

Old
NAZIS,
the
NEW RIGHT,
and the
REPUBLICAN
PARTY

R U S S B E L L A N T

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“One of the great lies of this century is that in the 1930’s Generalissimo Franco in Spain was primarily a nationalist engaged in stopping the Reds. Franco was, of course, a fascist who was aided by Mussolini and Hitler.

“The history of this period is a press forgery. Falsified news manipulates public opinion.

Democracy needs facts.

*Once, while I was questioning publisher and editor William Allen White, we arrived at a formula that still is the best rule for journalists—
The facts fairly and honestly presented;
the truth will take care of itself.”*

George Seldes
Hartland Four Corners, Vermont
March 5, 1988

PREFACE

BY CHIP BERLET

*“Fascism, which was not afraid to call itself reactionary...
does not hesitate to call itself illiberal and anti-liberal.”*

Benito Mussolini

In this book, author Russ Bellant tells us that an Eastern European emigré fascist network with direct ties to former Nazi collaborators has penetrated the Republican Party through its ethnic outreach program. He further argues that this network has played a significant role in shaping American foreign policy since World War II, with the goal of rolling back the borders of the Soviet Union in an inevitable military confrontation.

Mr. Bellant faces a major hurdle convincing us that this lurid-sounding tale is true, and he faces this challenge head-on. That ultimately he is successful in this task is due to his dozens of interviews, hundreds of footnotes, and thousands of hours of research.

Perhaps a harder question to address than the validity of the charges, is seemingly the simplest: Should we care? To understand why the answer is yes, we should care, one must start by examining the roots of the nationalist political movements of 1930's Europe, and the role played by political fascism and nazism in shaping these movements.

We have all heard of the Nazis—but our image is usually a caricature of a brutal goose-stepping soldier wearing a uniform emblazoned with a swastika. Most people in the U.S. are aware that the U.S. and its allies fought a war

against the Nazis, but there is much more to know if one is to learn the important lessons of our recent history.

Technically, the word “Nazi” was an abbreviation of National Socialist German Worker’s Party. This was a fascist movement that had its roots in the European nationalist and socialist movements, and that developed a grotesque biologically determinant view of so-called Aryan supremacy. (Here we use “national socialism” to refer to the early Nazi movement before Hitler came to power, sometimes termed the “Brownshirt” phase, and the term “Nazi” to refer to the movement after it had consolidated around ideological fascism.)

The seeds of fascism, however, were planted in Italy. “Fascism is reaction,” said Mussolini, but reaction to what? The reactionary movement following World War I was based on a rejection of the social theories that formed the basis of the 1789 French Revolution, and whose early formulations in this country had a major influence on our Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights.

It was Rousseau who is best known for crystallizing these modern social theories in *The Social Contract*. The progeny of these theories are sometimes called Modernism or Modernity because they challenged social theories generally accepted since the days of Machiavelli. The response to the French Revolution and Rousseau, by Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche and others, poured into an intellectual stew which served up Marxism, socialism, national socialism, fascism, modern liberalism, modern conservatism, communism, and a variety of forms of capitalist participatory democracy.

Fascists particularly loathed the social theories of the French Revolution and its slogan: “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.”

■ Liberty from oppressive government intervention in the daily lives of its citizens, from illicit searches and seizures, from enforced religious values, from intimidation and arrest for dissenters; and liberty to cast a vote in a system in which the majority ruled but the minority retained certain inalienable rights.

■ Equality in the sense of civic equality, egalitarianism, the notion that while people differ, they all should stand equal in the eyes of the law.

■ Fraternity in the sense of the brotherhood of mankind. That all women and men, the old and the young, the infirm and the healthy, the rich and the poor, share a spark of humanity that must be cherished on a level above that of the law, and that

binds us all together in a manner that continuously reaffirms and celebrates life.

This is what fascism as an ideology was reacting against—and its support came primarily from desperate people anxious and angry over their perception that their social and economic position was sinking and frustrated with the constant risk of chaos, uncertainty, and inefficiency implicit in a modern democracy based on these principles. Fascism is the antithesis of democracy. We fought a war against it not half a century ago; millions perished as victims of fascism and champions of liberty.

Fascism was forged in the crucible of post-World War I nationalism in Europe. The national aspirations of many European peoples—nations without states, peoples arbitrarily assigned to political entities with little regard for custom or culture—had been crushed after World War I. The humiliation imposed by the victors in the Great War, coupled with the hardship of the economic Depression, created bitterness and anger. That anger frequently found its outlet in an ideology that asserted not just the importance of the nation, but its unquestionable primacy and central predestined role in history.

In identifying “goodness” and “superiority” with “us,” there was a tendency in fascist movements to identify “evil” with “them.” This process involves scapegoating and dehumanization. It was then an easy step for fascists to blame all societal problems on “them,” and presuppose a conspiracy of these evildoers which had emasculated and humiliated the idealized core group of the nation. To solve society’s problems one need only unmask the conspirators and eliminate them.

In Europe, Jews were the handy group to scapegoat as “them.” Anti-Jewish conspiracy theories and discrimination against Jews were not a new phenomenon, but most academic studies of the period note an increased anti-Jewish fervor in Europe, especially in the late 1800’s. In France this anti-Jewish bias was most publicly expressed in the case of Alfred Dreyfus, a French military officer of Jewish background, who in 1894 was falsely accused of treason, convicted (through the use of forged papers as evidence), and imprisoned on Devil’s Island. Émile Zola led a noble struggle which freed Dreyfus and exposed the role of anti-Jewish bigotry in shaping French society and betraying the principles on which France was building its democracy.

Not all European nationalist movements were necessarily fascist, although many were. In some countries much of the Catholic hierarchy embraced fascist nationalism as a way to counter the encroachment of secular influences on societies where previously the church had sole control over societal values and mores. This was especially true in Slovakia and

Croatia, where the Clerical Fascist movements were strong, and to a lesser extent in Poland and Hungary. Yet even in these countries individual Catholic leaders and laity spoke out against bigotry as the shadow of fascism crept across Europe. And in every country of Europe there were ordinary citizens who took extraordinary risks to shelter the victims of the Holocaust. So religion and nationality cannot be valid indicators of fascist sentiment. And the Nazis not only came for the Jews, as the famous quote reminds us, but for the communists and the trade union leaders, and indeed the Gypsies, the dissidents, and the homosexuals. Nazism and fascism are more complex than popular belief. What, then, is the nature of fascism?

“Reactionary concepts plus revolutionary emotion
result in Fascist mentality.”

Wilhelm Reich

Italy was the birthplace of fascist ideology. Mussolini, a former socialist journalist, organized the first fascist movement in 1919 at Milan. In 1922 Mussolini led a march on Rome, was given a government post by the king, and began transforming the Italian political system into a fascist state. In 1938 he forced the last vestige of democracy, the Council of Deputies, to vote themselves out of existence, leaving Mussolini dictator of fascist Italy.

Yet there were Italian fascists who resisted scapegoating and dehumanization even during World War II. Not far from the area where Austrian Prime Minister Kurt Waldheim is accused of assisting in the transport of Jews to the death camps, one Italian general, Mario Roatta, who had pledged equality of treatment to civilians, refused to obey the German military order to round up Jews. Roatta said such an activity was “incompatible with the honor of the Italian Army.”

Franco's fascist movement in Spain claimed state power in 1936, although it took three years, the assistance of the Italian fascists, and help from the secretly reconstituted German Air Force finally to crush those who fought for democracy. Picasso's famous painting *Guernica* depicts the carnage wrought in a Spanish village by the bombs dropped by the forerunner of the *Luftwaffe* which all too soon would be working on an even larger canvas. Yet Franco's fascist Spain never adopted the obsession with race and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories that were hallmarks of Hitler's Nazi movement in Germany.

Other fascist movements in Europe were more explicitly racialist, promoting the slogan still used today by some neo-Nazi movements: “Nation is Race.” The Nazi racialist version of fascism was developed by

Adolph Hitler who with six others formed the Nazi party during 1919 and 1920. Imprisoned after the unsuccessful 1923 Beer Hall putsch in Munich, Hitler dictated his opus, *Mein Kampf*, to his secretary, Rudolph Hess.

Mein Kampf (*My Battle*) sets out a plan for creating in Germany through national socialism a racially pure *Volkish* state. To succeed, said Hitler, “Aryan” Germany had to resist two forces: the external threat posed by the French with their bloodlines “negrified” through “contamination by Negro blood,” and the internal threat posed by “the Marxist shock troops of international Jewish stock exchange capital.” Hitler was named Chancellor of Germany by Hindenburg in January 1933 and by year’s end had consolidated his power as a fascist dictator and begun a campaign for racialist nationalism that eventually led to the Holocaust.

This obsession with racialism not only afflicted the German Nazis, but also several Eastern European nationalist and fascist movements including those in Croatia, Slovakia, Serbia, Lithuania, Romania, Bulgaria, and the Ukraine. Anti-Jewish bigotry was rampant in all of these racialist movements, as was the idea of a link between Jewish financiers and Marxists. Even today the tiny Anti-Communist Confederation of Polish Freedom Fighters in the U.S.A. uses the slogan “Communism is Jewish.”

One element shared by all fascist movements, racialist or not, is the apparent lack of consistent political principle behind the ideology—political opportunism in the most basic sense. One virtually unique aspect of fascism is its ruthless drive to attain and hold state power. On that road to power, fascists are willing to abandon any principle to adopt an issue more in vogue and more likely to gain converts.

Hitler, for his part, committed his act of abandonment bloodily and dramatically. When the industrialist power brokers offered control of Germany to Hitler, they knew he was supported by national socialist ideologues who held views incompatible with their idea of profitable enterprise. Hitler solved the problem in the “Night of the Long Knives,” during which he had the leadership of the national socialist wing of his constituency murdered in their sleep.

What distinguishes nazism from generic fascism is its obsession with racial theories of superiority, and some would say, its roots in the socialist theory of proletarian revolution.

Fascism and nazism as ideologies involve, to varying degrees, some of the following hallmarks:

- Nationalism and superpatriotism with a sense of historic mission.
- Aggressive militarism even to the extent of glorifying war as good for the national or individual spirit.

- Use of violence or threats of violence to impose views on others (fascism and nazism both employed street violence and state violence at different moments in their development).
- Authoritarian reliance on a leader or elite not constitutionally responsible to an electorate.
- Cult of personality around a charismatic leader.
- Reaction against the values of Modernism, usually with emotional attacks against both liberalism and communism.
- Exhortations for the homogeneous masses (*Volk* or folk) to join voluntarily in a heroic mission—often metaphysical and romanticized in character.
- Dehumanization and scapegoating of the enemy—seeing the enemy as an inferior or subhuman force, perhaps involved in a conspiracy that justifies eradicating them.
- The self-image of being a superior form of social organization beyond socialism, capitalism, and democracy.
- Elements of national socialist ideological roots, for example, ostensible support for the industrial working class or farmers; but ultimately, the forging of an alliance with an elite sector of society.
- Abandonment of any consistent ideology in a drive for state power.

It is vitally important to understand that fascism and nazism are not biologically or culturally determinant. Fascism does not attach to the gene structure of any specific group or nationality. Nazism was not the ultimate expression of the German people. Fascism did not end with World War II.

After Nazi Germany surrendered to the Allies, the geopolitical landscape of Europe was once again drastically altered. In a few short months, some of our former fascist enemies became our allies in the fight to stop the spread of communism. The record of this transformation has been laid out in a series of books. U.S. recruitment of the Nazi spy apparatus has been chronicled in books ranging from *The General Was a Spy* by Hohne & Zolling, to the recent *Blowback* by Christopher Simpson. The laundering of Nazi scientists into our space program is chronicled in *The Paperclip Conspiracy* by Tom Bower. The global activities of, and ongoing fascist role within, the World Anti-Communist League were described in *Inside the League* by Anderson and Anderson. Bellant's bibliography cites many other examples of detailed and accurate reporting of these disturbing realities.

But if so much is already known of this period, why does journalist and historian George Seldes call the history of Europe between roughly 1920 and 1950 a “press forgery”? Because most people are completely unfamiliar with this material, and because so much of the popular historical record either ignores or contradicts the facts of European nationalism, Nazi collaborationism, and our government’s reliance on these enemies of democracy to further our cold war foreign policy objectives.

This widely accepted, albeit misleading, historical record has been shaped by filtered media reports and self-serving academic revisionism rooted in an ideological preference for those European nationalist forces which opposed socialism and communism. Since sectors of those nationalist anticommunist forces allied themselves with political fascism, but later became our allies against communism, *apologia* for collaborationists became the rule, not the exception.

*“The great masses of people. . . will more easily fall victims
to a big lie than to a small one.”*

Adolph Hitler

As war memories dimmed and newspaper accounts of collaboration faded, the fascists and their allies re-emerged cloaked in a new mantle of respectability. Portrayed as anticommunist freedom fighters, their backgrounds blurred by time and artful circumlocution, they stepped forward to continue their political organizing with goals unchanged and slogans slightly repackaged to suit domestic sensibilities.

To fight communism after World War II, our government forged a tactical alliance with what was perceived to be the lesser of two evils—and as with many such bargains, there has been a high price to pay.

This book tallies some of the moral and political costs of our government’s disquieting alliance with Nazi collaborationists and fascists; and follows the trail from the bloody atrocities of the *Waffen SS* to the ethnic outreach arm of the Republican Party and even to the paneled walls of White House briefing rooms. It is a story many will find unbelievable, yet its documentation is thorough and its conclusions warranted—leaving only the question of whether or not we as a nation find the situation morally tolerable.

Chip Berlet
Cambridge, Massachusetts

*“If fascism came to America, it would be on
a program of Americanism.”*

Huey P. Long

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was researched and written over a four-year period, beginning in mid-1983. The research was begun to satisfy my own curiosity, evolved into a magazine article proposal, and finally grew into this report.

The summer of 1983 was spent in Detroit-area libraries, researching individuals, organizations, and political history. Later in the research process, trips to the Library of Congress and use of interlibrary loan broadened my access to published sources.

During the course of my research, I attended both small and large events sponsored by groups described herein. Examples include the 1984 and 1985 World Anti-Communist League conventions, the 1985 and 1986 Republican Heritage Groups Council conventions, a number of American Security Council activities, and many events of other groups utilized by the U.S. fascist network, including events sponsored by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's organizations and by Liberty Lobby. I interviewed nearly a hundred leaders and observers of these organizations and studied many of the books, periodicals, and newsletters they publish.

Occasionally I became skeptical that what I was finding could, in fact, be true. To help me chart my way in these little-known political waters, I would periodically share my results with a handful of journalists and other somewhat detached observers of American political realities, to test my information and hypotheses, and to help maintain a balanced perspective.

When reading this study, some may be inclined to see it as a partisan attack on the Republican Party, but it was not conceived or researched from a partisan standpoint. Nor was it done with the knowledge of, or in concert with, any element of the Democratic party or any other political organization. Certainly Democrats are included where warranted, but of the two parties, the fascist network has chosen the GOP as its home. This is an

objective problem that exists within the American political process; it is not the product of partisan bias.

Perhaps the greatest impediment to understanding the networks discussed in this paper lies in the failure of academic research to address thoroughly a period of history of crucial importance. There is very little literature on the histories of the German occupation of countries on the Eastern Front, much less a discussion of the role of the *Waffen SS* and other collaborationist elements in that region. The escape of important collaborationists from the East, and the integration of these individuals and organizations into the Western political system, is also virtually ignored. Finally, most of the literature, admittedly sparse, on American fascism appears to have been produced by journalists and political activists, with little in-depth research by academicians. As the last leaders of these European and American groups die, I wonder how much of this history will ever be recovered. I have included a short list of readings related to matters discussed in this report.

I would like to thank those whose own research and support helped with my report, including Dr. Fred Chary, Dr. Barry Mehler, Dennis Debbaudt, Kris Jacobs, and Wes McCune. Christopher Simpson volunteered useful suggestions after reading a final draft. Certain friends provided assistance during the four-year period of my work, especially Bo and Chris, as well as Dee and Suzanne. This book would not have been possible without the support of Political Research Associates: the encouragement and comments of its director, Dr. Jean Hardisty, the careful editing of Chip Berlet, and the relentless pursuit of footnotes by Margaret Quigley. The most important support, however, came from my wife, Debi, as this work was conducted for so long in so many out-of-town places. She accepted my work schedule with great patience.

Finally, I would like to thank those leaders of the groups mentioned herein who gave their time to be interviewed, including John Fisher. They will not be happy with this study. To them, I can only say that I, myself, wish it weren't so.

Russ Bellant
Detroit, Michigan, 8/3/88

AUTHOR'S ADDITIONAL NOTE

The Republican Party and President George Bush have yet to address the serious issues raised in this report.

R.B.
3/15/91

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INTRODUCTION

REAGAN, REMORSE, AND REVISIONIST HISTORY

It's May 17, 1985: President Reagan has been back in the nation's capital less than two weeks from his much-criticized trip to the Bitburg cemetery in Germany. Now, floodlights and television cameras that are part of a President's entourage are waiting at the Shoreham Hotel, as are 400 luncheon guests.

Ronald Reagan had recently characterized the Nazi *Waffen SS* as "victims." It seemed a rewrite of the history of World War II rather than a recommitment to its painful lessons. Reagan's comments held special meaning for some of his afternoon luncheon guests. Although it was a Republican Party affair, it was not the usual GOP set, but a special ethnic outreach unit, the National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council (NRHG(N)C). The Republican Heritage Groups Council is an umbrella for various ethnic Republican clubs and operates under the auspices of the Republican National Committee.

If President Reagan needed a boost after the Bitburg fiasco, this was the crowd to supply it. To the assembled media, Reagan's visit that afternoon appeared as a routine stop, perhaps paying a re-election debt. The Republican Heritage Groups Council did, in fact, help elect Reagan. And they gave him a long standing ovation that afternoon at the Shoreham. To some of those attending the 1985 Council meeting, Reagan's rehabilitation of the *Waffen SS* must have offered a sense of personal and historic vindication.

The Republican Heritage Groups Council has a special type of outreach. It appears to have consciously recruited some of its members—and some of its leaders—from an Eastern European emigré network which includes anti-Semites, racists, authoritarians, and fascists, including sympathizers and

collaborators of Hitler's Third Reich, former Nazis, and even possible war criminals. The persons in this network represent only a radical right fraction of the ethnic communities they claim to represent.

These antidemocratic and racialist components of the Republican Heritage Groups Council use anticommunist sentiments as a cover for their views while they operate as a *de facto* emigré fascist network within the Republican Party. Some of these less savory antidemocratic personalities were part of the 1987 Republican Heritage Groups Council meeting as well as that 1985 luncheon audience; and some would later join the 1988 election campaign of George Bush.

PART ONE

The National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council

“ While the large majority of the organizations in the Republican Nationalities Council are thoroughly respectable, it is nonetheless true that the council has become fertile grounds for political organizing by certain former Nazi collaborators still active in immigrant communities in this country. ”

Christopher Simpson
Blowback

WEIDENFELD & NICOLSON, 1988

REPUBLICANS, AUTHORITARIANS, ANTI-SEMITES, AND FASCISTS

The emigré fascist network within the Republican Party represents a small but significant element of the coalition which brought Ronald Reagan into the White House. It is from this network that the George Bush presidential campaign assembled its ethnic outreach unit in 1988 . . . a unit that saw eight resignations by persons charged with anti-Semitism, racism, fascist leanings, and even Nazi collaboration. These right-wing emigrés are a small but vocal element within the broader ethnic communities they claim to represent. They frequently utilize anticommunist sentiments, historical revisionism, and lack of knowledge about Eastern and Central Europe as a shield to deflect inspection and criticism of their past actions and current views.

The emigré fascist network organizes support for its ideological agenda through national and international coalitions of like-minded constituencies which often work with other authoritarian, antidemocratic, and profascist forces. This broader coalition ranges from Axis allies and their apologists to friends and allies of contemporary dictatorships and authoritarian regimes.

In the case of the Republican Heritage Groups Council, the nature of the right-wing emigré network can be illustrated by briefly reviewing the backgrounds of some of the past and current leadership of the Republican Heritage Groups Council:

AXIS ALLIES AND APOLOGISTS

Laszlo Pasztor: The founding chair and a key figure in the Council, Pasztor began his political career in a Hungarian pro-Nazi party and served in Berlin at the end of World War II. He continues to be involved in ultrarightist groups and fascist networks while working with the GOP.

Radi Slavoff: The Republican Heritage Groups Council's executive director is a member of a Bulgarian fascist group and leader of the Bulgarian GOP unit of the Council. He was able to get the leader of his Bulgarian nationalist group a White House invitation even though that leader was being investigated for concealing alleged World War II war crimes. He is also active in other emigré fascist groups.

Nicolas Nazarenko: A former World War II officer in the German SS Cossack Division, Nazarenko heads a Cossack GOP unit of the Republican Heritage Groups Council but declares that Jews are his "ideological enemy." He is still active with pro-Nazi elements in the U.S.

Florian Galdau: A close associate and defender of Valerian Trifa, the Romanian archbishop prosecuted for concealing his involvement in war crimes of the pro-Nazi Romanian Iron Guard in World War II. Charged by

former Iron Guardists and others with being the East Coast recruiter for the Iron Guard in the U.S., Galdau heads the Romanian Republican unit of the Republican Heritage Groups Council.

Method Balco: Head of the Slovak GOP unit, which is filled with supporters and at least one former diplomat of the Slovak Nazi government of World War II. Balco also organizes annual commemorations of the Slovak Nazi regime.

Walter Melianovich: Head of the Byelorussian GOP unit, which has had collaborators of the Nazi World War II occupation in leadership roles, Melianovich has worked with other fascist groups.

Croatian GOP: Their group wrote an apology for the Croatian Ustashi's World War II alliance with Hitler which appeared in a Republican Heritage Groups Council publication signed by GOP Chair Frank Fahrenkopf.

FRIENDS OF DICTATORSHIP

Philip A. Guarino: An honorary American member of the conspiratorial P-2 Masonic Lodge of Italy, which plotted in the early 1970's to overthrow the Italian government in order to install a dictatorship. P-2 was exposed widely in the European press and investigated by the Italian Parliament. Guarino, an Italian Heritage Council member and Republican National Committee advisor, offered aid to those being investigated.

Anna Chennault: The newly elected Republican Heritage Groups Council chairperson and funder of the Chinese Republican affiliate, which for years has been closely linked to the authoritarian Taiwan regime.

The names of all but one of the persons listed above appeared on the invitational literature for the October 1987 meeting of the National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council in Washington, D.C.

THE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN HERITAGE GROUPS COUNCIL

Many of the Republican Heritage Groups Council leaders of Central and Eastern European nationalities were part of the post-World War II immigration from displaced persons camps. It would be unfair to suggest that all or even a majority of Eastern and Central Europeans were anti-Semites or fascists . . . most displaced persons were victims of the war who played no role in collaborating with nazism. Yet quite a few persons in the displaced persons camps were there as political escapees to avoid the consequences of their collaboration with the German occupation of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Displaced Persons Commission, which worked from 1948 to 1952,

arranged for approximately 400,000 persons to come to the U.S.¹ Initially it sought to bar members of pro-Nazi groups, but in 1950 a dramatic reversal took place. The Commission declared "the Baltic Legion not to be a movement hostile to the Government of the United States. . . ."² The Baltic Legion was also known as the Baltic Waffen (armed) SS.

The final report of the Commission noted that the decision "was the subject of considerable controversy."³ As well it should have been. The Waffen SS participated in the liquidation of Jews in the Baltic region because the SS units were comprised of Hitler's loyal henchmen, recruited from fascist political groups long tied to the German Nazi Party. Anyone opposed to the German occupation of the Baltic region (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) was likely to meet a cruel death at their hands. They were now considered qualified to come to the United States, to become American citizens. Further, pro-Nazi elements from other parts of Europe came to the U.S. through nominally private groups associated with the Commission.

In 1952, the Commission completed its work. The Eisenhower-Nixon presidential campaign was on. The Republicans were charging the Democrats with being "soft on communism," and talk of "liberating" Eastern Europe became part of the GOP message. That year, the Republican National Committee formed an Ethnic Division. Displaced fascists, hoping to be returned to power by a Eisenhower-Nixon "liberation" policy, were among those who signed on. This would become the embryo for the formation of the Republican Heritage Groups Council in 1969.

In a sense, however, the foundation of the Republican Heritage Groups Council lay in Hitler's networks into East Europe before World War II. In each of those Eastern European countries, the German SS set up or funded political action organizations that helped form SS militias during the war.

In Hungary, for example, the Arrow Cross was the Hungarian SS affiliate; in Romania, the Iron Guard. The Bulgarian Legion, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Latvian Legion, and the Byelorussian (White Russian) Belarus Brigade were all SS-linked. In each of their respective countries, they were expected to serve the interests of the German Nazi Party before and during the war.

