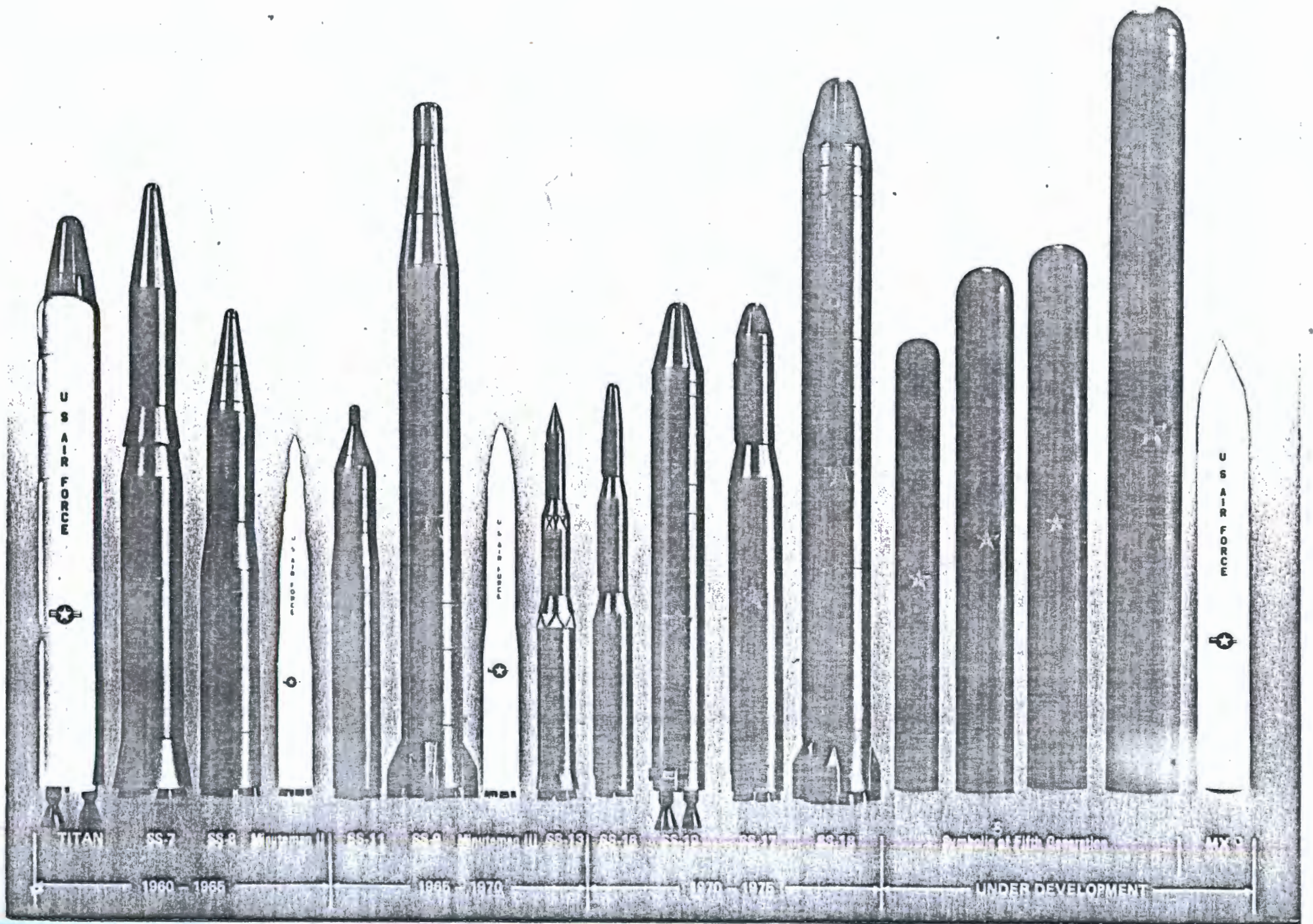
US



USSR



INTRODUCTION OF SELECTED SYSTEMS
BY YEAR

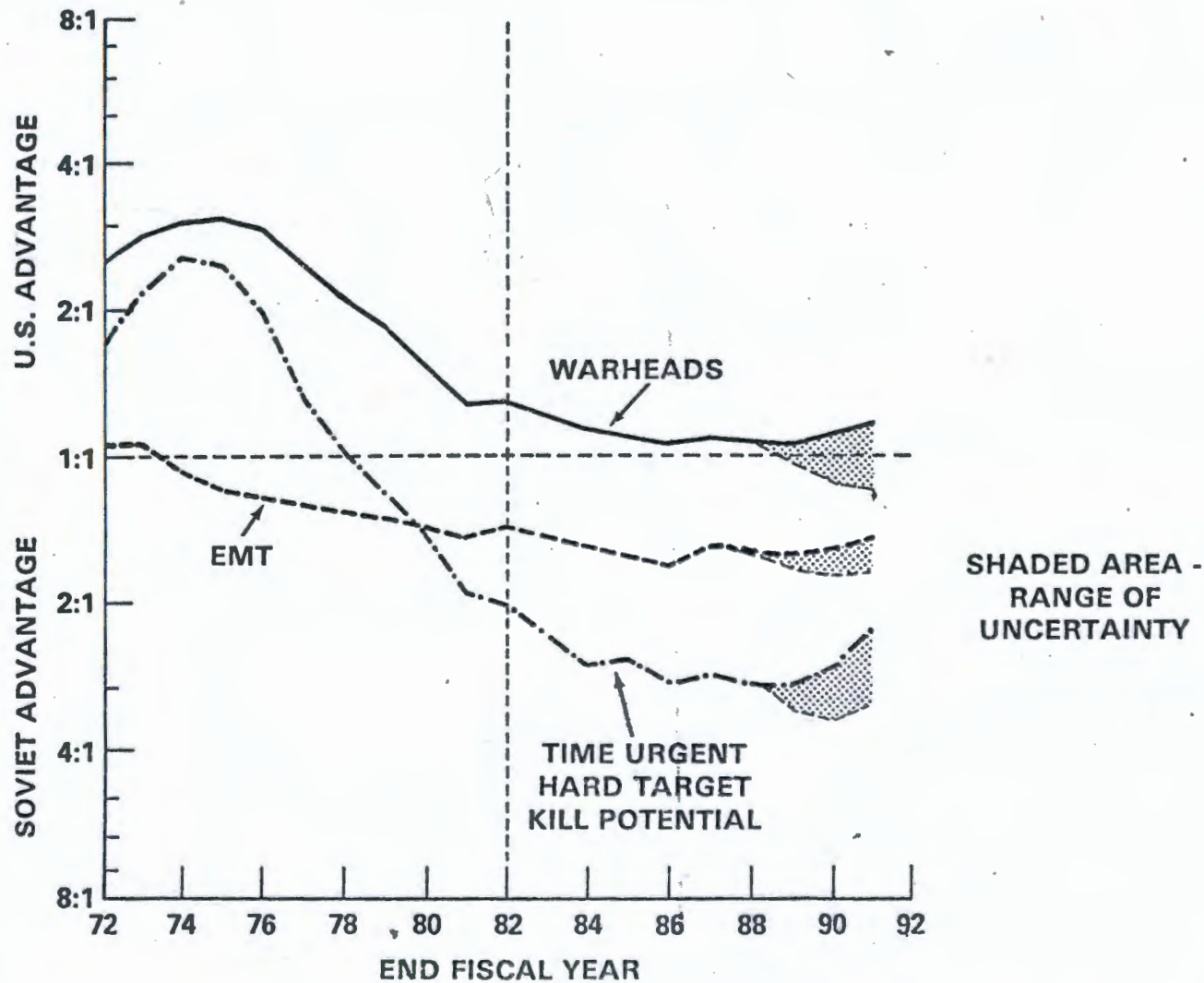


	<u>1950</u>		<u>1962</u>		<u>1972</u>		<u>1982</u>	
	<u>US</u>	<u>USSR</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>USSR</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>USSR</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>USSR</u>
<u>BALLISTIC MISSILES</u>								
ICBMs	0	0	78	40	1054	1500	1053	1398
WARHEADS						1500	2100	5900
SSBNs/SLBMs	0	0	9/144	38/100	41/656	57/500	33/544	70/950
WARHEADS					2200	500	5000	1600
<u>TOTAL WARHEADS</u>	0	0	222	140	3700	2000	7100	7500
<u>NUCLEAR CAPABLE BOMBERS</u>								
BOMBERS	250	0	1700	160	500	150	347	400
BOMBS	250	0	7200	320	2400	275	2500	800