Many of these groups formed SS divisions: the Ukrainian Nationalists formed the 14th Galician Division, Waffen SS; the Latvians formed the 15th and 19th Divisions, Waffen SS; etc.⁴ These units and related German-controlled police units had several functions. The Ukrainian division unsuccessfully tried to impede the advance of the Soviet army against the Nazi army. Others hunted down those fellow countrymen who opposed the German occupation of Eastern Europe during World War II.

More sadistically, many units rounded up hundreds of thousands of Jews, Poles, and others and conducted mass murders on the spot, sometimes

decimating whole villages. They perfected “mobile killing teams” as efficient means of mass executions. Little is known about these units compared to the concentration camps, gas chambers, and ovens, but they were an integrated component of the “Final Solution.” Approximately one-third of the victims of the Holocaust, perhaps as many as two million, died at the hands of these units.

This should not be taken to suggest that all Eastern and Central Europeans were Nazi collaborators who participated in atrocities, but it is a historical fact that some right-wing elements from virtually every Eastern European nationality tied their nationalistic goals to the rising star of fascism and Hitler’s racist nazism.

THE COUNCIL’S LEADERSHIP

The founding chair of the Republican Heritage Groups Council was Laszlo Pasztor, an activist in various Hungarian rightist and Nazi-linked groups. In World War II Pasztor was a leader of the youth group of the Arrow Cross, the Hungarian equivalent of the German Nazi Party.⁵ As the Germans retreated from the USSR back to Germany in 1944, their allied Hungarian government collapsed. The Arrow Cross took power in Hungary, with Hitler’s aid, to help defend Germany. Pasztor was sent to Berlin as part of the new diplomatic mission to Hitler, until the war’s end.

When Pasztor came to the U.S. in the 1950’s, he joined the GOP’s Ethnic Division. One of the leaders of the 1968 Nixon-Agnew campaign’s ethnic unit, Pasztor says that Nixon promised him that if he won the election, he would form a permanent ethnic council within the GOP, as the Ethnic Division was only active during presidential campaigns.⁶

Pasztor was made the organizer of the Council after Nixon’s victory. Says Pasztor, “It was my job to identify about twenty-five ethnic groups” to bring into the Council. “In 1972 we used the Council as the skeleton to build the Heritage Groups for the re-election of the President,” he explains.

Pasztor’s choices for filling emigré slots as the Council was being formed included various Nazi-collaborationist organizations mentioned above. Each formed a Republican federation, with local clubs around the country. The local clubs then formed state multi-ethnic councils. Today there are thirty-four nationality federations and twenty-five state councils that constitute the National Republican Heritage Groups Council.

To discover the names of the leaders of these federations is not an easy task. “That information is private. I have to get their permission before I can give you their names,” responded Radi Slavoff, Republican Heritage Groups Council executive director, when asked for a list of the federation leaders.⁷

He agreed that federation heads were bona fide Republican Party posts which are not secret, “but the leaders prefer it that way.” Although some names were gleaned from signature ads supporting funding for the contras, CIA-backed forces fighting to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua,⁸ it required attendance at the Republican Heritage Groups Council convention in May of 1985 to learn the names of federation leaders. It was this convention that Reagan was addressing at the Shoreham Hotel.

Some Republican Heritage Groups Council delegates were reluctant to talk; others were unstoppable. A pattern began to emerge from these conversations—that in setting up the Council, Pasztor went to various collaborationist and fascist-minded emigré groups and asked them to form GOP federations. It eventually became clear that it wasn’t an accident or a fluke that people with Nazi associations were in the Republican Heritage Groups Council. In some cases more mainstream ethnic organizations were passed over in favor of smaller but more extremist groups. And it seems clear that the Republican National Committee knows with whom they are dealing. Reviewing the federations illustrates this point.

AXIS ALLIES AND APOLOGISTS

BULGARIANS

One of the organizations Pasztor approached to help form the Council was the Bulgarian National Front, headed by Ivan Docheff. As early as 1971, the GOP was warned that the National Front was beyond the pale. A Jack Anderson column quoted another Bulgarian-American organization, the conservative Bulgarian National Committee, which labeled Docheff’s National Front as “fascist.”⁹ Neither the GOP nor the Nixon campaign took action. Professor Spas T. Raikin, a former official of the National Front, says the group grew out of an organization in Bulgaria that in the 1930’s and 40’s was “pro-Nazi and profascist.”¹⁰

Although Docheff, eighty-two, is semiretired from GOP activity, the National Front is still represented in the person of Radi Slavoff, Republican Heritage Groups Council executive director and head of the Bulgarian GOP federation. Slavoff also represents the National Front in several other Washington, D.C. area coalitions, including one that is Nazi-linked.¹¹

While Docheff was representing the National Front, however, the Justice Department’s Office of Special Investigations was investigating him for possible war crimes he was suspected of committing while the mayor of a German-occupied city in Bulgaria. Docheff denies he ever committed war crimes, and OSI never brought charges.

Docheff’s political history, however, is not in dispute. Founder of a

Bulgarian youth group in the early 1930's, Docheff met with Adolph Hitler and the Nazi movement's leading philosopher, Alfred Rosenberg, in 1934 shortly after the Nazis came to power.¹² Docheff then established the Bulgarian Legion, a pro-Hitler group that agitated for government action against Bulgarian Jews.

Docheff later began publishing a newspaper, *Prelom*, which carried a swastika as part of the design at the top of the front page. One of its headlines reads "Long live the sacred struggle against the Jews."¹³ Docheff's employer, Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff, was a German intelligence agent, according to Nuremberg documents obtained by Dr. Fred Chary of Purdue University. In 1944 Docheff fled when the pro-German Bulgarian government collapsed. After the war, he and other Legionnaires formed the Bulgarian National Front (BNF).¹⁴ Until recently, Docheff was the group's chair, a post he held since the Front's founding in 1950. Several years ago the Front, with chapters in South America, Europe, Canada, and the U.S., met in Germany. There they honored Dr. Waltscheff for his "contribution to the struggle of the Bulgarian people for freedom. . . ." ¹⁵

In 1984, Docheff stepped aside and George Paprikoff, another former Legionnaire according to Dr. Chary, temporarily became chair. Reagan's autographed photo appeared on the cover of the BNF publication *Borba* with a "Dear George" message in what appears to be Reagan's handwriting. Docheff wrote an endorsement of Reagan in the same issue of *Borba*.¹⁶

When interviewed on the BNF's role in the Reagan-Bush campaign, Docheff said that the twenty-five U.S. chapters of the Front were active in the re-election effort: "If you want to know who the local chapter leaders of the Bulgarian National Front are, find out who heads the local Bulgarian unit of the Reagan-Bush campaign. They are the same persons."¹⁷

Although the warning by the Bulgarian National Committee and the subsequent investigation of Docheff have provided adequate levels of warning to the GOP, it has continued to maintain ties to the Bulgarian National Front. Even while the U.S. government was investigating Docheff on war crimes charges, he was a pre-election guest of the White House in September 1984,¹⁸ arranged through Republican Heritage Groups Council executive director Radi Slavoff.

COSSACKS

Attending the Reagan speech at the Shoreham was another Pasztor choice, "Major General" Nicholas Nazarenko. Slightly over six feet and a lean two hundred pounds with dark hair and a pencil mustache, Nazarenko is still consumed with his wartime hatred of Russians and Jews. He organizes annual "Captive Nations" marches in New York City every summer, in which he appears in Cossack military dress.

Nazarenko is a spry seventy-six years old, but could pass for sixty; his energy seems boundless. The evening after Reagan's speech at the Shoreham Hotel, he insisted on showing this writer a huge suitcase of materials he carries with him as part of his political activity. It was filled with literature on the "Jewish problem," Cossack publications, and memorabilia from his service in World War II—on the German side.

Nazarenko chain-smoked and drank vodka throughout our seven-hour interview. He described his involvement with the German army as an officer in special Cossack units, battle by battle. His final military action was in an SS Cossack unit under German General Helmuth von Pannwitz. In order to prove his sincerity, he showed me his German officer's ID, and photographs of him and his unit. There were swastikas on the uniforms.

Toward the end of the war, Nazarenko headed intelligence operations in Berlin for a Cossack "government-in-exile." After working with the U.S. Army's Counter Intelligence Corps, he came to the U.S. in 1949. He became head of a Cossack War Veterans group—a group of veterans allied with Germany during World War II which was later renamed the World Federation of Cossacks for the Liberation of Cossackia. Nazarenko was active in Richard Nixon's 1968 and 1972 campaigns, and his Cossack veterans group is one of two Cossackian components of the Republican Heritage Groups Council.

Alex Aksenov, another Cossack delegate to the Republican Heritage Groups Council convention, spoke briefly about his past, volunteering that he was "in Berlin from 1939–45." He went to South America after the war, he said, but in the 1950's was brought to the U.S. to work on the first nuclear submarine program.¹⁹

Nazarenko says he has been charged by other Cossack emigrés as having hanged Jews in Odessa and executed Soviet soldiers. He claimed that these were lies intended to discredit him. He does say, however, that Jews are our "ideological enemies."

In that spirit, Nazarenko said that he was in touch with "patriotic" publications such as the neo-Nazi *Thunderbolt*, the anti-Semitic *Spotlight*, and *Instauration*, a racist and anti-Semitic monthly. A well-publicized controversy erupted when *Instauration* was praised by Joseph Sobran in *National Review*, May 1986, as "an often brilliant magazine, covering a beat nobody else will touch. . . ." *Instauration's* writers and editors are all anonymous.

Nazarenko says he's also in touch with various "Nazi" organizations. "They respect me because [I was a] former German army officer. Sometimes when I meet these guys, they say 'Heil Hitler'."

A recipient of a pension from the West German government for his wartime service, Nazarenko claims that Germany didn't commit atrocities

in World War II. “Jews didn’t die from gas chambers,” says Nazarenko. “Those mountains of bones are from people who starved to death or died from disease,” he explains.

ROMANIANS

Romanian-American Republicanism is led by a retired priest who claimed in 1984 that the most important issue for Romanian Republicans was “the deportation of our beloved spiritual leader, Archbishop Valerian Trifa.”²⁰ Faced with charges by the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) that he participated in the murder of Jews as part of a coup plot in Bucharest, Romania in 1941, Trifa left the U.S. in 1984. But his political network stayed behind. The Romanian Republican priest, Florian Galdau, is part of that network.

Valerian Trifa was a leader of the Iron Guard in Bucharest in 1941. The Guard was a pro-Nazi Romanian group linked to the SS by liaison officers such as Otto von Bolschwing of the German SS.²¹ In January 1941 the Guard, with SS backing, attempted a coup. Trifa was one of the leaders who instigated crowds on a rampage that sought out Jews for gruesome deaths. Three days of chaos ensued. When order was restored, Trifa fled. During those three days, witnesses charged, Trifa personally went into a jail and killed Jews who had been put into a cell there.

After the war, Trifa was able to come to the U.S. and take over the Romanian Orthodox church by means of physical coercion and with some help from the U.S. government. In 1952, Trifa became an Archbishop of the Romanian Orthodox Church.²²

FBI documents from the years 1954 and 1955 (which were used in the prosecution of Trifa) report claims that Trifa “is bringing Iron Guard members into the U.S. and installing them as priests.” One of those priests, according to a report of Oct. 5, 1955, was Florian Galdau, whom an FBI source described as “a Romanian Iron Guard member and who at Trifa’s instructions was elected Pastor of St. Dumitru,” a Manhattan parish.²³

Galdau had escaped Romania after the war, eventually settling in London. He began broadcasting over the BBC in programs aimed at Romanian citizens, a project comparable to the Radio Free Europe programs being established at the time under the covert control of the CIA. In 1955 Trifa brought Galdau to the U.S. According to a former Iron Guardist, the late George Roman, Galdau was brought in to head a New York City Iron Guard unit. His task was to recruit new Romanian immigrants into the Guard.²⁴

Galdau says he has brought 20,000 immigrants into the U.S. “I have files on 15,000 people I helped settle,” he claims. He is aided by the Tolstoy Foundation and the International Rescue Committee,²⁵ two resettlement groups with links to the CIA.²⁶

Over the years, Galdau has performed priestly functions at events that commemorated Iron Guard founder Corneliu Codreanu. Trifa himself once concurred in an interview that the Galdau church was “a center of fascists.”²⁷

In 1974, the *United Israel Bulletin* of New York City headlined a story “Florian Galdau, a Priest, Heads New York Iron Guard Cell.”²⁸ The charge has also been repeated in recent interviews with other Romanians, including a priest, all of whom, fearing reprisals, requested anonymity.

Galdau himself denies any association with the Iron Guard. Further, he denies any knowledge of the existence of the Iron Guard in the U.S.

Dennis Debbaudt, who has researched the Iron Guard for ten years, finds such denials “incredible.” Debbaudt, who has assisted a Canadian government investigation of the Iron Guard presence there, estimates that at least 25 percent of the priests of Trifa’s church were Guardists. Debbaudt states, “It’s impossible for Galdau to be unaware of the Guard presence in the Romanian Orthodox Church.”²⁹

Interviewed at the Republican Heritage Groups Council convention, Galdau criticized Jews for the debate over Bitburg, saying “Jews have harmed themselves in this country over this controversy.” He says his protest of Trifa’s prosecution was “as a Republican,” and did not have anything to do with Iron Guard politics.

A founder of the Republican Heritage Groups Council in 1969, Galdau and his wife were the sole representatives of the Romanian-American Republican Clubs to the 1985 and 1986 Council conventions. In 1985, a third delegate “got sick” and the three alternates “just didn’t show.” Galdau’s wife is vice-chair of the Romanian-American Republican Clubs. His principle contributions at the conventions were to charge that the “Democratic Party is controlled by the KGB,” and to argue successfully for a resolution passed by the convention condemning the Justice Department’s OSI investigation into the presence of Nazi-era war criminals in the United States.

Galdau claims his Romanian-American Republican Clubs include ten local units. He says that they “recruited 600 volunteers for the 1984 Reagan-Bush campaign.” But getting details to substantiate these assertions is difficult. Although he holds a party post, he won’t discuss his role within the party. When I asked Republican Heritage Groups Council leaders for information on the Romanian Clubs, they said Galdau doesn’t share details with them either. Galdau was listed as a member of the Host Committee for a reception honoring Jeane J. Kirkpatrick and Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr., during the Council’s 1987 meeting in Washington, D.C. In 1988 he was named National Chair of Romanians for Bush.

BYELORUSSIANS

Another federation leader who makes the charge that the Democratic Party aids communism is Walter Melianovich, head of the Byelorussian-American Republican Federation. "The Democratic Party is doing the dirty work of Communism. They don't call themselves Communists, they just parrot the Communist line. . . ." Melianovich is unhappy. At fifty years of age, he is too young to have worked with the Nazis. But some of his friends weren't. "The damn OSI is hounding my friends," he complains. This is some of the "dirty work of Communism" that Democrats do. They hunt Nazis, and the Byelorussian GOP wants to put a stop to it.³⁰

Melianovich's federation is closely associated with the Byelorussian-American Association (BAA), an emigré group made up, in part, of former collaborators of the Nazi occupation and its extermination campaign. An early BAA leader was Franz Kushel, an SS major general and commander of the Belarus Brigade, a Waffen SS unit.³¹ According to *The Belarus Secret*, a book about Byelorussian Nazi collaboration, Kushel's "men carried over 40,000 Jews to an execution ground in 1941."³² Another BAA leader, Stanislaw Stankievich, one-time editor of a Nazi-funded newspaper, came from an upper-class family of Nazi collaborators. He became a mayor of Borissov in 1941. After having a wall built around the Jewish section of the city, Stankievich conducted a series of financial extortions on the contained ghetto. His police then sadistically exterminated the seven thousand Jews of Borissov on October 20, 1941.³³

As the Soviets advanced on German-occupied Byelorussia, a puppet government was formed to help mobilize support for the defense of Germany. The 1,039 delegates to this "All-Byelorussian Second Congress" were screened and approved by Germany. Some of these delegates, many of them leaders of police units and a Byelorussian Waffen SS division, came to dominate BAA.³⁴

Cheslav Nadjiuk of Los Angeles was a delegate to the German-sponsored 1944 puppet government.³⁵ He was also a delegate to the 1986 Republican Heritage Groups Council convention in Los Angeles. Now in his seventies, Nadjiuk said that he was involved in nationalist politics all his life. "I joined a nationalist group in high school, in the 1920's, and was active in Poland when I was in school there." He said he was a judge during the German occupation, and "I attended the Second (All-Byelorussian) Congress." After the war, the Congress reassembled in Germany and then in the U.S., holding annual meetings to direct their various front activities. Nadjiuk attended at least one of those meetings, in 1954. His codelegate at the 1986 Republican Heritage Groups Council meeting, Joe Arciuch, head of the technical services division of Hughes Aircraft, "escaped Byelorussia in 1951 just ahead of Communist bayonets," according to a friend of his who joined

our interview. Arciuch declined to discuss the details of his activities in Byelorussia.

The 1985 Republican Heritage Groups Council convention delegation, led by Melianovich, also included Raisa Stankievich, wife of Stanislaw Stankievich and herself a former head of the BAA. Melianovich says the 1944 puppet government was “not a legitimate government,” but in three hours of interviews he was uncritical of any Nazi collaborators or of the BAA, of which he is a member. Critical of those exposing criminal collaborators, he strongly supported Republican Heritage Groups Council convention efforts to oppose the OSI.

The Byelorussian GOP leader said that his federation’s biggest concern was increasing the amount of Byelorussian broadcasting into the USSR by the U.S. government-run Radio Liberty. He has met with various agencies, including National Security Council staff, lobbying for more programming. Access to administration policymakers, says Melianovich, is enhanced by being part of the Republican Heritage Groups Council. By lobbying for increased Radio Liberty propaganda, they hope to destabilize the USSR, returning the Byelorussian fascists to power. Melianovich even provided what appears to be their future map of Byelorussia, complete with new “ethnogenetical borders.”

Melianovich claims that the Republican Heritage Groups Council has “changed the image of the Republican Party under our pressure.” Charging the Democrats with only caring about “the Black and Jewish vote,” he says that “if anyone should be called nationalist, it is the GOP.” Melianovich was named National Chairman of Byelorussians for Bush in 1988.

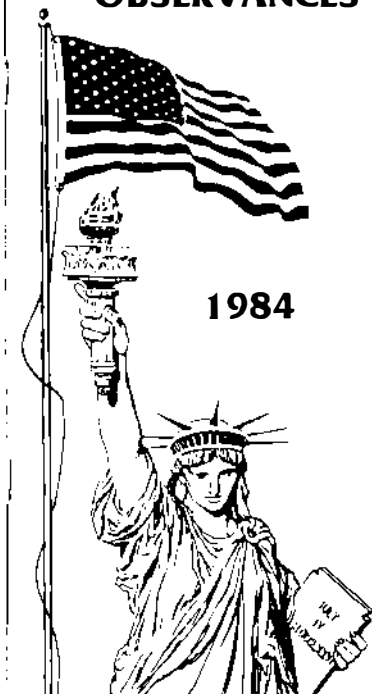
CROATIANS

The Croatian Republicans are the only federation who have put their sympathies with the Axis powers into print in Republican Party literature.

In *Guide to Nationality Observances*, a 1984 Republican Heritage Groups Council booklet, listing commemorative dates of significance to ethnic Americans, is the following entry for April 10th: “The Independent State of Croatia was declared by unanimous proclamation in 1941. . . . Lack of Western support and Axis occupation forced the new state into an unfortunate association with the Axis powers.” The booklet preface is signed by Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr., Chairman of the Republican National Committee (see page opposite).

The “unfortunate association” was, in fact, a long-standing relationship between Nazi Germany and the Croatian Ustashi beginning years before World War II.³⁶ The Nazis conspired with the Ustashi to create the Croatian split from Yugoslavia. When the Vatican-backed Ustashi took power in 1941, they began liquidating Orthodox Serbians, Jews, and Gypsies. Even

GUIDE TO NATIONALITY OBSERVANCES



APRIL

2 **Birthday of Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875)**

The Dane story teller and author of the immortal "Andersen's Fairy Tales"—a great national figure among Danes.

10 **Croatian Independence Day**

The Independent State of Croatia in 1941 thus ending an enforced union with Royalist Yugoslavia in which Croatian independence was subverted and threatened. Lack of Western support and Axis occupation forced the new state into an unfortunate association with the Axis powers.

The immigrants who came to America and their descendants continue to celebrate special religious feast days and historical holidays so important to them in their countries of origin. In some cases, they celebrate events no longer recognized in their native countries because of political and religious oppression. Therefore, the holidays have grown in significance in this country, presenting an opportunity for ethnic Americans to maintain their roles as guardians of cultural treasures by recalling traditional music, dance, dress and foods.

This pocket calendar of observances important to the ethnic communities has been prepared by the NRHG Council with the hope that all Americans who use it will develop a deeper appreciation of the many contributions made by the nationalities groups. They have given us the best of all worlds.

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Chairman
Republican National Committee

Michael Sotirhos
Chairman
NRHG Council

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Excerpts from the 1984 Guide to Nationality Observances published by the National Republican Heritage Groups Council of the Republican National Committee.



Ustashi leaders of independent Croatia give the fascist salute which accurately reflects the political principles of the newly founded state.

the Nazis were taken aback by the barbarity of Ustashi concentration camps and the liquidations of whole villages. Huge ovens at Jasenovac reportedly burned people alive.

An estimated 750,000 people, mostly Serbians, were killed by the Ustashi in the crucible which forged Croatian independence. The “independent state of Croatia,” whose founding the GOP suggests we commemorate, ceased to exist after the fall of the Third Reich.

SLOVAKS

Slovakia, another puppet state created by Hitler, has not only apologists but also at least one former collaborationist leader on the Republican Heritage Groups Council. When Hitler invaded and split Czechoslovakia in 1939, he created the Slovak state under Monsignor Josef Tiso. When the U.S. declared war on Germany on December 12, 1941, Tiso declared Slovakia at war with the U.S.

Complete with their own imitation SS, called the Hlinka Guard, the Tiso leadership mimicked the Nazis.³⁷ They also imitated the worst of German racial policies, shipping Jews to extermination camps in Poland. Lucy Dawidowicz, in *The War against the Jews*, estimated that 75,000 of 90,000 Slovak Jews were killed.³⁸

Today, Method Balco is the head of the Slovak-American Republican Federation. Despite the fact that Tiso was executed in 1946 as a war criminal, Balco still organizes in New York City an annual commemoration of the Tiso rule. The Slovak Republican delegation to the Republican Heritage Groups Council also included Josef Mikus, a former diplomat of the Tiso regime. Balco, Mikus, and a third delegate, John Hvasta, all work closely with the Toronto-based Slovak World Congress, a group set up and greatly influenced by former aides to Tiso.

Hvasta, the key Washington liaison for the Slovak World Congress, has also helped the 1988 Presidential Campaign of former Ku Klux Klan leader and white supremacist David Duke. Hvasta’s American Public Research Council rented its mailing list to the Duke campaign in September of 1987 for \$2,000, according to records obtained from the Federal Election Commission.³⁹

Joseph Kirschbaum, a top commander of the SS-like Hlinka Guard and a principal of the Slovak World Congress, edited a series of speeches made by Slovak nationalists, including several former Tiso officials.⁴⁰ One speech calls for the establishment of a new Slovak state along “ethnogenetical” lines. Tiso’s former foreign minister and Josef Mikus’ former boss, Ferdinand Durcansky, wrote:

. . . anti-Semitism in Slovakia had no racial, but exclusively political, economic and social roots. Racial elements were imported into

Slovakia from the Reich as manifested along many lines in many conflicts. I hope we live to see the time when the Jews draw from these facts the necessary objective conclusions. . . .⁴¹

The book of speeches was published by the Slovak World Congress. Editor Kirschbaum and writer Durcansky were in key positions to have been aware of Adolph Eichmann's implementation of the "Final Solution" against Slovak Jews. Their presence in the Slovak World Congress, along with others such as Balco and Mikus, may explain why the Congress does not repudiate the Slovak puppet government, its declaration of war on the United States, or its extermination campaign. In an interview in his north-west Washington, D.C. home, Republican Heritage Groups Council delegate Mikus said that the U.S. should not have allied with or aided the USSR in World War II. He noted that "without the aid, the USSR would have been defeated by Germany," an outcome Mikus said would have been preferable.

Balco said that the chief concern for Slovak Republicans is to get the Voice of America and the State Department to recognize Slovakia as separate from Czechoslovakia.

FRIENDS OF DICTATORSHIP

ITALIANS

Certain Republican Heritage Groups Council members have been close allies in recent years of those in Italy who would overthrow the government and re-install fascism in Rome. Italy's problems with fascism have been much more recent than World War II. In 1981 a conspiracy was foiled in which a group of business, political, Mafia, military, and Vatican-connected figures planned to overthrow Italian parliamentary democracy and install a dictatorship. The group, called the P-2 Masonic Lodge, had nearly a thousand members. The prestige of P-2 members (heads of the intelligence agencies, thirty-eight generals and admirals, and three cabinet officers, for example), plus revelations of financial scandals, brought extensive European press coverage, the collapse of the Italian government, and an extensive parliamentary inquiry.⁴²

Although P-2 had existed for many years as an illegal secret society, in the 1970's it became involved in efforts to destabilize the Italian system through economic warfare and terrorism, including bombings of public places. The P-2 goal was to create a demand for fascism to restore order.

A 1987 article by Jerry Meldon in the *Boston Globe* discussed the Italian neofascist right's strategy of terror:

In many ways, it [the Italian right] has been a much more dangerous movement than the kidnapers and murderers of the extreme left. Far more deaths can be attributed to right-wing terrorists' acts. More significantly, the neo-fascists have enjoyed the protection and support of Italian intelligence agencies and, according to a 1976 congressional report, the CIA.

With such official support, the fascists have pursued a "strategy of tension" through their own [terrorist] acts and those of leftist groups they penetrated. They have cultivated a climate of fear to undermine support for the West's most popular communist party and justify an authoritarian takeover of the Italian government.⁴³

The calculated terror began in 1969, when the right resolved to fight the growth of the left. On December 12, a bomb exploded in downtown Milan, killing sixteen people and injuring another one hundred. Within the hour several more bombs went off in Rome. Fascist storm-trooper groups formed. In December 1970 a rightist coup was attempted but failed.

Police discovered further plots as violence continued throughout the 1970's. Reaction to and fear of assassinations, kidnappings, knee-cappings, and mob violence began seeping into Italy's everyday life. Lifestyles changed as Italians altered spending habits, dress, and daily routine to avoid becoming victims. Much of this early terrorism was blamed on the left.

In 1973, police found that terrorist activity and the control of fascist groups was being orchestrated by a group called the Rose of Twenty, made up of military officers and industrialists. After their arrests, however, the violence continued. More plots were uncovered, including lists of targets for assassination. The police still had not uncovered P-2, the control center of the terror. In 1980, a bomb ripped through the Bologna train station, killing eighty-five people. The bombing was eventually linked to members of P-2 and Italian neofascist terrorist groups.

By the mid-70's, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) was gaining electoral support and leaders of the ruling Christian Democratic Party were meeting with the PCI to discuss the possibility of a coalition government. P-2 and its friends abroad worked to stop the coalition and PCI's electoral success. P-2's immediate target: defeat the PCI in the 1976 elections. Their long-term strategy was to defeat the system which allowed the PCI to exist.

One American involved in this intrigue was Philip A. Guarino, 79, an adviser to the Republican National Committee on senior citizens' affairs, who was long active in Italian GOP politics. A theology student in Mussolini's Italy in the late 20's and much of the 1930's, Guarino helped establish the ethnic division of the GOP in 1952. He was vice-chair of the

Republican Heritage Groups Council from 1971–75.⁴⁴ He attended the 1985 Council convention to ensure that his friend Frank Stella won the chairmanship of the Council in a tight race with former Cleveland mayor Ralph Perk.

Guarino was also described in *St. Peter's Banker*, a book about activities involving P-2, as an "honorary member of P-2."⁴⁵ Foreign members of P-2 were rare. One other of the select was José Lopez Riga, founder of the Latin American death-squad group known as the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance.

The exposure of P-2 and Guarino's involvement (which Guarino has denied) came about when Michele Sindona, head of Vatican banking operations, was sentenced to twenty-five years in a New York prison for illegal banking activities. Italian investigations of Sindona led to Licio Gelli, grandmaster of the secret, illegal P-2 Lodge. Sindona and Gelli were associates of Guarino.

Gelli was an ardent Blackshirt in the Fascist Party of Mussolini's Italy and one of his firm supporters to the end. As the leader of P-2, he made violations of the Lodge's oaths punishable by death. The presence of certain Mafioso and police officials in P-2 made the death threats credible. After Italian police traced Sindona to Gelli, it was discovered that Guarino had been corresponding with Gelli. The *New York Times* reported that Guarino wrote Gelli that "things were going badly for 'Michele,'" the banker imprisoned in New York. Guarino had hosted Gelli at Reagan's 1981 inauguration, and introduced him to "members of the entourage."⁴⁶

Guarino's dealings with the P-2 network began no later than 1976, when the Mafia-linked Sindona financed an *ad hoc* group called Americans for a Democratic Italy, cochaired by Guarino and Paul Rao, Jr. who is described in *St. Peter's Banker* as "a prominent member of the Italian-American community and attorney for the head of the Gambino family."⁴⁷ Sindona and Gambino family members were indicted in 1982 for "operating a \$600 million-a-year heroin trade between Sicily and America."⁴⁸

Guarino was also involved in John Connally's Committee for the Defense of the Mediterranean, which propagandized on the Italian Communist Party (PCI) threat to the West.⁴⁹ Connally, Richard Nixon's Secretary of the Treasury and member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board under Nixon and Gerald Ford, was a friend of Sindona.⁵⁰

Another friend and guest at Connally's Texas ranch was Roberto Calvi, a Vatican banker and P-2 member, according to Larry Gurwin in *The Calvi Affair*. Calvi was in Gelli's inner circle, serving as an "executioner," one of a dozen hooded men with axes who served Gelli in the secret initiation rites for new members of P-2. The ceremony included the mixing of the initiate's blood with that of Gelli and his "executioners," the testing of courage with

vipers, and an oath that bound the new P-2 member to Gelli and the netherworld of fascism for life.⁵¹ Calvi's life was cut short, however, when he was found hanging from a bridge in London in 1982.

In 1978, Guarino's Italian Heritage Council ally, Frank Stella, became National Chair of the Heritage National Committee of Connally for President, when Connally sought the 1980 GOP nomination for president.⁵²

Later Stella got on track with Ronald Reagan. Mark Valente, a Stella protégé and suburban Detroit City Council member now serving as a Republican National Committee Ethnic Liaison staffer, says, "Everyone at the White House knows Frank." Stella's name has gone through the White House appointment process on several occasions. In 1981 he was nominated for the little-known Intelligence Oversight Board, which is supposed to monitor the legalities of covert operations of the intelligence agencies.⁵³ He withdrew his name after it had been publicly released. Stella was being considered for the post of ambassador to Italy in 1985, but withdrew his name again, according to Valente. In 1983 he was made a White House Fellow.

Stella, a Detroit businessman, has many local civic service activities to his credit. In February, 1988 he was named cochair of a panel evaluating the advisability of legalized casino gambling for the city of Detroit. He is also a top Michigan GOP fundraiser. Stella had an *ex officio* seat on the Republican National Committee by virtue of his chairmanship of the Republican Heritage Groups Council from 1981-83 and 1985-87. In 1988 Stella was named National Chairman of Italian-Americans for Bush.

Stella can't quite forget about Italy. In February, 1986 he gave an award of "honorary member" in the National Italian American Foundation to Victor Emmanuel of Savoy.⁵⁴ Stella is president of the foundation. He says it is "perceived to be the spokesman for the Italian-American community in the United States."⁵⁵ The man he honored, Victor Emmanuel, would be the king of Italy today, except his family, the House of Savoy, was expelled from Italy in 1946 due to its die-hard support of Mussolini's fascist order.⁵⁶ Victor Emmanuel, a reputed gunrunner for the Shah of Iran, is an arms trafficker and member of P-2. He is alleged to have used his wealth and influence to avoid a long prison sentence after he shot and killed a West German tourist in a party brawl on a Mediterranean island several years ago.⁵⁷

The irony of the award to this erstwhile fascist by the "spokesman" for Italian Americans, is that Victor Emmanuel, until recently, was one of only two Italians in the world not allowed to set foot on Italian soil. The other person banned was his father.⁵⁸

CHINESE

The Chinese-American and Asian-American Republican federations are

led by Anna Chennault, who gained fame in the 1950's and 60's as an ardent advocate of Chiang Kai-Shek's dictatorship on Taiwan. Both federations appear to be little more than adjuncts to Taiwan government activities in the U.S. That was highlighted at the 1985 Republican Heritage Groups Council convention, when an official Taiwan delegation arrived at the Republican Heritage Groups Council meeting as part of a nationwide tour belatedly celebrating Reagan's second inauguration four months earlier. While the foremost visitor from Taiwan was the Deputy Minister for National Defense, the honorary president of the delegation was Ben John Chen, who also chairs the Asian-American Republican Federation.⁵⁹ Other Chinese and Asian GOP federation members are part of trade groups linked to Taiwan.

The Republican Heritage Groups Council agenda was interrupted at the Chinese federation's request so that the delegation could present awards from the Taiwan government to Michael Sotirhos, the outgoing Republican Heritage Groups Council chair (who later became Reagan's ambassador to Jamaica). Also receiving an award from the Taiwan regime was Anna Chennault, who funds the Asian-American GOP federation, according to its chairman, Ben John Chen. Chennault became chair of the Republican Heritage Groups Council in 1987.

ETHNIC REALIGNMENT

The Republican Heritage Groups Council's ethnicity is broad, ranging from Albanians to Vietnamese. But two groups are missing at the Republican Heritage Groups Council. There are no Black or Jewish Republican federations. Remarks by a number of delegates at the 1986 Heritage meeting made it clear that there was no desire to have either community represented on the Council.⁶⁰ Republican leaders say that Black and Jewish relations are "special" and are dealt with in separate units of the GOP.

It might be said that American Indians, Hispanics, and Vietnamese all have "special" problems beyond traditional European ethnic concerns, but they are represented in the National Republican Heritage Groups Council. Given the background of the Council's leadership, it is difficult not to conclude that elements of racism and anti-Semitism may play a role in the decision to exclude Black and Jewish constituencies.

The key issues for every one of the Eastern European Heritage Council leaders interviewed were foreign policy issues. All of them called for more support for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Most called for the abandonment of the Yalta agreement, the major treaty that set the postwar features of Europe, and they want a far more aggressive foreign policy against

National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council 17th Annual Convention • October 30, 31, November 1, 1987 Grand Hyatt Washington Hotel / 1000 H Street, NW / Washington, DC 20001

You are cordially invited to join with delegates and alternates at the 17th Annual Convention of the National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council, scheduled for October 30, 31 and November 1, 1987 in Washington, DC. The Grand Hyatt Washington Hotel, which opened in June 1987, is a landmark of luxury in the nation's capital.

The convention program includes exciting events such as the Century Club Reception on Friday, Saturday's Convention Luncheon with top leaders of the Republican Party, followed by a Grand Banquet Saturday evening, Sunday's Awards Brunch, in addition to convention meetings, caucuses, and press conferences. We have invited the President, the presidential candidates, senators, congressmen, administration officials, Republican Party leaders and guest speakers.

We are at the crucial point now, in view of international and domestic conditions. Ethnic Americans were committed to Ronald Reagan's vision of America in 1980 and sustained that commitment in 1984. Ethnic Americans were in the forefront of support to the President then and continue to stand by him now. We have seen his programs work successfully, while the Democrats had no new approach to offer other than socialist experimentalism—free spending

free taxing at home, and "detente" abroad. We have accomplished the philosophical realignment within a wide spectrum of mainstream America, while the Democratic Party has withdrawn into a narrow "liberal" sectarian extreme.

Today, more than ever, ethnic Americans must speak from the strongest podium possible. The continuing growth of the Republican Heritage Council must be solidified and translated into a voting power for Republican candidates in next year's election. We must ensure that the White House remains in Republican hands, as well as regain control of the Senate and strengthen our presence in the House of Representatives. We have observed the direction of the 100th Congress during the current sessions and that direction is alarming. Reneging on aid to the Contras, obstructing defense, foreign and domestic programs, and mounting a malicious campaign against Judge Bork's nomination are but a few examples of what lies ahead.

These developments underline, more than ever, the need for our renewed efforts so that we can have a positive impact in the 1988 elections. The participation and input of each and every one of us is of paramount importance. We look forward to seeing you and will do our best to make your Washington visit a most memorable one.

National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council

17th Annual Convention
October 30, 31, Nov. 1, 1987

Grand Hyatt Washington
Hotel
1000 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001



Program information from the 1987 Republican Heritage Groups Council meeting.



The National Republican Heritage Groups Council
cordially invites you to attend
the Century Club Reception
honoring

The Honorable Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
The Honorable Frank J. Faltenhopf, Jr.

Friday, October 30, 1987
5:30 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.

Grand Hyatt Washington Hotel
1000 H Street, N.W.
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**Program information from the 1987 Republican Heritage Groups
Council meeting.**

the USSR. The most public activity the Republican Heritage Groups Council affiliates participate in is the yearly “Captive Nations” rallies held in a handful of cities across the U.S. “Captive Nations” is the term used to describe those countries and national groups which have Communist governments.

The only domestic issue raised in the interviews was their opposition to the Office of Special Investigations, the anti-Nazi unit of the Justice Department. Clearly lacking was any identifiable interest in domestic issues that pertain to the welfare of the ethnic communities of America—unemployment, crime, discrimination, educational quality, and opportunities for a younger generation. Instead, the Republican Heritage Groups Council still fits the description conservative commentator Kevin Phillips gave ten years ago:

Instead of addressing itself to the social and economic issues underlying ethnic unrest, the [Republican] National Committee put on a Captive Nations rally. . . . Captive Nations preoccupation is the rule, not the exception, among Republican National Committee ethnic activities.⁶¹

Still, while the Eastern European Republican Heritage Groups Council leaders are preoccupied with cold war issues, there is a broader strategy on the part of the Republican National Committee, which uses the anti-communist and antiliberal currents in the emigré fascist network to its political advantage. The invitation to the 1987 Council meeting lays out these broader priorities in carefully chosen language with a special meaning for the Eastern European emigré community:

We are at the crucial point now, in view of international and domestic conditions. Ethnic Americans were committed to Ronald Reagan’s vision of America in 1980 and sustained that commitment in 1984. Ethnic Americans were in the forefront of support to the President then and continue to stand by him now. We have seen his programs work successfully, while the Democrats had no new approach to offer other than socialist experimentalism—free spending, free taxing at home, and “detente” abroad. We have accomplished the philosophical realignment within a wide spectrum of mainstream America, while the Democratic Party has withdrawn into a narrow “liberal” sectarian extreme.⁶²

This less than subtle baiting of the Democratic Party as closet “Reds” is one hook used by the Republican Party to unify the constituents of the Republican Heritage Groups Council into an electoral force. As the

invitation to the 1987 meeting also pointed out, "The continuing growth of the Republican Heritage Groups Council must be solidified and translated into a voting power for Republican candidates in next year's election."

The Republican National Committee seems to identify the Republican Heritage Groups Council as one of its keys to past electoral success and future opportunities. Republican Chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr., told the 1985 Council meeting, "On behalf of the Republican Party I want to express thanks for all of you in this room who were such a vital, integral part of the great victory we achieved on November 6 last year [1984]. We couldn't have done it without you, and I want you to know that."⁶³

A few minutes later, President Reagan told the meeting, "The work of all of you has meant a very great deal to me personally, to the Party and to our cause. . . . I can't think of any others who have made a more vital contribution to the effort than those of you who are in this room today. . . . I want to encourage you to keep building the Party. Believe me, bringing more ethnic Americans into the fold is the key to the positive realignment that we are beginning to see take shape." Former Republican Heritage Groups Council chair Michael Sotirhos said in an interview that "The Council was the linchpin of the Reagan-Bush ethnic campaign. . . . The decision to use the Republican Heritage Groups was made at a campaign strategy meeting that included Paul Laxalt, Frank Fahrenkopf, Ed Rollins, and others." He claims that 86,000 volunteers for Reagan-Bush were recruited through the Council.⁶⁴

Jack Kemp also gave a keynote speech at the 1985 Republican Heritage Groups Council meeting as part of his long-standing effort to woo support from the Captive Nations groups.

Several White House staffers who appeared on a panel at the 1985 Republican Heritage Groups Council meeting identified the area of GOP growth as ethnic outreach. Linas Kojelis, then the White House Office of Public Liaison Ethnic Coordinator, also said that the Republican Heritage Groups Council "has been very helpful to coordinate with mainline ethnic groups on day-to-day [legislative] issues."

Sotirhos adds that not only has the Republican Heritage Groups Council aided the GOP, but "the success of Reagan-Bush has helped build the Council." Ethnic groups more inclined to work with the GOP, due to their attraction to Reagan, structure their work through the Republican Heritage Groups Council. Thus, the image and prestige of Council leaders are enhanced and legitimized within their ethnic networks by the GOP.

Council members benefit also by having access to GOP leaders and Administration policymakers. One Republican Heritage Groups Council brochure notes that "Members are also concerned with foreign policy and keep the Administration advised on pertinent historic facts *and attitudes*

[author's emphasis] concerning their land of origin. They communicate with Congressmen, Senators and the State Department . . . particularly [regarding] communist-dominated countries."⁶⁵

The GOP, White House, and Republican Heritage Groups Council also benefited from one other election effort in 1984 when Maryland Congressman Clarence Long was replaced by Helen Bentley, a Republican Heritage Groups Council cochair and a longtime Council activist. Long, a persistent critic of White House policy in Central America, was also targeted by the Maryland Republican Heritage Groups, whose members claimed to have organized the margin of defeat over Long. Bentley was the only elected official to attend all three days of the 1985 Republican Heritage Groups Council meeting. She said that it was "the coalition of ethnics" that made her victory in Maryland possible.⁶⁶

FORGIVE AND FORGET

The GOP cannot be ignorant of the backgrounds of its ethnic leaders. When Nixon was encouraging the growth of the Republican Heritage Groups Council in 1971, Jack Anderson did a series of reports on the pro-Nazi backgrounds of various GOP ethnic advisors. Included in the reports were Ivan Docheff and Laszlo Pasztor. In November of 1971, the *Washington Post* did a story that elaborated on some of the fascist elements coming into the GOP.⁶⁷

In the late 1970's, sporadic pieces appeared in the media that should have simply warned the GOP, including a 1978 Jack Anderson column on Josef Mikus's unrepentant support for Tiso.⁶⁸ Mikus and other Tiso collaborators were identified as advisors to various Republican figures. Reagan himself had an opportunity to learn of the character of the persons being drawn into the GOP since he served on the National Council of the Crusade for Freedom, a group tied to Radio Free Europe.⁶⁹

Radio Free Europe (RFE) was established under the direction of the CIA using the various national groupings previously described. Many of these elements were brought into the operations of RFE. Some are still working with RFE today, which may be why some of their American-based conationalists lobby so hard for the radio operations. Whether Reagan even knew much about these RFE emigrés is unclear, but he was in a position to learn more than most Americans of the early 1950's about just who some of the emigrés were.

The ethnic advisors to Reagan clearly know of Docheff's past, yet he was invited to the White House to a pre-election event. According to Andy Valucek, an expert on the myriad ethnic groups and leaders in the U.S. and

currently on the staff of Democratic Congressman Tom Foley, the Slovaks within the GOP prevented a commemoration by the White House of the 40th anniversary of the 1944 Allied-supported Slovak uprising that attempted to topple Tiso near the end of the World War II.⁷⁰ The White House, however, previously had commemorated the anti-Nazi uprising in Poland, an event widely supported by the Polish community.

In 1988 many of the key figures in the Republican Heritage Groups Council were named as leaders of the George Bush presidential campaign's ethnic outreach arm, the Coalition of American Nationalities. These included Anna Chennault, Walter Melianovich, Laslo Pasztor, Frank Stella, Radi Slavoff, Philip A. Guarino, and Florian Galdau. Other persons on the Bush ethnic panel with questionable views or pasts were Bohdan Fedorak and Akselis Mangulis.

In August of 1988 draft copies of the first version of this report were mailed to several journalists. At the same time a reporter for *Washington Jewish Week* began collecting information on the backgrounds of the Bush campaign's Coalition of American Nationalities (CAN) members after hearing criticisms of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations while covering the Republican Convention. *Washington Jewish Week* originally focused on CAN members Ignatius Billinsky and Jerome Brentar, but expanded the article after receiving documentation and background information on the Republican Heritage Groups Council from the author of this report. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* also began a substantial investigation of the charges in this report.

In early September of 1988, Pasztor, Slavoff, Guarino, Galdau, Fedorak, Brentar, and Billinsky resigned from the Bush panel following revelations about their pasts or views appearing in the first edition of this report, *Washington Jewish Week* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Bush adviser Fred Malek resigned from the Bush campaign after the *Washington Post* identified him as having compiled lists of Jews working at the Bureau of Labor Statistics on orders from the Nixon White House.

In early November, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* raised questions about a Latvian member of CAN, which prompted the final resignation, that of Akselis Mangulis, charged with having belonged to the pro-Nazi Latvian Legion which had connections to the SS.

While Bush campaign spokespersons pledged there would be an investigation into the backgrounds and views of the CAN members whose resignations it had announced, no serious investigation ever took place, and the campaign repeatedly referred to the charges as unsubstantiated politically motivated smears. Several of the persons who had been reported as resigning told journalists they had never been asked to resign and considered themselves still active with the Bush campaign. Furthermore, Guarino, Slavoff,

Galdau, and Pasztor are still active with the Republican Heritage Groups Council.

Leonard Zakim, director of the Boston office of the Anti-Defamation League, is troubled by the handling of the resignations of CAN members by the Bush campaign. Zakim says that if in fact the Bush campaign has never completely investigated the charges concerning the Republican ethnic advisors as requested by ADL, then he is "extremely unsatisfied" with that response:

The ADL is very clear in demanding a full explanation take place, these charges are extremely serious and we expect the response to be equally serious. We are very disturbed that spokespersons for the Bush camp did not see fit to repudiate in full those individuals whose stated views are offensive. We don't see this as a Jewish issue. When charges like these are raised, all people should be concerned. It shouldn't only be Jewish organizations calling on the political campaigns to deal with issues of racism and anti-Semitism, but all persons of good conscience.

On October 28, 1989, the "Blue Ribbon Committee" of the NRHGC released a three-page final report of its investigation into the charges. The report failed to respond to the substance of the allegations and was rejected by the Republican National Committee, which warned the NRHGC that "the relationship it currently enjoys with the RNC is in severe jeopardy." Despite these sharp words, *Washington Jewish Week* reported on November 28, 1990 that "the National Republican Heritage Groups Council (NRHGC), an auxiliary of the Republican National Committee, still refuses to address a two-year-old report which charged that many of its members had been active in anti-Semitic and fascist groups in Eastern Europe."

As a candidate, George Bush defended Galdau, Pasztor, Guarino, and Slavoff as innocent of all accusations of collaboration, and insisted they are all honorable men. But the historical record belies his assertions.

The GOP for decades has misread ethnic America's concerns about crime, employment, anti-ethnic discrimination, and the future of its youth. It has offered instead the fascism and ethnic prejudices of the Heritage Council, which focuses primarily on funding Radio Free Europe and stopping Justice Department prosecutions of war criminals who illegally entered the country.

As chairman of the Republican National Committee in the early years of the Council, and now as head of the Republican Party and President of the United States, Mr. Bush owes Americans a complete explanation.

That the Republican Party considers its Republican Heritage Groups Council members representative of ethnic America shows their confusion

between the traditionalism that exists in many ethnic communities and the antidemocratic and profascist sentiments present within some of the constituent units of the Republican Heritage Groups Council. To the degree that the GOP decides to use the Council to lure ethnics away from the Democratic Party, "it is missing the boat and will fail," says Valuchek.

But the GOP goal may be to create a new leadership in ethnic communities, in the same way that conservative and far-right groups have funded and credentialed new Black and Latin-American spokespersons in those communities.

Yet no matter what the intent or goal, the Republican Heritage Groups Council has incorporated racist, anti-Semitic, and fascist forces, and even rehabilitated some Nazi collaborators; legitimized them as ethnic leaders in their own communities and in the press; and provided a vehicle for expanding their influence in the Executive branch and Congress, where they have played a role in shaping American foreign policy.

PART TWO

The American Security Council

“In the councils of government we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberty or democratic processes.”

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
January 17, 1961

COLD WARRIORS

It has been called “The Cold War Campus” and “The Heart of the Military-Industrial Complex.”⁷¹ Both are names the American Security Council wears with pride. Its boards are filled with retired senior military officers, executives of major corporations, including some of the largest military contractors, and some New Right leaders. Wes McCune of the Washington, D.C.-based Group Research, which monitors the political right wing, says the ASC “is not just the representative of the military-industrial complex, it is the personification of the military-industrial complex.”⁷²

The ASC focuses on foreign policy, military, and intelligence issues. It is the clearinghouse for U.S. political rightists on arms control, aid to the contras, new weapons programs, and lobbying for special projects, such as aid to Jonas Savimbi’s UNITA in Angola. In its specialized areas, the ASC probably has had more influence with the Reagan Administration than the well-publicized Heritage Foundation, a right-wing think tank in Washington, D.C., which produced massive studies suggesting conservative policies to the Reagan Administration following each election. However, the ASC is less visible than the Heritage Foundation.