A FREEZE WOULD CODIFY DANGEROUS SOVIET ADVANTAGES

- STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES -- 2,704 TO 1,944
- BALLISTIC MISSILE WARHEADS -- 7,500 TO 7,200
- PROMPT HARD TARGET KILL POTENTIAL -- OVER 2:1
- BALLISTIC MISSILE THROW-WEIGHT (POUNDS) -- 11,000,000 TO 4,000,000
- LRINF MISSILES (SS-4, SS-5, SS-20 VS
PERSHING II AND GLCM) -- 600 TO 0

STRATEGIC FORCES* PRE-ATTACK STATIC RATIO COMPARISON



- * EXCLUDES SOVIET BACKFIRE BOMBER
- WARHEADS — TOTAL NUMBER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON OPERATIONAL ICBMs, SLBMs AND BOMBERS
- EMT — EQUIVALENT NUMBER OF ONE MEGATON WEAPONS
- TIME URGENT HARD TARGET KILL POTENTIAL — PROMPT DELIVERY CAPABILITY OF ICBMs AND SLBMs AGAINST HARDENED TARGETS, MEASURED IN NUMBER OF 2500 PSU TARGETS THAT COULD BE DESTROYED

STRATEGIC NUCLEAR BALANCE

U.S. (Mid-year 1982)