Little noticed by the press, the ASC is extremely influential among right-wing groups and within the Reagan Administration. In spite of the veneer of respectability its board members’ credentials might provide in some circles, the ASC is in some respects more extremist than the Republican Heritage Groups Council. It also serves as a connecting point between Nazi collaborationists and fascists on one hand, and Reagan Administration policymakers on the other.

The key outreach arm of the ASC is the Coalition for Peace Through Strength. Composed of 171 organizations that are supposed to form a grassroots lobby for ASC political priorities, the Coalition is where many of the ASC extremist ties are established. The Republican Heritage Groups Council and some of its component elements, such as Galdau’s Romanian-American Republican Clubs, are members of the Coalition. These ties to the authoritarian, collaborationist, and fascist Right are consistent with the history of the ASC.

ORIGINS OF THE ASC

The ASC began in Chicago in 1955, staffed primarily by former FBI agents. In its first year it was called the Mid-American Research Library. Corporations joined to take advantage of what former FBI agent William Turner described in *Power on the Right* as “a dossier system modeled after the

FBI's, which was intended to weed out employees and prospective employees deemed disloyal to the free enterprise concept." ⁷³

Before the founders of the ASC got into the business of collecting dossiers on Americans, however, they had another sort of political interest. Their political histories go back to the racist and anti-Semitic groups in the 1930's that were working in concert with Hitler's war aims. Three groups in particular would later provide elements of the future ASC: the America First Committee, the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation, and the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The person most responsible for establishing the ASC was General Robert Wood, then Chairman of Sears Roebuck.⁷⁴ Prior to Pearl Harbor, Wood was also the chairman of the America First Committee, an organization committed to opposing all efforts to aid Allies besieged by Nazi Germany.⁷⁵

As national chairman, Wood made no effort to keep out openly pro-Nazi groups known to have been supported by Germany, such as the German-American Bund. Radio priest Father Charles Coughlin's anti-Semitic and pro-Axis followers were also permitted by Wood to work within America First. A 1942 FBI report indicated that Wood's "patriotic" group had "been called upon to accept financial assistance from pro-Nazi sources."⁷⁶

After Pearl Harbor and Germany's declaration of war on the United States, the America First Committee didn't go out of business as it officially declared on December 12, 1941. Five days later, a secret meeting of certain key leaders of America First took place in New York to plan for what they assumed (and hoped) would be the Axis victory in Europe and the Far East.⁷⁷ "[T]he Committee has in reality gone underground," FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover reported to the White House.⁷⁸ It began planning for the day when they would be the Americans with whom the victorious Nazis would negotiate a surrender. Finally, when the defeat of the Nazis by Allied powers was a foregone conclusion, the America First Committee secretly dissolved itself in 1944.

William Regnery, an incorporator and early leader of the Committee with Robert Wood,⁷⁹ helped Wood to found the ASC. His son, Henry Regnery, replaced him at their book publishing company and at the ASC. The younger Regnery told an interviewer several years ago that "I was very much opposed to our getting into the war; and I published this book, which was highly critical of Roosevelt and of the whole realm of American policies involving World War II. Very gladly, I must say." Regnery said that the book, published in the early 1950's, reflected his "personal tastes."⁸⁰

AMERICAN VIGILANTE INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

The ASC began collecting dossiers in the McCarthy era in what was often seen as a blacklisting operation against union organizers and those with “suspect” political orientations. Files and documents were collected from the House Committee on Un-American Activities and several private file collections. One such collection originally was compiled by Harry Jung,⁸¹ whose research was motivated by a search for what he saw as a Jewish-communist conspiracy.⁸²

Jung founded the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation (AVIF) in 1927 as an anti-union spy operation.⁸³ With the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe, Jung became the first major distributor in the U.S. of the anti-Semitic forgery, “The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.”⁸⁴ The “Protocols” text had been used as a pretext by Russian Czars and European Nazis to conduct pogroms and extermination campaigns against European Jewry. His AVIF became involved with German Nazi agents in the U.S. In 1942, Jung’s East Coast operative, a Col. Eugene Sanctuary, was indicted by the Justice Department for sedition.⁸⁵ One can only wonder at the purpose and content of the files collected by Jung, and purchased by the ASC. The Jung file collection reportedly had one million names indexed when the ASC acquired it some thirty years ago.

AMERICAN COALITION OF PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES

The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies (ACPS) is another “patriotic” group that flourished during Jung’s heyday and still exists as a member of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength. The ACPS was founded by John Trevor in 1929 to support and maintain tight U.S. immigration restrictions enacted into law in 1924.⁸⁶ Trevor was the behind-the-scenes architect of the 1924 Immigration Restriction Act, designed to exclude East Europeans, Italians, Jews, and other non-Nordics.⁸⁷

The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies leadership included Harry Jung and others with links to German National Socialism. One associate of Trevor, Madison Grant, explicitly repudiated “democratic ideals and Christian values in the interest of a Nordic philosophy,” according to John Higham’s *Strangers in the Land*.⁸⁸ Another ACPS director, Harry Laughlin, was given an honorary Ph.D. in 1936 by a Nazi-controlled German university for his work in the area of racial eugenics.⁸⁹

John Trevor, Jung, and a third ACPS official, Walter Steele, were among fifteen Americans whose names appeared inside a 1933 Nazi book, recommending it for an American audience. Begun with an endorsement by Adolph Hitler, the book contains such statements as “The total contrast to Jewish-Marxist-Bolshevism is exclusively represented by German National Socialism.”⁹⁰ In 1942, U.S. Army Intelligence called Walter Steele’s

National Republic "fascist."⁹¹ In the same year, the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies was named by the Justice Department as "a factor" in the sedition charges brought against those thought to be aiding the Axis.⁹²

General Wood, John Trevor, Walter Steele, and their associates all became patriotic anticommunists after World War II, however, aiding Senator Joe McCarthy, lobbying for a more intense cold war, and supporting reprieves for convicted Nazi war criminals.

General Wood helped establish *Human Events*, then a monthly magazine, that in late 1945 called the Nuremberg Trials a "travesty of justice."⁹³ Involved in a number of other rightist groups after the war, he recruited John M. Fisher, a World War II bomber pilot, from the FBI as a security consultant for Sears Roebuck in 1953.

John Trevor was a leader of a group, Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice, attempting to prevent the censure of Joe McCarthy. Its leadership represented a Who's Who of American anti-Semitism.⁹⁴ At their 1954 rally for McCarthy, a female photographer taking pictures of the special guest section for *Time* magazine was physically assaulted amid shouts of "Dirty Jew" and "Hang the communist bitch!"⁹⁵

John B. Trevor, Jr. became acting secretary of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies after his father's death in 1956, but the political character of the group showed no noticeable change.⁹⁶ The ACPS in 1962 condemned the Nuremberg war crimes trials as a "dreadful retrogression into barbarism," and called for the release of those "who may still be suffering imprisonment."⁹⁷

John B. Trevor, Jr. was one of eight members of the American Security Council Board of Directors until several years ago. In 1985, the president of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies was John Fisher, and their address was the same as the ASC.⁹⁸

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Although the ASC began as an antilabor operation with support from Sears (Fisher was on the Sears payroll the first five years he headed ASC)⁹⁹ and other businesses, it soon became involved in foreign policy issues. It cosponsored a series of annual meetings from 1955 to 1961 called National Military-Industrial Conferences in which elements of the Pentagon, National Security Council, and organizations linked to the CIA discussed cold war strategy with leaders of many large corporations, such as United Fruit, Standard Oil, Honeywell, U.S. Steel, and, of course, Sears Roebuck. Robert Wood was the key organizer of these events.¹⁰⁰ One

A FORWARD STRATEGY FOR AMERICA

BY ROBERT STRAUZ-HUPÉ, WILLIAM R. KINTNER
AND STEFAN T. POSSONY

With Alvin J. Cottrell, James E. Dougherty, Richard B. Foster,
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This book offers a plan for an all-inclusive strategy, and describes how this strategy must operate from a military, economic, technological, cultural, political, psychological and diplomatic point of view if we are to exercise our power and leadership. Our efforts cannot be in one or a few directions, but need to be co-ordinated into an overall strategy involving the whole Free World.

Among the many vital subjects analyzed and discussed are: alternate strategies involving nuclear and conventional weapons, the necessity of an expanding economy, proposed revisions in our gov-

ernment's administrative and security structure, how our diplomatic corps might operate more effectively, the dangerous lag in our technology, the issues of disarmament, arms control and arms reduction, new programs and policies for Africa, Asia and Latin America.

A Forward Strategy for America was conceived and developed by members of the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania. The result of many discussions, seminars and interviews, it is a highly important contribution to our understanding of America's role in this age of conflict.

***A Forward Strategy for America* was one of the most influential of the cold war theoretical works.**

conference “cooperating organization” was the CIA-linked Foreign Policy Research Institute.¹⁰¹

The Institute’s foreign policy thesis during this period was spelled out in a book, *A Forward Strategy for America* by Robert Strausz-Hupé, William R. Kintner, and Stefan T. Possony. In discussing nuclear-option scenarios in a hypothetical expanding U.S.-Soviet conflict, the book makes the following statement:

Even at a moment when the United States faces defeat because, for example, Europe, Asia and Africa have fallen to communist domination, a sudden nuclear attack against the Soviet Union could at least avenge the disaster and deprive the opponent of the ultimate triumph. While such a reversal at the last moment almost certainly would result in severe American casualties, it might still nullify all previous Soviet conquests.¹⁰²

Another sponsor of the conferences was the Aircraft Industries Association (AIA). According to Clarence Lasby’s *Project Paperclip*, the AIA pressured the U.S. government in the 1950’s to get Nazi scientists into the United States.¹⁰³ Werhner von Braun who worked on the Nazi rocket program, and General John Medaris, who supervised the Nazi scientists in the U.S. (and has opposed the investigations of the program by the Justice Department’s OSI), were both conference participants.¹⁰⁴

Influential private groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers, Chambers of Commerce, and several university institutes also participated in the conferences. In 1959 the National Military-Industrial Conferences established an Advisory Committee on Foreign Affairs that included a number of representatives of big business. Also included, however, were three political figures of the anti-Semitic extreme right. One of these was Mark M. Jones, who followed Mervin K. Hart as head of the anti-Semitic National Economic Council. Also a member of the Advisory Committee was Martin Blank, from Germany. Blank’s entries in *Who’s Who in Germany* described him as having worked in Berlin for a mine and steel mill business group from 1922 to 1945.¹⁰⁵ A study of backers of German nazism, *Who Financed Hitler*, says that Blank represented a secret group of twelve Ruhr industrialists called the *Ruhrlade*, “the most powerful secret organization of big business that existed during the Weimar period.”¹⁰⁶ *Ruhrlade* and its political emissary, Martin Blank, became involved in funding the rise of Hitler. The 1959 Military-Industrial Conference bulletin identifies him as a representative of German industry.

A third member of the committee was Baron Frederich August von der Heydte, who had also been active with the 1958 conference. His entry in *Who’s Who in Germany* and other sources say that he was an “active officer

1935–47” in the German army.¹⁰⁷ Heydte, whose family was close to the exiled Hohenzollen monarch,¹⁰⁸ was reported to have written in 1953 that “democracy is linked with collapse, defeat and foreign uniforms stalking German soil,” and that “democracy was brought by the victorious enemy together with the army of occupation.”¹⁰⁹ Von der Heydte was a cofounder and ideological leader of the Christian Democratic Union, a party that brought a variety of Nazi elements into its fold after the first postwar German elections.¹¹⁰ In recent years von der Heydte has formed an association with Lyndon LaRouche’s neofascist cult group.¹¹¹ The only foreign members of the National Military-Industrial Conference’s Foreign Affairs Committee during this period were Blank and von der Heydte.

EISENHOWER’S NIGHTMARE

In 1958, the Military-Industrial Conference formed the Institute for American Strategy (IAS) to conduct ongoing cold war propaganda. It was left to the American Security Council and the University of Pennsylvania’s Foreign Policy Research Institute to administer the IAS.¹¹² The IAS became a center of controversy in 1961, however, because of its role in political indoctrination of the military and its ties to active duty military organizations that were beginning to conduct propaganda in civilian forums. The concern of IAS critics was that an emerging military-industrial complex could begin to dominate politics and government policymaking, as was noted by President Eisenhower in his 1961 farewell address. Senator William Fulbright and President John F. Kennedy began to share that concern, especially when it became clear that it was liberalism itself that was under attack.

In 1961, the *New York Times* reported that a 1958 National Security Council directive recommended that “the military be used to reinforce the cold war effort.” The NSC decided that the military should conduct indoctrination campaigns for the American public on cold war and foreign policy issues. The Institute for American Strategy became the vehicle for the NSC program, organizing “National Strategy Seminars.” The *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* noted:

What is particularly striking about the National Strategy Seminars is that through the authorization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Institute for American Strategy, in effect, took over from the services the responsibility for training reserve officers on active duty, even though the National War College, whose facilities were used, had been giving courses on strategy to senior

officers of the three services as well as civilians for the past ten years.

At the same time, while the government paid for allowance, travel, facilities and services, the Richardson Foundation provided the funds for other expenses, including the cost of developing a curriculum for the seminar, hiring a staff, securing speakers, and purchasing books and other materials to be distributed to the students without charge.¹¹³

Fulbright warned of the dangers implicit in the situation:

The relationships between the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy, the Richardson Foundation, the National War College, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, should be re-examined from the standpoint of whether these relationships do not amount to official support for a viewpoint at variance with that of the Administration.

These relationships may give one particularly aggressive view a more direct and commanding influence upon military and civilian concepts of strategy than is desirable.¹¹⁴

Frank Barnett was director of research for the Richardson Foundation (now the Smith-Richardson Foundation) and program director of the Institute for American Strategy. Barnett advocated "political warfare" abroad that included fomenting "diverse forms of coercion and violence including strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerrilla or proxy warfare and, when necessary, kidnapping or assassination of enemy elites."¹¹⁵ Riled by those who did not share his militant foreign policy outlook, Barnett told attendees at one cold war seminar that "it is within the capacity of the people in this room to literally turn the State of Georgia into a civilian war college," in order to overcome their opponents.¹¹⁶

William Kintner, a twenty-five-year ASC veteran who left the CIA after eleven years as a planning officer and joined IAS in 1961, attacked the critics of extreme rightism in the *Reader's Digest*, May 1962. He said the campaign against extreme rightists, including the John Birch Society, began when "dossiers in Moscow's espionage headquarters were combed for the names of unsuspecting persons in the United States who might do the Kremlin's work." In other words, Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy were dupes of the KGB . . . or worse. In the jargon of today's extreme right, those concerned over the growing military-industrial complex were spreading "Soviet disinformation."

Despite the controversy, the NSC directive authorizing the military's role in cold war propaganda remained in effect. Edward Lansdale became

administrative director of IAS in the mid-1960's, serving while John Fisher was president of the organization. Lansdale was also an architect of CIA covert operations in Vietnam.¹¹⁷ The Institute for American Strategy later changed its name to the American Security Council Foundation.

In the early 1960's the ultraright was planning Goldwater's presidential campaign effort, helping to build the political base of extreme right groups. In concert with the Goldwater campaign, the American Security Council in 1964 published a book called *Guidelines for Cold War Victory* which listed board members and cooperating organizations from several far-right groups, including some linked to the John Birch Society. At least one ASC official was even associated with the quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby.¹¹⁸

These relationships take on greater significance as one learns more about the nature of groups such as Liberty Lobby and the John Birch Society. For instance, the founder of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch, once called President Eisenhower "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy," while the leader of Liberty Lobby, Willis Carto, edited a publication in 1960 calling for voter support for the American Nazi Party.

In his book *The Liberty Lobby and the American Right*, author Frank P. Mintz outlines the "overlap in ideology and clientele" between Liberty Lobby and the John Birch Society as well as the important differences:

The John Birch Society in the early 1960's aspired to the leadership of a radical right that strongly defended national sovereignty and opposed American membership in international organizations such as the United Nations. Closely related to the nationalist stance was a conspiratorial interpretation of U.S. history that made the Council on Foreign Relations an ally of the Communist conspiracy.¹¹⁹

But while the Birch Society trumpeted jingoistic patriotism via conspiracy theories, Mintz says that the "Lobby voiced racist and anti-Semitic beliefs in addition to conspiracism." Mintz explains:

Structurally, the Lobby was a most unusual umbrella organization catering to constituencies spanning the fringes of Neo-Nazism to the John Birch Society and the radical right. It was not truly paramilitary, in the manner of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis, but was more accurately an intermediary between racist paramilitary factions and the recent right.

The prodefense network being created by the American Security Council in the 1960's offered a respectable and anonymous way for members of the radical right John Birch Society and quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby to pursue the promilitary, anticommunist portions of their ideology in a setting where

the less savory portions of their views could be ignored in the spirit of coalition building.

THE COALITION FOR PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH

The ASC's role in elections wasn't highly visible until 1970. That year it targeted opponents of Richard Nixon's Vietnam War policies for defeat through the distribution of a "national security vote index" which claimed liberals were soft on communism. The ASC warned voters, "Did you vote for . . . a real missile gap? A new Cuban missile crisis? . . . Well, that's what you got! And a powerful coalition of members of Congress is trying to further reduce our defenses."¹²⁰

After Jimmy Carter became President in 1977, the ASC began to organize opposition to his plans to ratify the SALT II treaty. The ASC formed the Coalition for Peace Through Strength in August, 1978 for that purpose, and to put together a network to defeat the Democratic Party's nominee in 1980. In a Coalition report issued immediately after the 1980 elections, Coalition co-chair Paul Laxalt, who was also Reagan's 1980 campaign chairman, praised Fisher and the ASC: "The combination of all your efforts—particularly your TV blitz, Speakers Bureau and Political Action Committee—had a powerful impact on the election results."¹²¹

THE ASC ROLE IN THE 1980 ELECTIONS

In 1980 the American Security Council Foundation produced a film, *The SALT Syndrome*, to oppose Senate ratification of the SALT treaty and to suggest that Jimmy Carter was unilaterally disarming the U.S. Its use by the tax-exempt ASC Foundation was described by Fisher: "In the last three months of the campaign . . . ASCF increased its average TV showings from 30 a month to 180 bookings per month for a total of 1,956 showings during this election year." Fisher claimed that the purchased commercial air time, cable showings and screenings by private groups reached anywhere from 50 to 137 million people.

The ASC was also active in realigning the Senate toward the GOP. Fisher, for instance, celebrated the victory of James Abdnor of South Dakota, by noting Abdnor had "unseated the eighteen-year superdove incumbent, Senator George McGovern." Fisher also reported Abdnor expressed pleasure with the help he received. "Aside from my own campaign committee itself, no organization was more helpful in my successful Senate race than the Coalition for Peace Through Strength/American Security Council," Abdnor is quoted as saying.

In the South Dakota race, according to the *Coalition Insider* (the news-

letter of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength), *The SALT Syndrome* was shown eleven times on the three major television stations in South Dakota and as a projected film or videotape it was screened to 1,000 audiences. Making the ASC film his own, "Abdnor prepared an opening and closing statement that was incorporated in the 16mm version of 'The SALT Syndrome.'" ASC organizers "along with Abdnor's staff were responsible for these more than 1,000 showings of the film . . . throughout the state," reported the *Coalition Insider*.

The ASC-PAC also gave Abdnor's campaign \$8,000. Other promilitary Senate candidates for whom the ASC made special efforts included Charles Grassley, Alfonse D'Amato, and Steven Symms.

According to Fisher:

Coalition Co-chairman Major General [Ret.] John (Jack) Singlaub played a continuing role in the Grassley campaign, first visiting Iowa in the early summer. Singlaub's radio and television ads made for Grassley became an important part of the campaign's thrust. In addition, Singlaub filmed a special introduction to "The SALT Syndrome" for Grassley, who used the film widely in his campaign.

The report notes that Grassley's Democratic opponent, incumbent Senator John Culver, moved ahead in the polls, so Grassley asked retired Lt. General Daniel O. Graham, former CIA deputy director and ex-head of the Defense Intelligence Agency, to campaign for him. Graham, who was executive director of the ASC's PAC, was carried by private plane on "a whirlwind tour of western Iowa." A rally and press meetings were arranged. Grassley pulled ahead in the polls and held the lead through the November 4 elections. The ASC PAC also gave the Grassley campaign \$8,000.

Another all-out effort was made by ASC in behalf of Alphonse D'Amato against Elizabeth Holtzman in New York's Senate race. "ASC staffers were in there pitching from the start. A whole contingent went to help the D'Amato campaign with the press. . . ." According to the report, Gen. Graham, retired Brig. Gen. Robert Richardson, and several admirals represented the Coalition for Peace Through Strength on D'Amato's behalf. The ASC PAC also gave his campaign \$1,000. The Fisher ASC election report notes that Graham enjoyed most his campaign against Frank Church, who had led the Senate investigation of illegal CIA activities. Graham called Church, in typical ASC overstatement, "the architect of the destruction of our intelligence system" for investigating the CIA illegalities.

Both Graham and Singlaub (who also had worked for the CIA) "campaigned vigorously for Steve Symms . . . each paying Idaho three

separate visits. They were together for the Idaho Republican State convention." One headline, typical of the ASC style of rhetoric, read "Singlaub Blames Church for Soviet Supremacy." Symms received \$2,000 from ASC-PAC. Fisher claims that in 1980 the Coalition and ASC "briefed and/or campaigned for sixty-seven candidates." He said ASC staffers served as media consultants, researchers, and aided candidates in making introductions and closing statements to the ASC's *The SALT Syndrome*.

The ASC-PAC also aided Republican Senators Jake Garn and Dan Quayle [now Vice-President Quayle] with \$3,000 each, as well as Paula Hawkins, Paul Laxalt, Mack Mattingly, and Don Nickles with \$1,000 each. In the House, Jack Kemp, Robert K. Dornan and Gerald Solomon were Republicans who received \$1,000 each, as did Democrats Sam Stratton, Andrew Ireland, and Bill Chappell.

NOT EXACTLY A PEACEFUL COALITION

While the Coalition for Peace Through Strength became more involved in elections and lobbying for Reagan Administration priorities, the number of organizations in the Coalition grew from about forty in 1978 to 171 in 1986. As the Coalition grew, more bizarre groups were brought in. Many of the groups mentioned earlier are part of the Coalition: the Republican Heritage Groups Council and its Slovak, Romanian, Italian, Chinese, and Cossack Republican units; the Slovak World Congress, the Bulgarian National Front, the Byelorussian-American Association, and several other emigré fascist groups. But one organization that is a Coalition member and brings together, under ASC auspices, the Republican Heritage Groups Council and more ardent Nazis is the National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups (NCAEG).

The NCAEG is an organization which becomes active about a year before presidential elections. Treasurer Richard Kolm says of the NCAEG "We don't have contact with the Democratic Party. NCAEG has a reputation as Republican." It is also called "Szaz's personal springboard" by one of its officers, in reference to Executive Vice-President Z. Michael Szaz's dominance. Szaz is an official of the Virginia Republican Heritage Groups Council, an associate of racist Roger Pearson (*see Part 3*), and a director of the ASC's American Foreign Policy Institute. In mid-1983, the NCAEG began operating out of the ASC's Washington office in preparation for the 1984 elections.¹²²

The NCAEG presents itself as a congress of American ethnicity with a mandate to fight for the interests of millions of ethnic Americans, which some NCAEG leaders say are treated as second-class citizens. It is, however, an organizational forum for, and dominated by, Nazi collaborationists, emigré fascists, and anti-Semites. A number of the groups and leaders within

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Alexander Ronnett, M.D. & Faust Bradescu, Ph.D.

The Legionary Movement in Romania

—Book Reviews—

Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust
The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany 1915-19
The Falcon and the Eagle: Montenegro and Austria 1908-14

—HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT—

Historians Wrangle over the Destruction of European Jewry
Shoah: Abraham Bomba the Barber

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Dr. Alexander Ronnett's defense of the Nazi-linked Romanian Iron Guard appeared in the anti-Semitic *Journal of Historical Review*.

the NCAEG are also affiliated with the National Republican Heritage Groups Council.¹²³

One of the exceptions is the Romanian affiliate of the NCAEG, the Romanian American National Congress. Unlike the reticent Galdau, who denies being an Iron Guardsman, Dr. Alexander Ronnett, head of the Romanian American National Congress, has written a defense of the Iron Guard.¹²⁴

Throughout its sixty-year history, the Iron Guard has maintained a mystical, morose Romanian volkish nationalism and anti-Semitism.¹²⁵ The Iron Guard's links to the German SS and their attempted 1941 coup against the Romanian monarchy were evidence of the violent nature of the Guard. Their macabre ritual assassination practices were given full play during the three-day coup attempt, when thousands were rounded up and many murdered. Jews were a special target.¹²⁶

Today, Ronnett talks of "Jew-Communists" and the need for the American military to destroy the Warsaw pact. In his suburban Chicago M.D.'s office, Iron Guard symbols hang on the wall along with autographed photos of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet meeting with Ronnett and other Iron Guard leaders. The message of the Iron Guard is still taken seriously in some circles.¹²⁷

An Illinois ethnic advisor to the Reagan-Bush campaign in 1984, Ronnett spoke at the February, 1986 annual meeting of the Institute for Historical Review, where he claimed Jews were enemies of the Iron Guard.¹²⁸ The IHR is the Holocaust-denial group in Costa Mesa that attempts to rewrite the history of World War II in favor of the Axis powers and present nazism in a favorable light. The IHR is sponsored by Willis Carto who also leads the anti-Semitic and quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby. Ronnett's Romanian American National Congress, which has long-standing ties to the World Anti-Communist League (WACL),¹²⁹ recently joined the Coalition for Peace Through Strength.

Another NCAEG leader who was active with IHR was Austin App of the German American National Congress (also known by its German acronym "DANK"). App, a pro-Nazi activist for decades, wrote *The Six Million Swindle*,¹³⁰ asserting that the Nazi extermination of Jews didn't happen. Until his death in 1986, App was also active with extreme rightists based in Germany. App was a founder of the NCAEG. DANK is its German affiliate. DANK was active in the Republican Heritage Groups Council in the early 1970's, but the GOP German slot has had no affiliate in recent years. DANK, a group that glories in the memory of the Third Reich, is also a member of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, despite the fact that App had written in 1946 that "the German armies [were] the most decent armies of the war." In his 1974 pamphlet, A

Straight Look at the Third Reich: Hitler and National Socialism, How Right? How Wrong?, App wrote, "The truth is that in World War II the Third Reich fought for justice, and the Allies fought to prevent justice."¹³¹ Writing in *Commentary*, December 1980, Lucy Dawidowicz bluntly called DANK "pro-Nazi," a characterization easily justified by the content of the group's literature.

When NCAEG held a meeting in the fall of 1983, representatives of the White House and Republican National Committee were participants. Republican Heritage Groups Council Executive Director Radi Slavoff was identified in the program as also being the NCAEG's Secretary/Director of Activities. One of the activities planned was to honor NCAEG founders Austin App and Slovak Josef Mikus, the former Tiso diplomat.¹³²

In 1985, Slavoff and Pasztor were replaced by American-born ethnics in order to campaign against the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI), the Nazi prosecution unit. New Jersey NCAEG chair Joseph Plonski, who is also vice-chair of the New Jersey Republican Heritage Groups Council, says that the "Soviets are using OSI as a vehicle to divide and conquer America." He said they wanted NCAEG leaders to be American-born so they couldn't be accused of "war crimes."¹³³

NCAEG's anti-OSI campaign put together a booklet that has a friendly note from former White House Communications Director Patrick Buchanan.¹³⁴ NCAEG credibility on the OSI question is further complicated by the public assertions of some of its associates that the Holocaust never happened.

Other Republican Heritage Groups Council leaders who have been active with the NCAEG include Walter Melianovich, Nicolas Nazarenko, Alexander Aksenov, and Laszlo Pasztor. In a 1971 *Washington Post* story on some of the extreme elements within the NCAEG and Republican Heritage Groups Council, Pasztor's attitude was described as uncritical of the fascists he was working with: "He talks to all of them, he says, and praises the concept of an umbrella organization for ethnics. He denounces no one."¹³⁵

Ethnic groups are not the only extremists in the Coalition for Peace Through Strength. Other groups include:

CATHOLICS FOR CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

A lobby and newsletter operation run by Gary Potter. Its February–March 1983 newsletter attacked "Zionist" wealth, and "skillful playing on the Holocaust theme." The proposed solution is stated thus: "The nation does not necessarily have to become Christian again to shake off the Zionist power. Germany didn't. Germany also ultimately failed . . . following Him [Christ] is the course the U.S. should take to be free."¹³⁶

ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

Although it poses as a Catholic organization, the Order of St. John is a Masonic group that claims to be the real Knights of Malta.¹³⁷ Its Grand Master for fifty years until his death several years ago was Charles Pichel, an adviser (via correspondence from the U.S.) to Hitler aide Ernst Hanfstaengl.¹³⁸ Pichel's Order is a secret society led by anti-Semites who have worked with the quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby and with neofascist Lyndon LaRouche groups.¹³⁹

HERITAGE GROUPS COUNCIL FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

A subsidiary of the pro-Nazi German American National Congress (DANK), the Council is headed by Karol Sitko. Active in NCAEG, Sitko was described in the *Washington Post* as an ally of Austin App and Ivan Docheff.¹⁴⁰ Sitko was also the organizer for the West German branch of the Western Goals Foundation, a far-right political organizing and research group which, until the death of its founder, Congressman Larry McDonald, was essentially a front for the John Birch Society's private intelligence network. In Germany, Sitko organized rallies in Nuremberg and Hanover drawing 240,000 people. He was supported by billionaire H.L. Hunt and General John Singlaub.¹⁴¹ His activities were conducted in concert with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (see Section 3, part 4).

CONSERVATIVES AGAINST LIBERAL LEGISLATION

Renamed Conservative Alliance (CALL), this group was organized by the late Terry Dolan's National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC is also in the Coalition for Peace Through Strength). CALL has received major funding through groups affiliated with Rev. Sun Myung Moon, according to the *Wall Street Journal* and other reports.¹⁴² CALL started the National Coalition for America's Survival, which includes the newly-reincarnated America First Committee.¹⁴³ The current America First Committee, related only by name to the earlier group, is a Chicago-based racist and anti-Semitic organization headed by neo-Nazi Art Jones. Jones alternates Nazi uniforms with Klan robes and participated in a Klan-Nazi unity meeting sponsored by Aryan Nations in October of 1985.¹⁴⁴ Jones constantly issues attacks on Blacks, Jews, and Hispanics, and functions as the ideological leader of Chicago-area Nazi groups.

COMMITTEE TO UNITE AMERICA

One of three groups in the Coalition headed by Lady Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton, who is also on the board of the American Security Council Foundation. Her deceased husband, part of the British aristocracy, was the brother of the host of Rudolph Hess when, in 1940, Hess made his secret

flight to England. Hess, a top aide to Hitler and Nazi Party official, sought to meet with the British aristocratic circles known as the Cliveden Set.¹⁴⁵ Sympathetic to Hitler's war aims, the Cliveden Set tried to get England out of the war it had declared against Germany in September, 1939, after Germany invaded Poland. Hess was arrested and imprisoned. After Lord Malcolm Douglas came to the U.S., he established an American branch of a racial eugenics group headquartered in Scotland. The oil billionaire Hunt brothers and Senator Jesse Helms are members of the group. It was headed by Robert Gayre, who published the racialist *Mankind Quarterly* until Roger Pearson took it over in 1978 (see Section 3, part 1). Lady Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton set up a number of groups, including the Committee to Unite America. John Fisher is listed among its Founders and on its Sponsoring Committee, as are other ASC principals.

THE ASC, THE WHITE HOUSE, AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

The American Security Council sponsored weekly private meetings between National Security Council representatives, congressional staffers and New Right groups active on foreign policy issues. Begun in January, 1985, the Tuesday Group, as it became known for its Tuesday morning Capitol Hill sessions, focused on gaining aid for the contras, a top White House and ASC priority.

ASC leaders in 1985 were reluctant to discuss the Tuesday Group due to the participation of Lt. Col. Oliver North, then a deputy director of the National Security Council, and the attendance of Constantine Menges, the former head of Latin American affairs at NSC. North eventually came under congressional fire in 1987 for his role in coordinating secret and private aid to the Contras. North has participated in other ASC activities and had his picture in the *Peace Through Strength Report*, January, 1986, with Fisher, even though the White House demanded that the *Washington Post* and other papers not use North's picture—for reasons of national security.

The Tuesday Group was chaired by Sam Dickens, ASC's Director for Inter-American Affairs and editor of Radio Free Americas, a radio program picked up by the ASC in 1968 when a similar program was exposed in 1967 as CIA-sponsored. Others in the group, whose attendance varies slightly depending on the weekly topic, included: representatives of the Pentagon and State Department; the Heritage Foundation; the Center for Strategic and International Studies; the National Forum Foundation; former U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica Curtin Winsor, Jr.; Lynn Bouchey, head of the Council for Inter-American Security; Dave Sullivan, an aide to Senator

Jesse Helms, Steve Symms, and James McClure; and Angelo Codevilla, a former aide to Sen. Malcolm Wallop, who now went to Hoover Institution in California.¹⁴⁶

Menges described the meetings as purely “social affairs” and said he only came in contact with the Tuesday Group in 1987. He had left the NSC a month prior to our interview, in early 1987, to work for Jack Kemp’s Fund for an American Renaissance.

One Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs also attended the Tuesday meetings in order to maintain contacts with other foreign policy hard-liners. At the risk of losing his job, he blasted the policies of Secretary of State George Schultz, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Chester Crocker, and Deputy Assistant Secretary Frank Wisner. The impact of Tuesday Group work was noted by one source who said “the Michel Amendment” for contra aid was written through its process.

Various experts are brought in to discuss the topic of any given meeting. According to Dickens, guests may include “Congressmen, former heads of state, ambassadors, military leaders from El Salvador, Honduras—Eden Pastora, Roberto D’Aubuisson we’ve had at our breakfast.” According to Winsor, Sol Sanders of *Business Week* made one presentation on the situation in Mexico. “His views are virtually the same as [former Ambassador] Jim Gavins,” Winsor added.

Dickens said in 1986 that the focus of the Tuesday Group had been on contra aid, and would continue to be. The Tuesday Group’s purpose was “to bring people together to develop ideas and action plans to get support from Congress for the Freedom Fighters,” according to the ASC activist. Dickens said that for Reagan to get consensus on the Hill for funding the contras it was going to take private sector involvement, “So we’ve been working on that basis. . . .” Dickens said that he would “advise contra leaders” and “help raise money for them through foundations.”

After insisting that “the U.S. ought to break diplomatic relations” with Nicaragua and “recognize UNO [United Nicaraguan Opposition],” Dickens said that the NSC at the time was considering such a move after initial funding for the contras was approved. He predicted that the break would come after “another country takes the lead in South America” to end diplomatic ties with Nicaragua. These predictions came shortly before the story of Iran-contra gate broke in the national news media.

In addition to the foreign policy subjects of the Tuesday Group, a working group has met in “crisis” situations, presumably to aid funding for programs that need Congressional lobbying, such as Star Wars, chemical weapons, and the MX. The appropriate administration officials, military contractors, and political groups are believed to have participated.¹⁴⁷

The relationship between Reagan and the ASC has been a long and

mutually beneficial partnership. Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan joined the Coalition for Peace Through Strength as an individual member as the Coalition was being formed in 1978.¹⁴⁸ The ASC supplied campaign advisors and a drumbeat of propaganda for the defeat of Jimmy Carter. After Reagan's 1980 victory, the ASC was heavily represented on the transition teams and in the new Administration. In turn, Reagan provided three fundraising letters for the ASC during his first year in office.¹⁴⁹

Observing this relationship near the end of 1980, retired Admiral Gene La Rocque, director of the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Defense Information, stated that "the American Security Council, which only a few years ago was generally dismissed in serious defense circles as an insignificant fringe group left over from the McCarthy era, today stands poised to take control of the defense policies of this nation." La Rocque noted that Reagan's inexperience in defense issues meant that "[w]hen it comes to military policy, Governor Reagan depends totally on his advisors."¹⁵⁰

THE PROPAGANDA ARM OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

Reagan's NSC turned to the ASC early on for collaboration on its projects. A March 11, 1982 letter from then National Security Advisor William Clark praised ASC's 1980 film *Attack on the Americas* as "effective and accurate" and asked the ASC to produce an updated version incorporating Reagan's Caribbean and Central American policies. The "Dear John" letter to Fisher on White House letterhead claimed that it was necessary to turn to the ASC because "media coverage has been fraught with both misinformation and disinformation. . . ." Clark ended the letter with a "look forward to working with you in the future."

The ASC produced the film, bringing Sam Dickens in as a consultant.¹⁵¹ In August 1982, the ASC Foundation held a speakers training forum in the White House with high Administration officials participating.¹⁵² The speaker's bureau was another ASC vehicle made available to the Administration to help develop public support for its policies. The 1980 version of *Attack on the Americas* reportedly received funds for its \$500,000 budget from several extreme right-wing groups in Guatemala with links to death squads in that country.¹⁵³

Another film on Central America, *Crisis in the Americas*, was also produced with NSC interests in mind. According to one source, however, the NSC paid the ASC for its help. "I was screening the film footage taken in Central America so that we could make a copy," said British Broadcasting

Corporation producer David Taylor, who works in Washington, D.C. "The film's producer, Walter Gold, told me I couldn't use some of the footage because it was shot for the NSC through a contract arrangement with the ASC. It was supposed to be secret." Taylor said that some of the footage was of a classified U.S. air base in El Salvador to which journalists could not get access. "For them to get to that base, they had to be cleared." Some of the footage had a C-130 aircraft landing at the base that Gold identified as "a CIA transport." He also told Taylor that footage of the 1984 elections in El Salvador had "CIA election observers." It was never explained why the NSC wanted this footage, nor how much was paid to the ASC to produce it.¹⁵⁴ The public version of *Crisis in the Americas* premiered in the White House in February 1985.¹⁵⁵ NSC head Robert McFarlane headlined the event, while former presidential assistant Faith Whittlesey praised the ASC for its "initiative."

Another source of funds for ASC film efforts came from the First National Bank of Chicago. In 1987, the *American Banker* noted the FBI was investigating the unauthorized use of \$100,000 by two former bank officials to aid an ASC promotional film. One bank employee, Wayne Gregory, was head of the Illinois Branch of the ASC's U.S. Congressional Advisory Board (USCAB), a part of ASC's fundraising operation.¹⁵⁶ Gregory's attorney, Matthias Lydon, said of the ASC's involvement, "nothing was said, assumptions were made" between Gregory and the ASC.¹⁵⁷ The ASC gave Gregory an award "to honor the example and dedication he has shown."¹⁵⁸ The USCAB had further problems when the home of former Illinois Congressman Robert Hanrahan, who headed the national USCAB fundraising operation, was raided in a "nationwide investigation into a scheme to hide drug profits."¹⁵⁹

In September, 1983 Reagan sent a "Dear John" letter to Fisher on White House stationery which began "I am glad to hear that you are launching an IN DEFENSE OF AMERICA project to counter the massive Soviet propaganda and disinformation on issues like Central America and the nuclear weapons freeze. . . . My Administration will cooperate fully with you in this project."¹⁶⁰

The "In Defense of America" project was geared toward shaping public opinion for the 1984 campaign. The centerpiece of the \$15 million project was production of two films that were intended to play a campaign role similar to the use made of *The SALT Syndrome* in 1980. The Coalition's November 1983 newsletter notes that "a special team drawn from the National Security Council, the State Department, [and] the Department of Defense" will assist the ASC project.

The first film was *A Strategy for Peace Through Strength* which, like all ASC propaganda, claims U.S. military inferiority. A scene of Carter

embracing Brezhnev is later contrasted with a hard-line Reagan speech, giving viewers an idea as to who is weakening America.

The second film was *Crisis in the Americas*. Its graphics featured a bear from the eastern horizon aggressively looming over Central America. President Reagan and Administration spokesmen are the star players in the script.

Part of the appeal to raise the \$15 million for the ASC project was to double the number of groups in the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, from 158 to 300. Another goal was to build state and local units of the Coalition. A separately stated goal was to "Encourage the organization of affiliated Coalitions in all other free world countries."¹⁶¹

In several interviews, Fisher declined to discuss any means by which they intended to organize other "Free World" Coalitions. Although he suggested that CIOR, the NATO reserve officers association, would be a possible vehicle, he seemed to have no plan, or intention of developing one. It was also unclear what the international character and function of a Coalition for Peace Through Strength may be in, say, Chile, Paraguay or South Africa—countries where domestic peace has been maintained through the strength of police and military units deployed by the government.

Those aspects of the ASC project related to Reagan's re-election, however, were implemented with some success. J. Walter Thompson Advertising Company arranged half-hour slots on nearly 200 commercial stations to show the "Peace Through Strength" film a month before the November election. Public and cable TV showings were also arranged. *Crisis in the Americas* didn't make it before the elections.

The ASC planned to complement that week of film showings on TV with "Peace Through Strength" rallies in forty-eight states.¹⁶² Most were poorly attended. The ASC also planned a "World Peace Through Strength Day" on September 19, 1984. Although the nature of the event was unclear, the ASC noted "the day-long extravaganza is scheduled for the eve of America's Presidential elections" which the ASC felt "further enhances its significance."¹⁶³

The coordinators of some of the state Coalition activities represent the extreme politics of the national organization. The North Carolina Coalition coordinator during the 1984 re-election effort for Senator Jesse Helms was Milton Croom,¹⁶⁴ a longtime supporter of Lyndon LaRouche's activities, and a partner in a western Maryland radio station owned by the LaRouche group.¹⁶⁵ The LaRouche network frequently organizes around anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi themes, and collaborates with American neo-Nazi groups and the Ku Klux Klan. Former members say the core of the organization is a cult with members totally subservient to LaRouche.¹⁶⁶

Betty McConkey, the Iowa Coalition coordinator, was a candidate for

state legislative office under the banner of the Populist Party,¹⁶⁷ a political front of the anti-Semitic and quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby. The Populist Party openly includes elements from the Ku Klux Klan as well as the violent paramilitary Posse Comitatus.¹⁶⁸

When the ASC put together the “In Defense of America” project, they assembled a “strategy board” for the ASC Foundation.¹⁶⁹ It included two former directors of covert operations of the CIA, and two former intelligence operatives involved in organizations aiding the illegal shipments of lethal material to Libya under the direction of former CIA operatives Edmund Wilson and Frank Terpil.

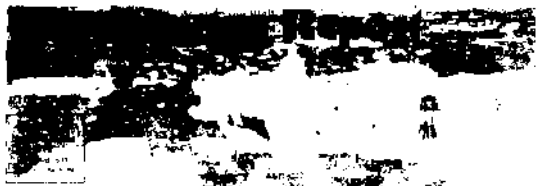
One of the operatives involved in the Wilson-Terpil arms trade was Brig. Gen. (retired) Robert C. Richardson III. He was a vice-president of Consultants International from 1973–77,¹⁷⁰ a front company used in the Libyan operations.¹⁷¹ A senior officer in U.S. Air Force Politico-Military Affairs (covert operations), he is an associate of Roger Pearson (*see Pearson section*) and retired Lt. Daniel O. Graham’s High Frontier, a group which lobbies for a form of Star Wars and is also a member group of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength.

Another covert operator on the strategy board was the late Brig. Gen. Edwin F. Black. Formerly on Eisenhower’s Operations Coordinating Board, which implemented National Security Council policies and supervised the CIA,¹⁷² Black was a principal of the Nugan Hand Bank of Australia.¹⁷³ The Australian government found that the bank was involved in drug and gun trafficking¹⁷⁴ and that it aided the Wilson-Terpil operations.¹⁷⁵

The government also noted the bank’s employment of “so many former high ranking U.S. and Armed Services personnel and other people widely known to have had a previous formal connection with the U.S. intelligence community.”¹⁷⁶ Although the government did not find Nugan Hand to be a sanctioned covert cover for CIA activities, it remarked that “there are a number of matters that give rise to serious disquiet,” including “the relationships that some of the Nugan Hand group . . . had with persons of U.S. intelligence background.”¹⁷⁷ Black and Richardson also serve on the ASC National Strategy Committee.¹⁷⁸

THE ASC AND CONGRESS

The ASC’s close relationship to the executive branch continued after the 1984 elections. A “Salute to Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick” dinner was arranged by the ASC in 1985, with a host committee studded with administration officials.¹⁷⁹ Having solidified its relationship with the Reagan Administration, ASC targeted Congress to receive more attention.



ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE NATION'S SECURITY

WASHINGTON, JUNE 1982

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The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Movement

America is a land where things novel, bizarre, and even radical, can grip large segments of the population almost overnight. Sometimes these phenomena seem to arise spontaneously in the natural course of human events; in other cases, as with Puhlik's cube, they are the result of someone's shrewd and calculated effort.

Few trends or fads have seemingly burst upon the nation more spontaneously or spread more rapidly than the so-called nuclear "freeze" movement. The media have touted the movement, hailed its "grass-roots" nature, and described it as sweeping like a prairie fire, from resolutions in New England town meetings to an agenda item next fall on the California state referendum. But the timing of this phenomenon was not accidental. It is evident from the literature of the organizations concerned that the freeze call was designed to reach a crescendo just as the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament takes place, June to July of this year. Moreover, behind the seeming spontaneity there is a complex hierarchy of professional organizers, following a carefully designed strategy.

It is no coincidence that this strategy serves to implement the aims of the Soviet Union. It is clearly an integral part of the massive campaign to disarm the West which the Soviets have conducted over the past five years. This effort has been very effective so far, resulting in the cancelling of plans to develop the so-called neutron bomb in 1978 by President Carter, and more recently in making it politically impossible to deploy Pershing II and



Leonid Brezhnev would like nothing better than a Nuclear Freeze at present levels.

cruise missiles in Holland and Belgium when these weapons become available.

There is no overt data, as such, on the sums being spent by the Soviet Union to promote the US freeze campaigns, and in fact much of the funding for these initiatives comes from

American foundations and from the donations of thousands of well-intentioned but exploited Americans. But in any case, Soviet propaganda has made a critical contribution to the overall atmosphere of the freeze campaign, by creating a climate of fear.

The movement is rapidly becoming a divisive political force. Senators Ted Kennedy and Mark Hatfield have embraced the concept as their own by co-sponsoring a freeze-now, equalize-through-negotiations-later resolution in the Senate. Bantam books has cooperated with the Senators by rushing into print in a near-record six days a paperback entitled *Freeze*, ostensibly written by Kennedy and Hatfield.

In response, Senators Jackson and Warner have sponsored Senate Joint Resolution 177, which calls for "a long-term, mutual and verifiable nuclear forces freeze at equal and sharply reduced levels of forces." The operative word in this initiative is "equal," reflecting the view that parity does not now exist. The Kennedy-Hatfield resolution mustered only twenty co-sponsors, compared with fifty-eight for the Jackson-Warner resolution.

On the other hand, President Reagan has opposed a freeze, as such at this time, which would "legitimate a condition of great advantage to the Soviets." Recently, he challenged the USSR by proposing a cut of one-third in the strategic nuclear weapons of both sides. In a second phase, he suggested, missile throw-weights would be reduced to equal and verifiable levels.

The Soviet response to Reagan's proposal came in Leonid Brezhnev's

The American Security Council and Its Coalition for Peace Through Strength circulate a large volume of promilitary informational materials.

“Our increasing emphasis is going to be on Congress,” said Fisher.¹⁸⁰ He was mindful of the congressional resistance that still existed on a variety of foreign and military policy issues. The two ASC vehicles for influencing Congress were the U.S. Congressional Advisory Board (USCAB), a part of the ASC Foundation, and the Congressional Division of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength.

USCAB has given citizens the opportunity to become “advisors” to Congress by paying money to the ASC, although an occasional postage stamp would be cheaper and perhaps just as effective. Members of USCAB were also invited to ASC fundraisers called “annual meetings” of USCAB. The meeting held in July 1986 cost \$150 a head to attend.

Administration officials aided these fundraisers by providing speakers and even the White House for events. Caspar Weinberger has addressed the 1985¹⁸¹ and 1986 meetings; SDI director Lt. Gen. James Abrahamson and George Keyworth, former Science Advisor to the President, have also addressed USCAB.¹⁸² In December of 1985 a “Post Geneva Summit Briefing” was sponsored by USCAB that featured speeches from Lt. Col. Oliver North, John Lenczowski, director of European and Soviet Affairs for the National Security Council, and William Martin, executive secretary of the NSC.¹⁸³

The Congressional Division of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength has been the ASC’s fig leaf of bipartisanship. With 252 congressmen and senators as members in 1986, the ASC claimed their Congressional Division to be the largest caucus in Congress. Nearly forty percent were Democrats, according to the ASC. As Division members, elected representatives were expected to support a “Peace Through Strength Resolution” and maintain a seventy percent positive rating on the ASC index of key congressional votes. This entitled congressional representatives to certain rewards. The main reward was financial.

The ASC has a Political Action Committee that doles out money—if you are a member of the Coalition’s Congressional Division. In 1985, *Common Cause Magazine* reported that conservative Republican Senator John Warner of Virginia was denied a campaign donation unless he joined. Warner, who says he refuses donations with strings attached, said no. He also told the magazine that he believed they wanted his name for fundraising purposes. “I was not about to become part of their fundraising operations,” Warner was quoted as saying.¹⁸⁴

ASC-PAC donations are a small part of the money available to influence Congress. While ASC reported that in 1982 its PAC distributed \$82,000 to Congressional candidates, Fisher’s annual ASC report noted that the Council also “played a senior role in the raising of over \$2 million” in the campaign.¹⁸⁵ In 1984 ASC-PAC spent \$225,000 while raising another

\$4.5 million in campaign money,¹⁸⁶ possibly from defense contractors.