53 Titan II
 450 Minuteman II
550 Minuteman III
 1053

USSR

580 SS-11
 60 SS-13
 150 SS-17
 308 SS-18
300 SS-19
 1398

SLBMs

320 Poseidon
224 Trident I
 544

SS-N-6
 SS-N-8
 SS-N-13

950

Bombers

79 B-52D
 172 B-52G
96 B-52H
 347

Bear
 Bison
 Backfire

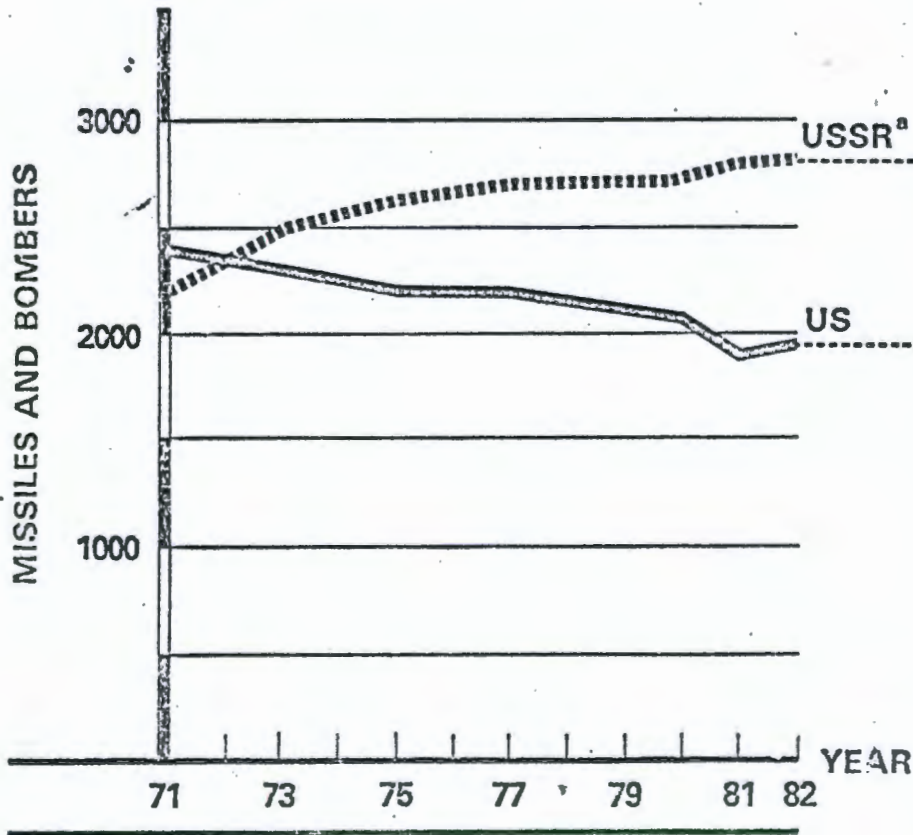
356

Approximate Totals

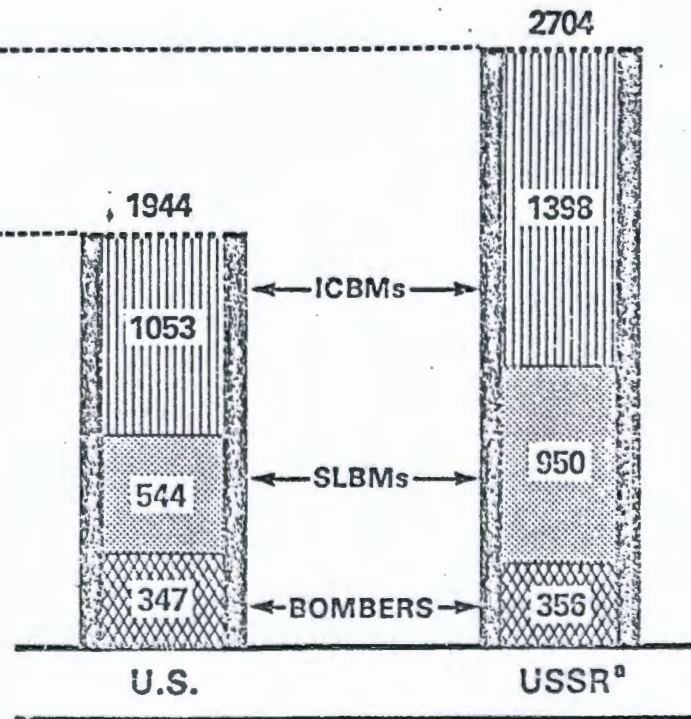
	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>USSR</u>
Delivery Vehicles	1944	2704
— missiles	1537	2348
— bombers	347	400 356
<u>Warheads (missile only)</u>	7200	7500
Missile Throw-Weight	2000 tonnes	5000 tonnes