Select congressmen receive other benefits. Florida Democratic Congressman Bill Chappell, chair of the Defense Appropriation Subcommittee and a cochair of the Congressional Division of the ASC, says that in 1984 the ASC was responsible for the “most successful Washington fundraiser ever held during my eighteen years in Congress.”¹⁸⁷ In 1987, he praised the ASC by writing “I am pleased and honored that you will once again be coordinating my Steering Committee efforts.”¹⁸⁸

Another direct means of rewarding congressional favorites is by paying honoraria to members of Congress who participate in ASC activities. Congressman Bill Dickinson of Alabama, the ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee and an endorser of the anti-Semitic and quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby,¹⁸⁹ received \$7,000 in honoraria from the ASC in 1984¹⁹⁰ and \$6,500 in 1985.¹⁹¹ One \$2,000 payment came specifically for aiding the In Defense of America fundraising project.¹⁹² ASC raised \$500,000 from defense contractors over three years.¹⁹³ The project funds were used to produce films and organize political activity on behalf of increased military spending and aid to the contras, and to bolster the 1984 re-election efforts of Ronald Reagan.

The ASC regularly organizes meetings between defense contractors and key members of Congress. For instance, in the summer of 1987, then Senator Dan Quayle, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, addressed such a meeting to “discuss the vital importance of the Strategic Defense Initiative,” according to the ASC newsletter *National Security Report*. The newsletter reported Quayle told the meeting that “the Soviets have outspent the United States on strategic defense during the past decade by a margin of fifteen to one.”¹⁹⁴

After the July 1986 USCAB annual meeting, as is the yearly practice, the ASC gave awards to members of Congress who were members in good standing. With martial music blasting out of the Cannon Office Building Caucus Room, representatives and senators queued up to receive bald eagle statues with their names engraved on brass plates.

The ASC also attempts to punish its opposition. It ran a full-page ad in the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*,¹⁹⁵ a newspaper long associated with the ASC,¹⁹⁶ demanding that Congressman Richard Gephardt support contra funding.

The ASC’s biased voter index is sent to a targeted congressperson’s hometown press pointing out the low ratings, hoping to elicit negative stories and editorials. The *Wall Street Journal* and newspapers from around the country use the ASC index as if it comes from a responsible, nonpartisan organization.¹⁹⁷ The votes upon which ratings are made require the most hard-line positions in order to gain ASC approval.

Congressmen Bill Chappell and Sam Stratton and Senators Dennis DeConcini, the late Ed Zorinsky, and Bennett Johnson were the Democrats most often associated with ASC political and fundraising activities in recent years. [Zorinsky switched to the Republican Party shortly before his death.] Often their presence is highlighted to suggest what is termed the bipartisan character of the event or the bipartisan character of the Coalition. In effect, however, the ASC acts as if it were a GOP operation.

All of the partisan groups in the Coalition for Peace Through Strength are Republican, including fifteen units of the GOP itself. The "Private Sector Co-Chairmen," as distinct from the Congressional Division of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, are Republican. The so-called private sector in the Coalition refers to the 171 groups that are supposed to be the "grassroots" complement which interacts with the Congressional Division. Among the 171 are the Nazi-linked groups previously described.

The ASC Political Action Committee also reflects a GOP bias. Eighty percent of the \$138,560 disbursed between February, 1985 and June, 1986 went to Republicans, with Steve Symms the big winner with \$6,738.¹⁹⁸ Reps. Guy Molinari and Jack Kemp followed with \$5,250 and \$5,000 respectively.

In presidential elections, the ASC can be counted on to support the Republican candidate. Among the first to use heavy negative advertising as a partisan tool, ASC campaign material continues to exaggerate and misrepresent the views of Democratic opponents in order to defeat them. Campaign crisis-mongering statements by Singlaub and Graham, used by the ASC in the 1980 elections, have become a Council trademark. As early as 1970, the ASC campaign warned "the 1970 elections may be [your] *last chance* to vote for Peace Through Strength."¹⁹⁹

Admiral La Rocque noted that "They have always used the rhetoric of fear and panic to make their case." He cited a 1980 ASC appeal: "No generation of Americans has ever before been so recklessly placed at the mercy of so pitiless and powerful an enemy . . . our nation stands paralyzed in blind obedience . . . so utterly unprepared is America . . . the crisis is approaching the point of no return. . . ." ²⁰⁰

In 1984 the ASC mailed a list of Russian-English language translations of words and phrases it would be necessary for Americans to learn if Mondale won. Fisher says it was "one of the politest" ways of saying what they thought would happen if Reagan lost in 1984.²⁰¹

One of the sources of ASC funding is the Communication Corporation of America and its subsidiaries, Preferred Lists and Direct Marketing, all owned by Fisher and his family.²⁰² CCA is a direct mail firm that employs 250 people on three shifts. Located on the ASC's 850-acre Virginia estate, CCA does work for private businesses, New Rightists such as Tim LaHaye,

and for eleven years has had a contract with the Republican National Committee. "If we didn't have the CCA, the ASC would have gone out of business on three occasions," says Fisher.²⁰³ The firm also works for GOP campaigns and local GOP units.

It is easy to see the partisan and pecuniary motives of the ASC, its corporate friends and Republican allies. But the ASC also represents a world view with the influence to spread that world view. Fisher himself summed it up in four words—"I believe in Rollback."²⁰⁴ The ASC network, including its Nazi friends, has not given up the idea of the U.S. military destruction of the USSR. The purpose of the massive weapons buildups they advocate is toward that end.

Jay Winek, a former executive director of the neoconservative Coalition for a Democratic Majority, said that the ASC "uses the word 'peace' to justify strength. They really don't see peace as the purpose of strength."²⁰⁵

Forge together elements from the New Right, the Republican Party, certain hawkish congressional Democrats, military and intelligence agency connections, and powerful business interests, and you have the essence of the ASC, a lobby for weapons and war.

Toward its goal the ASC has also pulled into its coalition racialsists, American sympathizers of Hitler's war aims, representatives of postwar Italian fascism, and even collaborators with Hitler's *Waffen SS*.

The guiding principle of the ASC throughout the cold war was to cultivate as an ally anyone who supported the military destruction of the Soviet Union as the font of communism. Since this was also a primary goal of German National Socialism and other European fascist movements it should not be surprising that adherents of these philosophies, which revere militarism, power, and the cleansing crucible of war, would find allies within the American Security Council. Nor is it surprising that the ASC received both moral and financial support from the same corporations who had a financial stake in large budgets for military armaments. In the politics of militarism, the bedfellows are not really very strange.

For over thirty years the ASC has successfully focused public discussion of foreign policy on aggressive militarist options, and it continues this mission unabated. In early 1991, the American Security Council coordinated the formation of the Coalition for Desert Storm, "a bi-partisan alliance organized by the National Security Caucus in the U.S. Congress." In a full-page ad in the February 27, 1991 *Washington Post*, the Coalition announced it was launching a campaign to garner one million signatures for the proclamation from Americans across the nation. The coupon for signers and contributors was to be mailed to the ASC's John M. Fisher, "Administrative Chairman" of the Coalition.

Some thirty years ago President Eisenhower warned of the "unwarranted

influence” of the “military-industrial complex” in the councils of government. The Bush Administration’s quick reliance on the military option in the Gulf war reflects, at least in part, the groundwork laid by the ASC and its allies, and suggests Eisenhower’s nightmare has become a reality.

PART THREE

Allies and Allegiances

*“ Perhaps what is most wrong with the World
Anti-Communist League is what it hides behind
and what it has rejected. In the name of anti-communism,
it has embraced those responsible for death squads, apartheid,
torture, and the extermination of European Jewry.
Along the way, it has repudiated democratic government
as a viable alternative, either to govern
or to combat communism. ”*

Scott Anderson & Jon Lee Anderson
Inside the League
DODD, MEAD & COMPANY, 1986

ROGER PEARSON, THE WHITE HOUSE, AND RACIALISM

When journalists first saw the White House fundraising letter dated April 14, 1982, written for Roger Pearson and signed by Ronald Reagan, it was thought to be a fluke. Since Pearson, a former leader of the World Anti-Communist League, was a world-renowned racist with a long history of associations with neo-Nazi groups and individuals, a White House repudiation of the letter was expected when the problem was discovered. After all, it was the summer of 1984, and who would want Reagan connected in any way with an advocate of racial extermination policies before the November elections?

The *Wall Street Journal*, however, pursued the story and found out that the White House itself was unwilling to repudiate the letter, or Pearson.²⁰⁶ White House staff did say Pearson would be asked to stop using the letter.

Anson Franklin, an assistant presidential press secretary, added “the president has long held views opposing racial discrimination in any form, and he would never condone anything to the contrary. But that’s a general statement; I’m not addressing Dr. Pearson specifically.”

When Roger Pearson first visited the U.S. in 1958, he didn’t seem a likely candidate to receive White House favors. At the time he was the London-based organizer of the Northern League,²⁰⁷ a white supremacist European organization that included former Nazi SS officials. The League was inclined toward Nordic, pre-Christian pagan culture.²⁰⁸

Pearson’s first American visit was arranged by *Right* magazine, edited by Willis Carto. The magazine was an endorser of the American Nazi Party.²⁰⁹ *Right* called Pearson “the world’s foremost spokesman for the scientific and forward looking view of nationalism. He is held in renown by white nationalists the world over.”²¹⁰

Pearson moved to the U.S. in 1965, merging his magazine *Northern World* with a Willis Carto publication to form *Western Destiny*, which Pearson edited for a short time.²¹¹ The magazine had over two dozen racists and anti-Semites on its masthead, including Austin App and C. M. Goethe, honorary president of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.²¹² Pearson published four monographs in 1966 that represent the core of his ideas. One monograph, titled *Race and Civilization*, was “based on Professor Hans F. K. Gunther’s *Racial Elements of European Civilization*.”²¹³ Gunther was a top Third Reich racial theoretician and Pearson associate from the Northern League.²¹⁴

In *Eugenics and Race*, published in 1966, Pearson’s writing reached the logical end of racial hatred:

If a nation with a more advanced, more specialized, or in any way superior set of genes mingles with, instead of exterminating, an inferior tribe, then it commits racial suicide. . . .²¹⁵

Pearson's monographs are still offered by neo-Nazi booksellers today.²¹⁶ The *Wall Street Journal* quoted Pearson as saying "I'm not ashamed of anything I've said or written."²¹⁷

Pearson moved to Washington in 1975. Within a year his Council on American Affairs was sponsoring seminars and publishing monographs with persons such as Edwin Fuelner, president of the Heritage Foundation; Ray Cline, former C.I.A. deputy director; and others who would later become high officials of the Reagan Administration.²¹⁸ His Council also became the U.S. chapter of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), an international network including fascists, followers of the authoritarian Korean cult-leader Rev. Sun Myung Moon, and neo-Nazis.²¹⁹

Pearson became the editor of the American Security Council's *Journal of International Relations*²²⁰ and served on the board of the ASC's American Foreign Policy Institute.²²¹ His *Journal* co-editors were James Jesus Angleton, former C.I.A. deputy director for counterintelligence, and Robert C. Richardson III, the retired Air Force general who worked in the Air Force's Politico-Military covert operations branch. At the time he was working with the ASC and Pearson, Richardson was also aiding the Wilson-Terpil operations to Libya, involving secret gunrunning and explosives transfers. He was also active in various ASC-spawned groups, such as the Security and Intelligence Fund and Coalition for Peace through Strength. The Council on American Affairs is also a member of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength.

Pearson was a member of the editorial board of *Policy Review*, the monthly Heritage Foundation magazine, during this period. In 1977, Heritage officials reciprocated, joining Pearson's *Journal of Social and Economic Studies*. When Pearson decided to host the 1978 World Anti-Communist League (WACL) conference in Washington, D.C., he was well established with American and European Nazi networks, as well as the far right of the Republican Party and the New Right. The WACL meeting was not a total success for Pearson, however. The *Washington Post* warned of "The Fascist Specter" behind WACL and highlighted the conference participation of an Italian fascist party, American neo-Nazis, and Pearson's own racialist background.²²² Pearson's name soon disappeared from the *Policy Review* masthead. However, ASC president John Fisher, who addressed the WACL meeting,²²³ did not drop Pearson from the American Foreign Policy Institute board.

In a sense, the Pearson-Heritage link wasn't severed either. Heritage's



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 14, 1982

Dear Dr. Pearson:

Thank you for the recent issue of your quarterly, The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies.

You are performing a valuable service in bringing to a wide audience the work of leading scholars who are supportive of a free enterprise economy, a firm and consistent foreign policy and a strong national defense.

Your substantial contributions to promoting and upholding those ideals and principles that we value at home and abroad are greatly appreciated.

I hope that your efforts continue to receive broad interest and support and wish you every success in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ronald Reagan".

Dr. Roger Pearson, President
Council for Social and Economic Studies
Suite 502
1629 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

The Ronald Reagan letter to Dr. Roger Pearson was never repudiated by the White House.

director for domestic issues, Stuart Butler, joined Pearson's *Journal*, as did right-wing sociologist Ernest van den Haag of *National Review*, who is on the editorial board of the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*.

When van den Haag was asked in 1984 about his Pearson association, he said he didn't remember the journal at first, but several minutes later insisted it wasn't a racist publication.

Van den Haag is apparently not offended by a little racialism himself. "I support the voluntary sterilization proposals of William Shockley," he volunteered in a 1984 interview. Van den Haag wrote a monograph on the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision which argued that the decision was wrong. He has also claimed that Blacks are inferior to whites: "I am all in favor of improving the quality of education for all. But this can be done only if pupils are separated according to ability (whatever determines it). And this means very largely according to race."²²⁴ Van den Haag's writings have been distributed for years by the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (IAAEE), a racist organization on whose executive board van den Haag served.²²⁵

Journal associate Stuart Butler simply insisted that Pearson was not a racist. Donald Senese, also associated with Pearson's *Journal* and a former Department of Education official, insisted that Pearson wasn't a racist, and that his monographs were written long ago. When he was told that Pearson continues to defend his writings, he said that "this interview isn't going anywhere," and hung up the phone. Pearson continues to publish a racist journal, *Mankind Quarterly*, which uses body and head measurements, such as the cephalic index, to identify "ideal types" among races. He also publishes the *Journal of Indo-European Studies* through his Institute for the Study of Man. In 1990, Pearson launched a new publication, *Conservative Review*. The magazine's articles often espouse racist theories. *Conservative Review* received a boost when the failing *Conservative Digest* (with Senior Editor Paul Weyrich) endorsed the magazine as "very thoughtful" and "an excellent journal." Pearson maintained contact with European racists not only through WACL, but also as a board member of *Nouvelle Ecole*, a French highbrow neo-Nazi group.²²⁶

After the *Wall Street Journal* story, Pearson's *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, which is copublished by George Mason University, added two officials of former Interior Secretary and New Right activist James Watt's Mountain States Legal Foundation.²²⁷ Pearson was elected to head University Professors for Academic Order (UPAO), a group that includes many members of the Heritage Foundation, the Reagan Administration, and the Mont Pelerin Society.²²⁸ The latter is a group of about 500 ultraconservatives whose best known economists, Milton Friedman and Friedrich von Hayek, were architects of the economy of Pinochet's Chile. Both

advocated a form of dictatorship as part of the economic plan. Heritage Foundation president Edwin Fulner is treasurer of the Society. Another board member of UPAO, white supremacist Ralph Scott, a former vice-president of DANK,²²⁹ the Nazi-apologists, recently became head of UPAO. Scott, who has praised the book *Dispossessed Majority*,²³⁰ a white-supremacist discourse, was named to the Iowa Civil Rights Advisory Commission in 1981 by the Reagan Administration. Scott later became chair of the Iowa group, which advises the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, but stepped down in 1988 after an article by Barry Mehler in *The Nation* revealed his background.²³¹ Scott and Pearson have also received tens of thousands of dollars from the Pioneer Fund,²³² which assists researchers attempting to prove Black inferiority.²³³ Pearson's Council for Social and Economic Study distributes Scott's book, *Education and Ethnicity: The U.S. Experiment in School Integration*.

One well-connected Pearson associate is Sam Crutchfield, who has been the attorney for the racist IAAEE, for a number of Jesse Helms' organizations, and for Pearson's Institute for the Study of Man.²³⁴ In addition to serving on the Editorial Advisory Board of a Pearson publication, Crutchfield, an attorney, set up the Institute for Democracy, Education and Assistance (IDEA) on behalf of Oliver North and his courier, Robert Owen.²³⁵

Pearson has friends at the American Security Council, the Heritage Foundation, and among Reagan appointees, as well as several aides to Jesse Helms.²³⁶ He is connected to a network of academic racials in the U.S. and abroad. Long-established ties to Saudi Arabia, Korea, Taiwan, and South America from his WACL days continue to serve him well. When the *Wall Street Journal* article came out five weeks before the election, the White House decided to stick with Pearson. He was apparently still seen as part of the Reagan team.

Senator Alfonse D'Amato wrote a plank into the proposed 1984 GOP platform denouncing "those who preach all forms of hatred, bigotry, racism, and anti-Semitism."²³⁷ A statement from his office added, "there should never be room for compromise on issues like this . . . Racism and anti-Semitism must be condemned outright—without hesitation."²³⁸ D'Amato declined all comment on the Pearson-White House ties.

When George Bush denounced Walter Mondale a week before the 1984 election as soft on anti-Semitism, no one looked at Reagan's ties to Roger Pearson, one of the foremost Nazi apologists in America and clearly one of the best-connected racials in the world.

THE ASC AND THE WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The American Security Council not only has ties to the aggressively promilitary network warned of by Senator Fulbright, but ASC is also one of the key U.S. links to the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). The League, described extensively in a 1986 book, *Inside The League*, is an umbrella group for Latin American death squad leaders, Hitler collaborators, followers of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, rightist dictatorships, and anti-Semitic activists, some of whom are connected to the quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby.²³⁹ As early as 1978 *The Washington Post* described the fascist and neo-Nazi elements affiliated with WACL. The *Post* article carried the headline: "The Fascist Specter behind the World Anti-Red League."²⁴⁰ In 1984 the unsavory elements of WACL were detailed in a series of columns by Jack Anderson.²⁴¹ Alternative publications since 1978 have carried articles about the fascist and Nazi undercurrents in WACL.²⁴²

Despite this journalistic record, when the World Anti-Communist League was named in the "Iran Contragate" congressional hearings into the contra supply networks of Oliver North, not one major news outlet reported the fascist constituencies within WACL or the leading role played in WACL by followers of Sun Myung Moon.

Moon, of course, is no friend of democracy. He is a theocratic authoritarian who considers himself the Son of God and the new Messiah. Moon and his many front organizations have long been used by the Korean CIA as a lobbying and propaganda vehicle to advance the twin goals of maintaining high levels of U.S. military and economic aid, despite successive repressive regimes in South Korea and the continued presence of U.S. armed forces in South Korea. Moon's organizations have supported WACL financially and have helped solidify cooperation between WACL and members of the American political right wing.²⁴³

Since 1970 there have been three organizations that have served as the U.S. branch of WACL. All three are in the ASC's Coalition for Peace Through Strength:

■ *The American Council for World Freedom* was, from 1970 to 1975, WACL's U.S. affiliate. Composed of thirty-five U.S. groups, it was formed at the urging of Taiwan. Its first chairman was ASC's John Fisher.²⁴⁴

■ *The Council on American Affairs* was the second U.S. branch of WACL from 1975 to 1980. It was chaired by racist Roger Pearson, who had strong ASC links throughout that period.

■ *The U.S. Council for World Freedom* (USCWF) was formed in 1981 by retired Major General John Singlaub. It immediately became the third group to serve as the U.S. branch of WACL. While Singlaub was Field Education director for the ASC for the next three years, he cultivated USCWF and personal contacts abroad.

Singlaub attended the August 1981 WACL meeting in Taiwan.²⁴⁵ On June 25, 1982 he told the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) [described in detail later in this report] meeting in Munich, Germany that it was his “objective to organize all anticommunist forces in the world, so as to not only contain this communist threat, but to bring about its final and *unequivocal demise*” [emphasis in the original], according to a paraphrased remark in an ABN periodical.²⁴⁶ In 1984, Singlaub assumed the role of Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League.

Although Singlaub began devoting his time to WACL, he kept the ASC briefed on his activities. Fisher served on the USCWF advisory board and Singlaub served on three ASC boards. The ASC is also one of seventeen member organizations of the Coalition for World Freedom, the political action arm of the U.S. Council for World Freedom. At the 1984 WACL conference the ASC was also represented by Sam Dickens, who sat on a contra aid panel. Another panel, concerned with aiding UNITA in Angola, reached the conclusion it was advisable to consult with Fisher on the best way to proceed with pressuring Gulf/Chevron Oil out of Angola. Other ASC leaders also participated in the WACL meeting.

WACL was considered an important vehicle for Reagan’s Central America policy. The White House sent warm greetings to the 1984 meeting in San Diego.²⁴⁷ A U.S. military honor guard was also provided, as had been the case with other USCWF events in previous years. The White House sent R. Lynn Rylander, Deputy Director of the International Security Agency in the Pentagon, who kept the White House briefed on events as the meeting progressed.²⁴⁸ His boss, Neal Koch, served as the Pentagon’s representative on a panel coordinating assistance to the contras, in concert with Oliver North.

At the 1984 WACL meeting, Singlaub announced the launching of the private aid campaign for the contras. WACL, he declared, was going to lead efforts around the world on behalf of the contra cause.

Singlaub planned to approach the Taiwan and South Korean dictatorships for contra aid. The *New York Times* reported that Singlaub told Congress that Assistant Secretary of State Abrams had “told him not to make the request, explaining that it would be made instead at the highest level, which Singlaub said he believed meant the White House.” Holly Sklar, in

her book *Washington's War on Nicaragua*, cites testimony from the Iran-contra hearings and concludes that Singlaub did approach both Taiwan and South Korea for contra aid and then passed those contacts on to Oliver North.²⁴⁹ Both Taiwan and South Korea have historically assumed leadership roles and provided substantial funds for WACL, as has the Saudi Arabian monarchy.

The Canadian branch of WACL, the Canadian Freedom Foundation, headed by John Gamble, works closely with the U.S. Council for World Freedom (USCWF) and Singlaub. Together USCWF and the Canadian Freedom Foundation form the North American Regional unit of WACL (NARWACL). Gamble and Singlaub alternate as chair of NARWACL. Gamble was implicated in the Iran-contra funding network when a firm for which he served as treasurer and director, Vertex Investments, was discovered to have invested in the arms sale to Iran through two of his partners. The Canadian Freedom Foundation (CFF) and Vertex both operate out of Gamble's law office.²⁵⁰

At least two CFF leaders are active anti-Semites: Pat Walsh is the Canadian correspondent for the quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby newspaper the *Spotlight*²⁵¹ and Paul Fromm helped found the neo-Nazi Western Guard.²⁵²

The Western Guard is led by John Ross Taylor, who served fifty-one months in detention for pro-Nazi activities during World War II.²⁵³ Taylor also leads Canadian contingents to Aryan Nations meetings, including a commemoration of the deaths of members of The Order, a paramilitary offshoot of Aryan Nations that engaged in robberies and murder in its effort to overthrow the U.S. Government.²⁵⁴

Shortly after the 1984 WACL conference, the National Security Council recommended that Reagan approve a plan that made Singlaub "the chief 'authorized' contact for private fund raising," according to the Associated Press. His selection, due to "his military background and international connections," was verbally approved by President Reagan.²⁵⁵

UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM AND NAZI COLLABORATION

In 1983, the White House proved that a Nazi whose organization collaborated with SS units and mass murder, and who helped maintain a Nazi organization for four decades, can still be an honored guest of the President.²⁵⁶

Yaroslav Stetsko was the source of that lesson. Stetsko, who died in July 1986, worked with intelligence agencies of Nazi Germany, and briefly established himself as a pro-Nazi premier of the Ukraine under German military occupation.²⁵⁷

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 31, 1984

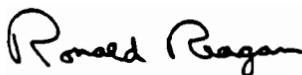
It is an honor to send warm greetings to all those gathered for the 17th Annual Conference of the World Anti-Communist League in San Diego.

The plague of Marxist-Leninist dictatorship, which has caused so much human suffering, is now in the first phase of decline. As the communist world falls further behind economically, the Western world is moving into a new technological age. The stark contrast between the progress of the West and the stagnation of communism is too great to be hidden by propaganda or disinformation.