TOTAL STRATEGIC MISSILES AND BOMBERS

A. NUMBER OF STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES



B. TOTAL STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES BY COMPOSITION



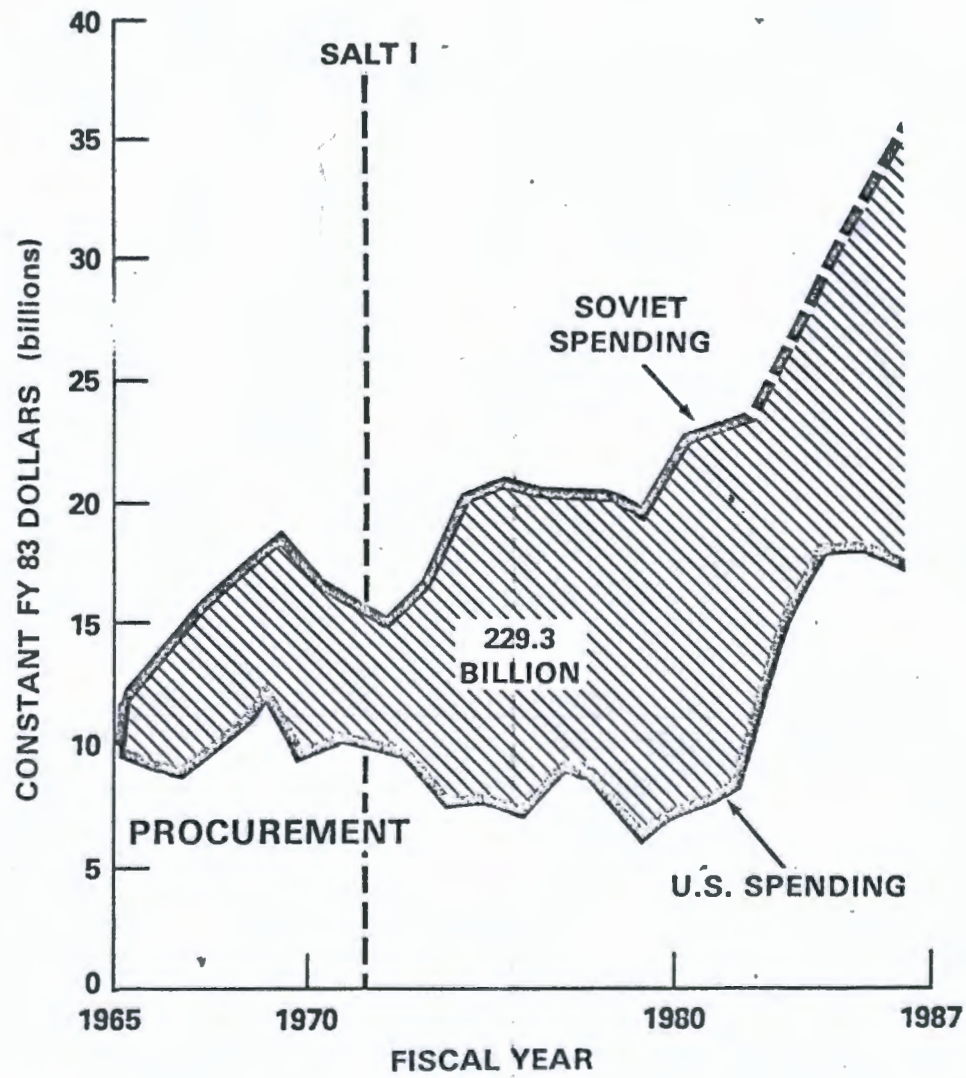
(a) USSR figures include Soviet strategic missiles and BEAR, BISON, and BACKFIRE bombers; the BACKFIRE bomber has been included in this figure because it has an inherent intercontinental capability.

SINCE SALT I WAS SIGNED, THE USSR HAS SPENT \$140 BILLION MORE THAN THE U.S. ON ACQUISITION OF STRATEGIC FORCES

THIS WOULD BE ENOUGH TO:

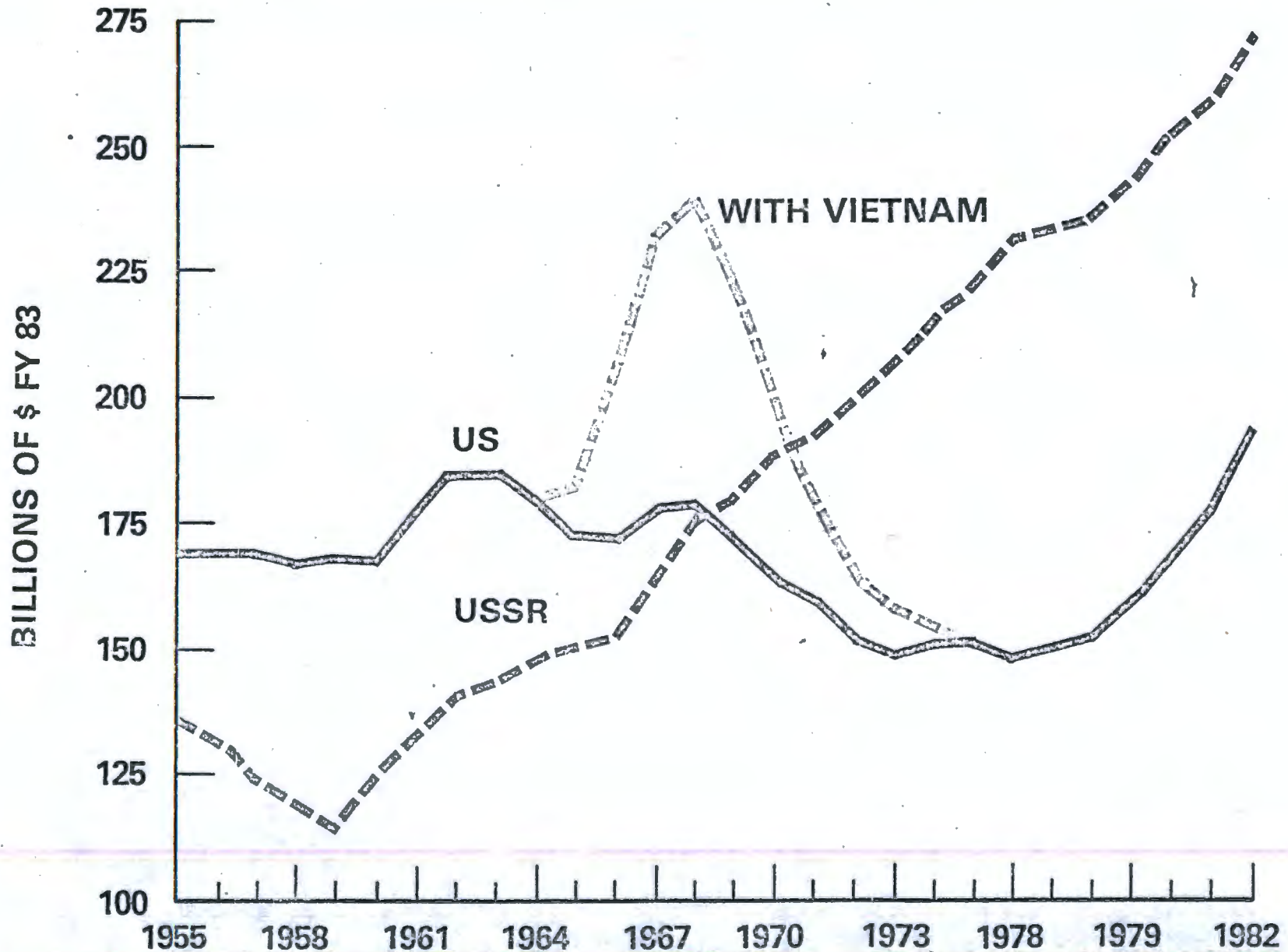
- MODERNIZE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCES
 - 100 MODERN LAND-BASED MISSILES (MX)
 - 100 MODERN BOMBERS THAT CAN DEFEAT SOVIET DEFENSES AND PROVIDE THE FLEXIBILITY OF A MANNED PENETRATION
 - 3200 AIR-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES TO PROVIDE A HIGHLY ACCURATE SYSTEM CAPABLE OF PENETRATING SOVIET AIR DEFENSES
 - 20 MODERN, QUIET SUBMARINES (TRIDENT), EQUIPPED WITH LONG-RANGE MISSILES THAT ALLOW THE SUBMARINES TO PATROL IN HOME WATERS
- MODERNIZE OUR AIR-DEFENSE SYSTEM TO COUNTER THE GROWING SOVIET BOMBER THREAT
 - 12 AIRBORNE WARNING/CONTROL SYSTEMS (AWACS)
 - 5 SQUADRONS OF MODERN INTERCEPTORS (F15)
 - AN "OVER THE HORIZON" RADAR TO IMPROVE EARLY WARNING
 - IMPROVEMENTS TO THE LONG-RANGE EARLY WARNING RADARS (DEW LINE)
- REDUCE VULNERABILITIES ON OUR COMMAND AND CONTROL COMMUNICATIONS AND AND INTELLIGENCE INFRASTRUCTURE
- DEFEND MX AGAINST A BALLISTIC-MISSILE ATTACK

U.S. AND SOVIET SPENDING ON ACQUISITION OF STRATEGIC FORCES (1965-1987)



FROM THE SIGNING OF SALT I IN 1972 THROUGH 1982, THE TOTAL DIFFERENCE IN SPENDING ON ACQUISITION OF STRATEGIC FORCES IS APPROXIMATELY 140 BILLION

COMPARISON OF US DEFENSE OUTLAYS WITH ESTIMATED DOLLAR COST OF SOVIET DEFENSE ACTIVITIES



ESTIMATED DEFENSE INVESTMENT