But the struggle between freedom and communism is, in its essence, not an economic conflict but a spiritual one. It is a struggle in which those who love God, country, family and freedom are pitted against those possessed by ideological zeal who seek absolute power. The question we face is whether the moral strength of those ready to make sacrifices for their faith and principles is a greater force than the corruption of human energies that sustains the communists. We in America believe it is, and the signs of resurgent moral strength among freedom loving peoples are all around us.

We are beginning to see evidence of a growing resistance to communist oppression within the Soviet bloc itself. There are eight active anti-communist resistance movements in every corner of the globe. All free people should stand in unity with those who risk their lives in defense of liberty.

The World Anti-Communist League has long played a leadership role in drawing attention to the gallant struggle now being waged by the true freedom fighters of our day. Nancy and I send you our best wishes for every future success.



The Ronald Reagan letter to the 1984 World Anti-Communist League convention.

The Ukraine, now a Republic of the Soviet Union, is an Eastern European region of lush farmland that has a long history of nationalist fervor. During the rise of European fascism after World War I, some Ukrainian nationalist groups tied their hopes to fascism as an ideology, and then collaborated with Hitler and nazism in World War II.

One Ukrainian nationalist group was the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which split into two organizations: a less militant wing, led by Andrew Melnyk and known as OUN-M, and the extremist group of Stepan Bandera, known as OUN-B. The Nazis preferred the radical nationalist OUN-B.²⁵⁸ During the German military occupation, the Ukraine witnessed terrible atrocities against Jews and other groups targeted by Nazi policies. The OUN-B organized military units that participated in these atrocities. With the collapse of the Third Reich, many Ukrainian collaborationists fled their homeland.

After the war, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Bandera (OUN-B), a clandestine group financed in part by German intelligence and led by Stetsko, accelerated its work in the West. A secretive group, OUN-B's tracks are difficult to follow. "You have to understand. We are an underground organization. We have spent years quietly penetrating positions of influence," explained an OUN-B member who insisted on anonymity. The positions of influence under discussion were Reagan Administration appointments. All of the OUN-B's key Administration contacts were through an organization called the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), headquartered in New York City.

The UCCA is described as heavily influenced but not totally controlled by the OUN-B. Supposedly an umbrella organization of Ukrainian-American groups, there are groups within UCCA that are complete OUN-B fronts.²⁵⁹

The White House had looked favorably on the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, appointing its chairman, Lev Dobriansky, ambassador to the Bahamas in 1983. Dobriansky is a longtime ASC official. His daughter Paula was put on the National Security Council. George Nesterzczuk, former director of the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS), which is the Washington, D.C. affiliate of the UCCA, was appointed deputy director of the Office of Personnel Management. In 1984 he became Deputy Director of the U.S. Information Agency.²⁶⁰

In 1984, Bohdan Futey, head of the Cleveland branch of the UCCA and a Republican Heritage Groups Council activist, was appointed head of the U.S. Foreign Claims Commission.²⁶¹ Futey and Nesterzczuk are described as the contact points between the OUN-B and the White House.²⁶² The top OUN-B leader for external affairs in the United States is Bohdan Fedorak, who also chairs the Southeast Michigan UCCA branch. He main-

tains contacts with Futey and Nesterczuk. It was through this network that arrangements were made for Reagan to make a campaign stop in October 1984 at the Ukrainian Cultural Center in the Detroit suburb of Warren, Michigan.²⁶³ The Center is headed by Fedorak, who has been a delegate to WACL conferences for many years as a lieutenant of the Stetskos.²⁶⁴

In 1985 the UCCA's Committee on Foreign Affairs, chaired by Fedorak, continued pressing Congress against the Office of Special Investigations, the Justice Department unit charged with bringing action against suspected Nazi war criminals and collaborators in the United States. Futey and Nesterczuk are also members of that committee.²⁶⁵ Such agitation on behalf of suspected war criminals and mass murderers did not deter the State Department's Committee for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) from working with the National Captive Nations Committee, cosponsoring a series of hearings on human rights problems in the Soviet Union in June 1986.²⁶⁶

The Captive Nations Committee is essentially an OUN-B front that operates out of the UNIS office in Washington, D.C. It has local affiliates around the country (Fedorak chairs the Detroit committee), but the UNIS office told an interviewer that the National Captive Nations Committee had been inactive. Committee literature available in the office was at least four years old. No current board of directors was available. A UNIS employee considered it a paper organization. The hearings held jointly by the State Department and Captive Nations in Detroit were hosted by Fedorak at his Ukrainian Cultural Center.²⁶⁷

The UCCA is also a member of ASC's Coalition for Peace Through Strength. Like so many elements of the Coalition and the American Security Council, it is networked into the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). The masthead of the UCCA's *Ukrainian Quarterly* lists several representatives from Taiwan and Korea, both major funders of WACL.²⁶⁸

Wherever the OUN-B has political involvement, the UCCA seems to be its representative. In the U.S. Council for World Freedom, chaired by Singlaub, the OUN-B is represented by Secretary-General Walter Chopiwskyj (who has also organized the Republican Heritage Groups Council in Arizona and is president of the national Captive Nations Committee).²⁶⁹ The only public indication of the OUN-B presence in the UCCA is in the U.S. Council for World Freedom's political arm, the Coalition for World Freedom, of which the UCCA is a member.²⁷⁰ The Council is the U.S. branch of the World Anti-Communist League, in which the Stetskos play a major role.²⁷¹

The UCCA has also played a leading role in opposing federal investigations of suspected Nazi war criminals since those queries got underway in the

late 1970's.²⁷² Some UCCA members have many reasons to worry—reasons which began in the 1930's.

Even before Hitler came to power, the German Nazi Party was seeking and working with like-minded political groups around the world. By the time the Nazis came to power, the OUN was one group that received money and training from Germany.²⁷³ The OUN-B was not only an instrument to aid Hitler's war aims against the Soviet Union, but also to serve his intelligence agencies in the United States.

There are Ukrainian communities within most large urban population centers in the United States. In the 1930's, German military intelligence worked with the OUN as it established and financed a variety of front organizations to provide cover for propaganda and espionage activities in the United States. In each city with a Ukrainian community, the OUN established cells. The great majority of Ukrainian-Americans had no idea of the OUN agenda. Newspapers and organizations were taken over—one such newspaper even printed instructions on how to make a homemade bomb.

According to *Sabotage*, a 1942 book on Axis spy and sabotage operations in the U.S., the OUN was "set up under the supervision of the Intelligence Department of the German War Office." Other authors argue that the OUN was not controlled by German intelligence to this extent, although OUN's military and financial links to the Nazis are not in dispute. One U.S. Army captain who got involved in stealing military secrets for the OUN lost his commission.²⁷⁴

By far the greatest crimes of the Ukrainian nationalists were against other Ukrainians. The OUN-B internalized the ideology of their Nazi mentors, which included viewing the world in terms of racial nationalism. "Nationalism is based on feelings, which are carried by the racial blood," was the way one OUN-B publication explained their views on the subject.²⁷⁵ In John Armstrong's *Ukrainian Nationalism*, OUN-B's views are described as having "tended to drive the movement still further in the direction of deification of the mystic concept of the nation, even to the point of racism."²⁷⁶ For those judged not to be pure Ukrainians, this meant trouble.

That trouble rolled in on the treads of German tanks in the Ukraine in June, 1941. Stetsko and German-commanded OUN-B militia arrived in the city of Lwow (Lvov) with them.²⁷⁷ Stetsko declared a short-lived Ukrainian government, with himself as premier, pledged to fight as an ally for Hitler's "New Order."

In *The War Against The Jews*, Lucy Dawidowicz writes that "In Lwow, the Germans and Ukrainians, in house to house hunts for Jews, shot them randomly on the spot."²⁷⁸ She noted that later "the Ukrainians staged massive pogroms, slaughtering thousands and carrying off other thousands of

Jews to [the German] *Einsatzgruppen* headquarters.”²⁷⁹ A concentration camp was also built in Lwow. An estimated 900,000 Jews disappeared from the Ukraine during the German occupation.²⁸⁰ Heavy persecution of Poles also took place in this region, mirroring the German policy in Poland.

Militias and military units led by the OUN-B were involved with these crimes.²⁸¹ Although Stetsko was under an “honorary arrest” by the Germans because the creation of the Stetsko regime hadn’t been cleared by Berlin, he was still active in OUN-B affairs and was even allowed to travel.²⁸²

Ever the Nazi ally, Stetsko was released from his arrest near the end of the war to help organize resistance to the Soviet offensive that was rolling back the German army. The headlong retreat of the Germans began after their defeat at Stalingrad at the end of 1942. In 1943, the Germans inspired their collaborators from the Ukraine, Bulgaria, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries to form a Committee of Subjugated Nations to coordinate resistance activity against the Soviet army.²⁸³

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America chooses to ignore the Ukrainian collaboration with the extermination of Poles and Jews. A 1984 article in their *Ukrainian Quarterly* praised Pavlo Shandruk, who was the Ukrainian General (under the Division’s Commander-in-Chief German General Fritz Freytag) of the 14th Waffen SS Galician Division during the final days of the war.

The Galician division was renamed the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army in April 1945—two weeks before the German surrender. The Division remained under complete German military control during World War II.²⁸⁴ The Veterans of the First Ukrainian Division is a group member of the UCCA.²⁸⁵

When the Stetskos visited the White House on July 19, 1983, Reagan told them that “Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream.”²⁸⁶ The Stetskos’ dream, however, does not represent an alteration of their wartime goals. Slava Stetsko, for instance, wrote a forward to a book, *Captive Nations*, which offered a glossary of definitions of political terms:

Anti-Semitism: A smear word used by Communists against those who effectively oppose and expose them.

Fascist: An anti-Communist.

*Nazi or Hitlerite: An active anti-Communist.*²⁸⁷

Slava Stetsko, who is the editor of ABN and OUN-B publications, described the book as “objective, factual” and “highly recommended.”²⁸⁸

The OUN-B “dream” includes a racial conception. Although it passes itself off as an anticommunist organization, its primary belief is anti-Russian.²⁸⁹ As an OUN-B member said, “The problem isn’t seventy years of

Communism, it's three hundred years of Russian imperialism.”²⁹⁰ Thus, Russian anticommunists are also seen as the enemy. They are not allowed into the ABN, Captive Nations Committee, or World Anti-Communist League. *Captive Nations* says that “the Russian character” is to blame “for this overwhelming Russian desire for power, for expansion, for dictatorship.”²⁹¹ Nicolas Nazarenko, the Cossack Republican organizer says, “Russian communists and anticommunists are all the same to me.”²⁹²

The Ukrainian nationalists see a Ukrainian state under their control as having “ethnographic borders,” as was originally proclaimed by a OUN-B Manifesto in December 1940.²⁹³ Put more simply, the OUN-B sees Ukrainians as a separate, classifiable race that have a right, when in power, to exclude others from the Ukraine’s borders. The realities of that formulation were made bloodchillingly clear to the Poles and Jews in the region when the OUN-B had temporary power six months after the Manifesto was issued.

THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS, THE WHITE HOUSE, AND THE ASC

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which took its current name in 1946, claims direct descent from the Committee of Subjugated Nations, which was formed in 1943 by Hitler’s allies, including the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Nonetheless, while the name changed, the membership remained the same. The dominant leadership of the ABN came from the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Bandera (OUN-B). The ABN brought together fascist forces from Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, the Ukraine, the Baltic states, Slovakia, and other nations. Today ABN unites fascist emigré organizations from Eastern and Central Europe under one umbrella. It serves as a common milieu in which many Coalition for Peace Through Strength members associate and network. It is also the Eastern European branch of the World Anti-Communist League.

A booklet published in 1960 by the ABN acknowledged its members’ alliance with Hitler: “That many of us fought on the German side against Russian imperialism and Bolshevism, was in our national interest . . . the fact that some of us fought on the German side against Russia can be justified from the national, political, and moral point of view.”²⁹⁴

The ABN in more recent years has maintained the impression that they opposed the Nazis and Soviets simultaneously during World War II. This historically dubious impression is conveyed by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) that leads ABN. But other groups

that make up the ABN do not bother with an anti-Hitler pretense.

Other ABN affiliates include:

SLOVAK WORLD CONGRESS

A successor organization to the Nazi-allied Tiso regime of Slovakia. The Congress is part of the Republican Heritage Groups Council and the Coalition for Peace Through Strength.

BULGARIAN NATIONAL FRONT

The exiled successor group to the Hitler-allied Bulgarian Legion. A member of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength and part of the Republican Heritage Groups Council.

SUPREME COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF LITHUANIA

Its American branch, the Lithuanian-American Council, is a member of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength. The head of the Detroit branch of the Council, Algis Barauskas, who is also a local Republican Heritage Groups Council activist, linked the Lithuanian Republicans to the ABN. He stated in a 1985 interview that the Lithuanian-American Republican National Federation is connected to “the Lithuanian-American Council, then to the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, to the ABN in Germany.”

WORLD FEDERATION OF FREE LATVIANS

A member organization of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, the federation has branches in six countries. Its U.S. branch, the American Latvian Association, is active in the campaign against the Justice Department’s Office of Special Investigations, discussed in the next section. The book *Inside the League* describes the ABN Latvian affiliate as “a band of Latvian leaders who assisted the Nazis in exterminating the Jews of their Baltic homeland.”²⁹⁵

CROATIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

A pro-Ustashi affiliate of the ABN. This group’s leadership came from officials of the German-created Croatian Ustashi regime of 1941–44,²⁹⁶ which killed an estimated 750,000 Serbians, Gypsies and Jews. The Croatian Liberation Movement, a front for the postwar clandestine Ustashi, has been connected to bombings, hijackings and assassinations in the 1970’s.²⁹⁷

BYELORUSSIAN CENTRAL COUNCIL

The Nazi puppet government in exile. The Council is linked to both the Republican Heritage Groups Council and the Coalition for Peace

Through Strength through the Council's American branch, the Byelorussian-American Association.

ROMANIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Romanian affiliate of ABN and the World Anti-Communist League. Its leader for many years, Horia Sima, was also the head of the Romanian Iron Guard following WWII. Sima could hardly claim to have fought the Nazis and Soviets simultaneously, since he was released by the Germans from house arrest to head a Romanian puppet government-in-exile. It was set up by the Germans in Vienna in 1944, immediately after the Romanian government abandoned the Axis and sued for peace with the Allies. As head of the government, Sima formed Romanian military units which fought on Germany's behalf on the Eastern Front from 1944–45. Sima's government-in-exile was disbanded nine days after Hitler's death.²⁹⁸

The head of foreign affairs for the Romanian organization under Sima is Alexander Ronnett of Chicago, a long time Iron Guard commander, and delegate to WACL meetings for sixteen years. His association with the Iron Guard goes back to at least World War II when he lived with Iron Guard members in a German controlled military encampment.²⁹⁹

Consistent with the goals of the World Anti-Communist League and the American Security Council, Ronnett has organized contra support activities in the Chicago area. Exposed as an Iron Guard Leader by Chicago NBC affiliate WMAQ-TV (see *Appendix*), Ronnett denounced his accusers, and said proudly that he had received frequent invitations to visit the White House due to his support for and organizing on behalf of the contras.³⁰⁰

The ABN is the high council for the expatriate nationalist groups that formed the police, military, and militia units that worked with Hitler during World War II. Some were organized as mobile killing teams that exterminated villages and sought to murder whole ethnic, racial, and cultural groups. These mobile killing teams are the forerunners of the modern death squad. It is consistent, then, that the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation (CAL) (for many years the Latin-American branch of WACL) has a great affinity for the ABN and its members, according to several ABN members. CAL historically has served as an umbrella group for the regional death squads.³⁰¹

A meeting of the youth sections of CAL and ABN in 1983 took place in Fedorak's Ukrainian Cultural Center in Warren, Michigan. The resulting 16-point resolution bore statements that might surprise some of their conservative U.S. supporters. Not only were the usual anticommunist sentiments expressed, but also anticapitalist positions were taken. One point, for instance, called for "rejection of *all materialist doctrines* (author's emphasis)

which defile the human individual by treating people as egotistical, covetous and selfish beings. . . ." ³⁰² The resolution called for a "faith in Revolutionary, liberation nationalism. . ." and "opposition to collectivist slavery, against communist and capitalist alienation of human labor. . . ." ³⁰³

These formulations mirror the classic outlines of National Socialism, which simultaneously fought the communist and western capitalist powers ideologically and militarily. The Third Way, rejecting East and West, is still a position taken by significant elements of the contemporary neo-Nazi movement. ³⁰⁴

The Stetskos were not only leaders of OUN but of the multi-ethnic ABN as well. The July–August 1983 ABN bulletin *ABN Correspondence* carries several cover photos which show the Stetskos and other ABN leaders as White House guests in July 1983, personally meeting with Reagan, George Bush, and Jeane Kirkpatrick.

After the Stetskos visited the White House, Yaroslav Stetsko's wife Slava Stetsko, who lives in Munich, West Germany, called on the ABN to support Reagan's re-election. She carried that message to ABN chapters during 1984 as well. ³⁰⁵ The Reagan campaign cooperated with ABN, including scheduling an appearance by Michael Sotirhos, head of Ethnic Voters for Reagan-Bush Campaign 1984 as well as the Republican Heritage Groups Council, at the 1984 ABN conference in New York City. ³⁰⁶

The goal of the ABN is to pressure the U.S. government toward a "liberation" policy aimed against the USSR, with ABN leaders as the liberators. Although ABN members say they only need technical assistance from the West, they want the U.S. military to put them in power in Eastern Europe and the USSR. This is the formula they tried under German Nazi sponsorship. Their manipulations of the American political system are toward that end.

The emigrés of the ABN still dream of one more chance to create a new order in Europe. They even got Michigan Republican Congressman Paul Henry to enter a statement into the *Congressional Record* in July 1986 commending the "independence" of the Ukraine under Stetsko in 1941.

According to Henry, "a representative assembly of the most prominent Ukrainian leaders from all walks of life issued a Proclamation of the Restoration of Ukraine's Independence . . . The proclamation received enthusiastic support of the Ukrainian people." Henry referred to the "freedom fighters" of the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), led by Stepan Bandera." When questioned about his praise for a document which included the line "Glory to the Heroic German Army and its Fuhrer, Adolph Hitler," a spokesperson for Henry said he'd "not been aware of the fine print. . . ." ³⁰⁷

On July 20, 1988, George Bush reaffirmed the ties between the Republican Party and the ABN by making a campaign stop at Fedorak's Ukrainian

Cultural Center in Warren, Michigan. Bush delivered a hard-line foreign policy speech to those attending the annual Captive Nations banquet sponsored jointly by the Captive Nations Committee and the ABN. Sharing the dais with Fedorak and Bush was Katherine Chumachenko, formerly the director of the UCCA's Captive Nations Committee and then Deputy Director for Public Liaison at the White House. Ignatius M. Billinsky, President of UCCA, had already been named Honorary Chair of Ukrainians for Bush, and Bohdan Fedorak named National vice-chair of Ukrainians for Bush.

Also on the dais at the Ukrainian Cultural Center Bush speech was Dr. Joseph Sazyc, who has led the Byelorussian-American Veterans Association for twenty years. While the group's name suggests its members were veterans of U.S. military service, the group includes Nazi collaborators. According to a 1948 U.S. intelligence report, the Byelorussian-American Veterans Association was originally formed in 1947 by Nazi collaborators at a German displaced persons camp. The leader of the group was former SS Major General Franz Kushel, described in the first section of this report.³⁰⁸

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST OSI

At the July 1988 Captive Nations banquet in Michigan, Vice-President Bush was introduced by Bohdan Fedorak (*see photo, page 74*), whose brief comments included a strong denunciation of the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI). Bush nodded his agreement and applauded the comment.

There is perhaps no current issue which sets the emigré fascist network apart from mainstream American society more than the campaign against the Office of Special Investigations.

The OSI was established by a 1978 act of Congress to discover and deport Nazi war criminals who entered the U.S. after World War II. Almost immediately the *Ukrainian Quarterly* (published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America) denounced OSI, as did the quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby and the neofascist Lyndon LaRouche organization. Soon the Lithuanian-American Council, the American Lithuanian Community, and the Joint Baltic American National Committee—all members of the ASC's Coalition for Peace Through Strength—joined in the anti-OSI campaign. Other Coalition for Peace Through Strength groups that actively opposed the OSI pursuit of Nazi collaborators were the Byelorussian-American Association, Congress of Russian-Americans, and the World Federation for a Free Latvia.³⁰⁹

While some organizations claimed they only opposed the methods em-

CAPTIVE NATIONS



Vice-President George Bush stands next to Bohdan Fedorak at July 20, 1988 Captive Nations banquet in Warren, Michigan. The event was co-sponsored by the Captive Nations Committee and the pro-Nazi Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Fedorak introduced Bush. (Photo ©1988 Russ Bellant)



President Ronald Reagan signs on July 31, 1988 the proclamation declaring Captive Nations Week.

(Official White House photograph C1831609 by Bill Fitz-Patrick)

ployed by OSI, others called for its abolition. The specific method used by OSI which drew the sharpest criticism concerned the use of evidence from Soviet citizens, archives, and prosecutors. Even though such evidence is independently scrutinized and tested by the U.S. government and must meet U.S. rules of evidence in court, the anti-OSI groups call it "KGB evidence" without offering any proof of their own to back up that assertion. All of the above groups claim there is an "OSI/KGB partnership."³¹⁰ None of the groups has supported the legal proceedings against even one suspected war criminal, even when the accused has publicly confessed his crimes. The charges of KGB plots, according to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, appear to be a "propaganda smokescreen that seeks to exploit anti-communism," in an attempt to stop the OSI investigations and legal proceedings.³¹¹

Right-wing groups such as Accuracy in Media and individuals such as former Reagan advisor Patrick Buchanan and writer Joseph Sobran have joined in the anti-OSI campaign.

A New Hampshire organization, the American Freedom Company, which publishes a periodical called *The Truth*, began anti-OSI activity as early as 1982.³¹² The group is a member organization of the Coalition for World Freedom, the political arm of Singlaub's U.S. Council for World Freedom.³¹³

The emigré fascists have employed a variety of methods to protect those charged with war crimes and to stop the OSI investigations. These methods include lobbying Congress and the White House, urging their respective ethnic communities not to cooperate with government investigators, and in some cases, employing increasingly anti-Semitic propaganda and historical revisionism which denies the facts of the Nazi Holocaust.

The Lithuanian-American Council (LAC) is an example of a group that practices the latter technique. In 1979 the Council published a book that blamed the Germans and the Jews but not the Lithuanians (other than a few "irresponsible Lithuanians with criminal inclinations") for the annihilation of Lithuanian Jews.³¹⁴ A 1986 book distributed by the LAC suggests that Jews brought persecution on themselves,³¹⁵ while another LAC-distributed book (available by mail order from LAC or from the literature rack at their offices in Chicago) praises pre-Christian, pagan Lithuania.³¹⁶ The 1975 book, by Charles Pichel (*see Order of St. John in Part 2*) says that "Christianity has failed her [Lithuania] miserably and as a result, many Samogitians [Lithuanians] have turned to ancient, pagan prophecies as a guide and hope for their future."³¹⁷

Why the Lithuanian-American Council promotes a brand of paganism used as the basis for the racist beliefs of Nordic chauvinists ranging from Nazi Heinrich Himmler to racist Roger Pearson is in itself unclear, but

then the Lithuanian-American Council has never acknowledged—much less condemned—the brutal Lithuanian Greywolves organization and Lithuanian police units that actively pursued the German Nazi policy of exterminating Jews, Russians and political opponents of the German military occupation in that region.

While these emigré organizations concern themselves with issues other than OSI, several groups have been formed for the specific purpose of stopping OSI's investigation and deportation of war criminals. One of these groups, the Coalition for Constitutional Justice and Security (CCJS), is a member of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength. It has called for a suspension of OSI activities and the "initiation of public inquiries into possible links between OSI, FBI, KGB, extremeist [sic] groups."³¹⁸ CCJS is led by Anthony and Danute Mazeika, who helped arrange the 1986 Republican Heritage Groups Council Annual Convention in Los Angeles.

The CCJS has also claimed that the 1985 bombings which targeted two accused war criminals living in the U.S. were "a direct result of the Justice Department's lack of control of the Office of Special Investigations' method of operation. . . ." ³¹⁹

Intense emotions and rhetoric have accompanied the anti-OSI efforts. The World Jewish Congress has charged that the motivating factor behind such activity is "the fear that the Justice Department's prosecutors are exposing the American public to the historical facts that Hitler's annihilation of six million Jews was carried out not by the Germans alone, but rather with the extensive collaboration of Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians, Estonians, and other Europeans."³²⁰

Various fascist emigré elements have, over the years, attempted to present themselves as advocates of human rights and champions of persecuted minorities. Being identified with Nazi campaigns of murder does not lend credibility to their assertions when they make their public presentations in forums ranging from the Helsinki Human Rights Review to local U.S. rallies endorsed by congressional representatives and the President of the United States.

Given the claimed patriotic purpose of the American Security Council, it makes little sense why the Coalition for Constitutional Justice and Security is a member of the ASC's Coalition for Peace Through Strength—especially since the primary purpose of the group is to shield accused Nazi war criminals from prosecution. One can also ask why the Republican National Committee remains indifferent when one of its components, the Republican Heritage Groups Council, opposes OSI.

SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA AND APARTHEID

When Jonas Savimbi, the head of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), met with President Reagan and Administration officials in a high profile, whirlwind tour of the Capital in January 1986, it represented the success of a ten-year American Security Council effort to get recognition and funding for UNITA. Savimbi's Washington visit was hosted and coordinated by the American Security Council.³²¹

UNITA is a South African-allied military force attempting to take over the government of Angola. The government of Angola, which is unfriendly to the apartheid regime in South Africa, came to power in 1975, despite a major CIA effort that supported UNITA.³²² Since then, a virtual South African lobby has sprung up in American right-wing circles demanding a defense of the apartheid regime.

"We first invited Savimbi to come to the U.S. in 1975," says ASC president John Fisher. "We paid for a plane to bring him here with a dozen staff from Africa. We set them up in a hotel for ten days. We set up Congressional meetings."³²³ Congress at the time was preparing to cut off aid to UNITA. The Clark Amendment was finally passed, which barred further aid to UNITA.

The ASC began what it called a decade-long "educational campaign" to have the amendment repealed. In 1981, Savimbi again was an ASC guest at its Virginia estate, and meetings with "the Secretary of State [Alexander Haig] and numerous Congressional leaders" were arranged, according to an ASC newsletter.³²⁴ With the repeal of the Clark Amendment in 1985, ASC hosted a celebration with members of Congress and UNITA's Jeremias Chitunda, who said that "John Fisher has always been standing by us. . . ."³²⁵

The effort to aid UNITA was so crucial to the ASC that they gave their 1986 "Distinguished Service Award" to Senator Bob Dole for his behind-the-scenes work on behalf of UNITA. Dole has attempted to do the same for another South Africa-backed operation against Mozambique called RENAMO.³²⁶ RENAMO has ties to the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and its representatives spoke at the WACL 1984 and 1985 conferences.

The ASC has worked with South Africa itself, and not just its proxies. In 1979 an ASC "fact-finding mission" visited South Africa, then white supremacist Rhodesia, and South Africa-occupied Namibia.³²⁷ The trip was funded and coordinated by the Southern African Freedom Foundation, which had been exposed the year before as a project secretly funded by the South African government.³²⁸ Press coverage at the time identified Ray Ackerman, a Capetown businessman, as an architect of the SAFF.³²⁹

The ASC praised Ackerman with "a special debt of thanks," for helping

to raise the "funds needed for the project." Ian Smith, head of the white minority Rhodesian regime, had been a guest at the ASC estate near Boston, Virginia just months earlier.³³⁰

Two months after the Reagan Administration came to power, the ASC hosted and coordinated the visit of five military intelligence officials from South Africa to the U.S., including the head of military intelligence. The Council arranged for them to meet with staff at the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Council.³³¹ Through Roger Pearson associate and Jesse Helms staffer Jim Lucier, meetings were arranged on Capitol Hill.³³² A meeting was also arranged with then Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick.³³³ Because South African military officials were supposed to be banned from U.S. visits, the intelligence officials were hurried out of the U.S. after six days of activity, including a two-day briefing for the ASC on Southern Africa.³³⁴ Several days after the visit, then Secretary of State Al Haig called for the repeal of the Clark Amendment.³³⁵

Several member organizations of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength are also close to South Africa's apartheid regime. In 1983, for instance, Jack Abramoff went to South Africa as chairman of the College Republican National Committee to begin an ongoing relationship with the extreme right National Student Federation (NSF). The NSF noted this as a "grand alliance of conservative students . . . an alliance that would represent the swing to the right amongst the youth in America and Western Europe."³³⁶ After an exchange of trips between College Republicans and South African student rightists, the College Republican National Council passed a resolution condemning "deliberate planted propaganda by the KGB," and "Soviet proxy forces" in Southern Africa, without mentioning apartheid or racism.³³⁷ The National Student Federation, which says that 72 percent of its funding comes from corporations, resolved out of these meetings "To inspire, focus and unite the national will . . . to achieve . . . 'Peace Through Strength'."³³⁸

Another Coalition for Peace Through Strength member, the Conservative Caucus (which is also part of the World Anti-Communist League), works directly with South African government officials.

Caucus Chair Howard Phillips cosponsors trips to South Africa (at a \$4,000 fee) which offer "confidential intelligence and financial briefings" and meetings "with the very highest officials of government, business, banking and the military in South Africa." Also promised are "military intelligence briefings." Ads for such trips are placed in John Birch Society publications.³³⁹ The Conservative Caucus lobbies vigorously for UNITA and attempted to initiate a corporate campaign against Gulf Oil/Chevron for buying Angolan oil.³⁴⁰

Phillips and Abramoff both supported campaigns calling for the dismissal of Chester Crocker and George Shultz from the State Department because they are seen as insufficiently supportive of South Africa.³⁴¹ The “Dump Schultz” campaign grew out of a meeting of the Council for National Policy,³⁴² a secret membership group that has included Phillips, Abramoff, then National Security Council officials Oliver North and John Lenczowski, WACL chair John Singlaub, and many others with ASC interlocks.³⁴³ CNP’s secret quarterly meetings bring together right-wing funders (such as Joseph Coors) and foreign policy activists.³⁴⁴ The June 1987 speaker was Richard Secord.³⁴⁵ Secord was a major player in the Iran-contragate arms for hostages private network.

Because the ASC and WACL have a shared history, leadership and political outlook, it seems appropriate to note one other South African connection to American rightists.

Although it doesn’t show up on the list of delegates at WACL conferences, WACL has a South African chapter. It has been headed for years by Ivor Benson,³⁴⁶ who has also been the South African correspondent to *The Spotlight*,³⁴⁷ the notoriously anti-Semitic newspaper published by the quasi-Nazi Liberty Lobby. Benson wrote a speech for the 1986 meeting of the Institute for Historical Review,³⁴⁸ an organization devoted to proving the Nazi Holocaust against Jews and others was a hoax. The Institute is the brainchild of Willis Carto, who also runs Liberty Lobby and *Spotlight*. Benson was unable due to illness to attend the 1986 IHR conference, but his speech was delivered by a colleague (at the same IHR event attended by Dr. Ronnett). Benson’s speech implied that South Africa’s troubles were due to a Jewish conspiracy.³⁴⁹

Like other friends of Liberty Lobby who are also members of WACL, Benson stays out of sight so as to not embarrass other African delegates. He has, however, addressed at least one meeting of North American WACL chaired by Gen. Singlaub. South Africa’s main interest in WACL is to garner support for UNITA and RENAMO. Benson’s direct and publicized presence could only hurt this effort at coalition-building, so he stays in the shadows.

CENTRAL AMERICA, DEATH SQUADS, AND THE ASC

Much of Central America has been plagued by poverty, corruption, and U.S.-backed dictatorships for most of this century.³⁵⁰

In Nicaragua, the Somoza family had ruled from 1933 to 1979. In the 1970’s, a form of “crony capitalism” similar to that of former Philippines

dictator Ferdinand Marcos also dominated the politics and economy of Nicaragua. Few prospered without the blessing of Anastasio Somoza. A small corrupt circle of wealthy landowners and National Guard leaders ruthlessly maintained their hold over Nicaragua.

When the Somoza regime in Nicaragua collapsed and the Sandinista coalition came to power on July 19, 1979, the American Security Council was quick to respond. "The Marxist Threat to Central America" was the headline and sole topic of its newsletter, *Washington Report*, August 1979. It immediately formed a Task Force on Central America. "The goal of that Task Force is to be an energizing element within the Congress and within the two political parties that would seek to force the [Carter] Administration to correct its policies toward Central America." By which they meant, get rid of the Sandinistas.

The ASC Task Force on Central America included a handful of retired generals, including John Singlaub, Daniel O. Graham, Richard Stillwell, Gordon Sumner, William P. Yarborough, and Alexander Haig. Congressional members included Larry McDonald (D-GA), George Hansen (R-ID), John Murphy (D-NY), Bob Stump (R-AR), and Charles Wilson (D-TX). Retired Admiral Thomas Moorer, also of the Task Force, saw threats "all the way from Mexico down to the Cape of South America."³⁵¹

The ASC sought to make a popular issue out of Nicaragua for the 1980 elections, just as the Panama Canal issue had aided the Right for the previous four years. The film *Attack on the Americas* was produced in 1980, the first of three ASC films on Central America. It depicted all revolution as the result of KGB machinations rather than as responses to conditions in Central America itself. Even Florida was judged to be threatened.

As the Task Force name implied, the ASC was interested in all of Central America, not just Nicaragua. In 1979, a delegation of ASC leaders went to Guatemala and met with rightists connected to the death squads there. The delegation, led by Graham and Singlaub, told the ruling Guatemala military that they would urge Reagan to resume aid to the military dictatorship, which Carter had terminated because of the military's death squad activity. An estimated 100,000 deaths resulted from the brutal pacification programs in rural Guatemala in the late 1970's and early 80's. After the ASC delegation briefed him, one Guatemalan official was quoted as saying he felt the message was clear, "Mr. Reagan recognizes that a good deal of dirty work has to be done." Within days of the ASC visit, there was a dramatic increase in death squad activity.³⁵²

Latin America has death squads, active or dormant, from Mexico to Argentina. Most, if not all, are linked to military intelligence and police or national guard units.³⁵³ They also have above-ground political organizations

complementing their covert activity. These political organizations publicly advocate the most extreme measures against dissent within their respective countries.³⁵⁴

The ties between the legal political organizations, death squads, the American Security Council and World Anti-Communist League can be found in several countries including El Salvador, Guatemala, and Argentina.

Such was the case with the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) in the 1970's. It was an organization of right-wing murder, terror, and propaganda whose activity was coordinated with the military regime.³⁵⁵ It was also the Argentine branch of the World Anti-Communist League.³⁵⁶

Roberto D'Aubuisson, closely identified with the death squads of El Salvador, is affiliated with the ARENA party and he has served as that country's representative to WACL.

During a 1981 trip to Washington, D.C., Roberto D'Aubuisson was an honored guest at an ASC conference, although D'Aubuisson had already been linked to El Salvadoran death squad activities, including the 1980 murder of Archbishop Oscar Romero. The purpose of the D'Aubuisson visit was to enhance his support in Congress.³⁵⁷

The ASC also conducted an interview with D'Aubuisson in June of 1984 for its radio program that is broadcast into Latin America, and for the ASC newsletter.³⁵⁸ A photo of ASC leader Samuel Dickens and D'Aubuisson still hangs on the ASC conference room wall. Dickens is a retired colonel who held various intelligence posts and headed the Air Force Directorate of Plans for the Western Hemisphere.

In early 1987 the ASC also organized a Washington reception for Alfredo Christiani, D'Aubuisson's successor as head of the extreme right ARENA party. Over 150 attended the reception, according to the ASC.³⁵⁹

As an ASC and World Anti-Communist League organizer, Singlaub also worked with D'Aubuisson. One mercenary magazine photo shows Singlaub and D'Aubuisson studying a military map in El Salvador.³⁶⁰

Under Somoza in Nicaragua, the National Guard was the base of WACL. In Guatemala, Mario Sandoval Alarcon is the leader of the National Liberation Movement, a political party, as well as the leader of the death squads in that country.³⁶¹ He is also the Guatemalan representative to WACL.

An official spokesman of the National Liberation Movement (MLN) glorified the violence of his movement in terms strikingly similar to those used by Mussolini:

I admit that the MLN is the party of organized violence.
Organized violence is vigor, just as organized color is scenery

and organized sound is harmony. There is nothing wrong with organized violence; it is vigor, and the MLN is a vigorous movement.³⁶²

The ASC view of death squads was probably best expressed by Neil Livingstone, whose Institute on Terrorism and Subnational Conflict works out of the ASC offices. Often perceived as an opponent of terrorism, Livingstone wrote in *World Affairs*, Winter 1983–84, that “the problem of human rights is genuinely bad in Guatemala and El Salvador. We should not wring our hands, however, over this problem.” After giving a misleading explanation of the origins of death squads, Livingstone advocated their use because “they have helped more governments remain in power than they have harmed.” He offered Argentina as an example. Argentina is one country where the death squads embraced the swastika.

Livingstone, who also has served on the ASC Foundation’s Strategy Board, wrote in *World and I* (a monthly publication under the control of Rev. Sun Myung Moon), that “methods are needed that involve targeting individual terrorists and their leadership for assassination.”³⁶³ A box accompanying the article identifies such groups as the African National Congress and the ruling party of Zimbabwe as “terrorist.”³⁶⁴

Livingstone worked with other Reagan Administration luminaries through his role with *World Affairs*, whose editorial board has included Jeane Kirkpatrick and her husband Evron, as well as procontra activists Penn Kemble and Joshua Muravchic.

Livingstone’s Institute also employed Robert Owen, Oliver North’s courier in secret contra-support operations. Owen, a former staffer of then Senator Dan Quayle, met with a key contra organizer of the southern front against Nicaragua, John Hull, in Quayle’s office. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, “After a long talk about conditions in Central America, Mr. Owen escorted Hull to the White House, where he met Col. [Oliver] North. In August, 1983, Mr. Owen testified that he made his first trip to Central America, traveling to Costa Rica on a round-trip ticket provided by Mr. Hull.”³⁶⁵

North discussed the secret operation with Livingstone.³⁶⁶ According to the *Report of the Congressional Committees Investigating the Iran-contra Affair*, Livingstone’s Institute received at least \$75,000 from International Business Communications (IBC). IBC was part of the Oliver North network which funded various procontra operations while working closely with Carl “Spitz” Channel’s National Endowment for the Preservation of Liberty.³⁶⁷

The ASC’s Director for Inter-American Affairs is Samuel Dickens. An associate of contra military commander Enrique Bermudez when they were on the Inter-American Defense Board in 1976, Dickens says that in 1981, “I

took him to meet people at the State Department and Defense Department, saying this is a man, these are the efforts that should be supported.”³⁶⁸

Dickens traveled in Honduras in 1981 “on the border of Nicaragua. . . meeting and really reviewing some of his forces.” He adds that “the ASC is one of a number of organizations that put [Congressional funding for the contras] really high on the priority list of things to accomplish.”

Connected into the Latin American extreme right, Dickens believes in a hard-line military policy toward the civil war in El Salvador. In 1985, he wrote an article for *Replica* that attacked El Salvadoran President Napoleon Duarte’s gestures toward negotiations with the FDR opposition. Dickens claimed that “Many people in El Salvador consider the word ‘negotiations’ to be a bad word, and with complete justification.” He called advocates of negotiations “dreamers.”³⁶⁹ In 1985, in another article in *Replica*, Dickens praised the founder of El Salvador’s death squads as “the patriotic General Medrano,” and called Medrano’s critics “fools.”³⁷⁰ *Replica* is the magazine of the Tecos, a Mexican neo-Nazi group noted for bizarre anti-Semitism and for its longtime leadership of the Latin American affiliate of the World Anti-Communist League—an affiliate which served as the political umbrella of Latin America’s death squads.³⁷¹

The same murderous policies pursued by the Romanian Iron Guard when it collaborated with Hitler are praised as appropriate and necessary by current ideologues in Latin America. The Iron Guard, for instance, seems to have been allied with the Pinochet regime in Chile. Pinochet personally met with Iron Guard leaders, and several Guardists proudly display photographs of themselves individually posing with Pinochet and his wife. In turn, Iron Guard propaganda, such as Alexander Ronnett’s publication, *Potomac*, praised Chile, spoke of the “years of progress” under Pinochet, and expressed its hope “that other nationalist governments will follow the example of President Pinochet.” Pinochet has secretly funded WACL according to Ronnett.³⁷² That the Pinochet regime would ally itself with pro-Nazi elements was evident as early as 1974, when Chile’s new ambassador to the United States met with Austin App and others to discuss improving Chile’s image in the U.S. press.³⁷³

In the introduction, by Dr. Dimitrie Gazdaru, to the English language translation of *For My Legionaries*, by Iron Guard founder Codreanu, the policies of the Iron Guard are seen as having current application in Latin America:

. . . level-headed youth in several parts of the convulsed globe are now being guided more and more by the doctrine of the movement ideated by Codreanu. The most telling demonstration of this is the recent recognition of it by healthy-minded youth in Chile, whose spokesman, an eminent university profes-

sor, clearly declares that the anticommunist victory there has initiated posthumous victories for Corneliu Codreanu.³⁷⁴

The ideological training of many of the Latin American death squad members has emphasized the brutal tactics and theories of Mussolini and Hitler. Sometimes the connection is quite direct. For instance, after World War II, Third Reich collaborator Klaus Barbie actually continued to ply his gruesome trade in Bolivia as an advisor to the government-sanctioned death squads and as a supporter of a 1980 pro-Nazi coup.³⁷⁵ Some death squad members have openly sported swastikas.

These are the groups Singlaub, WACL, and the ASC have worked with internationally. The words may change from counter-insurgency to special operations to low-intensity conflict, but these are merely deceptive terms for what history calls war. As an advisor to the contras, the Pentagon, Oliver North, and others, Singlaub provided advice based on his own experience, including Operation Phoenix, a covert operation which employed cross-border raids, terrorism, and assassination against Vietnamese civilians.³⁷⁶ Applying those lessons to aid the contras, Singlaub declared on the Phil Donahue show that "my life has been dedicated to . . . low-intensity warfare."³⁷⁷

CONCLUSIONS

Americans are, in general, not aware of the role and importance of the Eastern Front in the history of World War II. The German *blitzkrieg*, the Russian winter, and the long Soviet counterattack are the staples of the history of this subject. The resulting ignorance allows us to tolerate an extensive network of collaborators established by Hitler's Third Reich, many of whom then came to the United States after the war ended. When these collaborators promote themselves as past victims of Soviet (or Romanian, Hungarian, etc.) persecution and as patriotic anticommunists, they mask their past fascism, nazism, and sometimes crimes against humanity.

Some of the ethnic unrest in Eastern Europe in the early 1990's can be directly traced to the organizing efforts of a number of these same anti-Semitic, collaborationist, and pro-Nazi elements and their offspring. Members of the Iron Guard were expelled from Romania for fanning the flames of hate. A convicted Nazi collaborator who served in the Hungarian Arrow Cross helped secure funds from the tax-supported National Endowment for Democracy (NED) to build a Hungarian political party with a strong undercurrent of anti-Semitism. The unrest in Czechoslovakia was engineered in part by the Slovak World Congress. NED funds for building democracy also went to a Lithuanian group whose leadership includes an accused Nazi collaborator. Members of the Russian group Pamyat have circulated translations of anti-Semitic articles from the U.S. white supremacist newspaper *Thunderbolt* (now known as *The Truth At Last*).

A combination of ignorance, amnesia, and in some cases political sympathy have allowed both American and European abettors of the Third Reich to play a prominent and respectable role inside the Republican Party. In many cases these fascists are unrepentant about their past as enemies of the

United States and as supporters of Nazi genocide. It is painfully ironic that it was our victory over Germany which forced SS-linked groups to flee their Eastern European homelands, in some cases to the United States, and subsequently allowed former enemies of the United States to influence American politics at the highest levels.

The American right wing has made common cause with this racism and anti-Semitism in their ranks. The American Security Council is an important organization which is less an aberration of the American Right than the expression of two generations of Old and New Right issues, priorities, outlooks, and personalities. As Christopher Simpson observes in *Blowback*:

Captivated by a vision of the world in which any enemy of the Communists was a friend of ours, the United States' *public* role in Eastern Europe during the cold war consisted in large part of the creation of polarized crises in which East-West cooperation became impossible, while the *clandestine* counterpart to this same policy often created secret alliances with war criminals, Nazis, and extremists.

The presence of these political currents in the American political process presents a challenge to members of both political parties and to those of neither party. Observers and researchers in the media, academia, and in non-profit political and religious groups must all ask themselves whether the condition described herein is acceptable.

In 1988 the George Bush presidential campaign was presented with the opportunity to repudiate the anti-Semites, Nazi apologists, and fascists who had been recruited into the campaign's ethnic outreach arm through Republican party contacts. Instead of repudiating antidemocratic tendencies and bigotry, the Bush campaign chose to sidestep the charges and moved instead to minimize damage to the political campaign.

The record to date leads to the conclusion that the Republican National Committee and the network around the American Security Council and World Anti-Communist League may consider it forgivable to have been a fascist collaborator so long as one is today an active anticommunist pursuing the maintenance of the cold war in foreign policy and extremist right-wing politics at home. If this is an incorrect interpretation, then it is incumbent upon them to give a better—and public—explanation of why a tolerance for anti-Semitism, racism, authoritarianism, and fascism is a hallmark of both their foreign policy intrigues abroad and their political coalition-building at home.

ENDNOTES

1. U.S., Displaced Persons Commission, *Memo to America, The DP Story, The Final Report of the Displaced Persons Commission* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1952), p. v.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
3. *Ibid.*
4. For information on the Waffen SS, see George Stein, *The Waffen SS: Hitler's Elite Guard at War: 1939-1945* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966); Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941-45: A Study of Occupation Policies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1957).
5. Jack Anderson, "Nixon Appears a Little Soft on Nazis," *Washington Post*, Nov. 10, 1971, p. B17; Nora Levin, *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry 1933-1945* (New York: T. Y. Crowell, 1968; Schocken Books, 1973), pp. 610-11, 644, 653-55, 662-64; Randolph L. Braham, "Boring from Within: The Case of Laszlo Pasztor," *Midstream*, June/July, 1989, p. 25.
6. Interview with Laszlo Pasztor, Washington, D.C., May 15, 1985. Interviews will be indented with date and location the first time they are cited only.
7. The requests were made in person Sept. 1984, May 1985, and June 1986.
8. See, for instance, the ad sponsored by the American Security Council in the *Washington Times*, Sept. 28, 1983, p. A5.
9. Anderson, "Nixon Appears a Little Soft on Nazis," p. B17.
10. Interview with Spas T. Raikin, by telephone, August 1986.
11. Interview with Ivan Docheff, by telephone, Sept. 1984. See pp. 41-44 of this report for discussion of the Nazi-linked National Confederation of American Ethnic Groups. Leaders of NCAEG have included Austin App and Josef Mikus.

12. Interview with Professor Frederic Chary, Detroit, Michigan, August 1984. Chary is author of *Bulgarian Jews and the Final Solution* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972).
13. Chary also supplied the *Prelom* masthead with headline (*Prelom*, March 31, 1933).
14. Ivan Docheff, *Half Century Struggle against Communism for the Freedom of Bulgaria* (New York: Bulgarian National Front, 1982), p. 83; also see Docheff's biographical statement in his book, *A New Danger for World's Peace—Red Bulgaria* (Salzburg, Austria: n.p., 1950). Also, Raikin letter to the author, August 17, 1986.
15. Docheff, *Half Century Struggle against Communism*, p. 185.
16. Ivan Docheff, "Why President Reagan?" *Borba*, Sept. 1984, p. 1. *Borba* is published by the Central Executive Board of the Bulgarian National Front, Inc.
17. Interview with Ivan Docheff.
18. Interview with Ivan Docheff; interview with Frederic Chary; confirmed by the author in a telephone conversation in Sept. 1984 with aide to White House Director of Ethnic Liaison, Linas Kojelis.
19. Interview with Nicolas Nazarenko, Washington, D.C., May 17-18, 1985; interview with Alex Aksenov, Washington, D.C., May 17-18, 1985. See also Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: U.S. Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), pp. 24-25.
20. Interview with Florian Galdau, by telephone, Sept. 1984.
21. Chris Simpson, "Not Just Another Nazi," *Penthouse*, August 1983, p. 156.
22. Howard Blum, *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America* (New York: Quadrangle/New York Times Book Co., 1977), pp. 109-11, 114-16. Trifa offered an opening prayer for the U.S. Senate on May 10, 1955, at the request of Richard Nixon, who presided over the Senate as part of his vice-presidential duties.
23. "Viorel Donise Trifa," FBI Memo (April 6, 1954), p. 1; on Galdau, "Viorel Donise Trifa," FBI Memo (Oct. 5, 1955), p. 2. Copies of these memos are in the possession of the author.
24. A privately circulated, typewritten document by George Roman names sixty Iron Guardists and briefly describes their functions in the U.S.
25. *New York City News World*, July 31-August 1, 1982, p. B1. *News World* is affiliated with the Reverend Moon's Unification Church. Moon's followers have made great efforts to link into emigré fascist groups. See, for example, "Will the Soviet Union Survive?: ABN International Conference" program, May 13-15, 1988, Washington, D.C.: several speakers, including the keynote speaker, were representatives of Moon-connected organizations.
26. Both groups were accredited to the Displaced Persons Commission. See *Memo to America*, pp. 270, 277, 285, and 289. On Tolstoy Foundation, see Blum, pp. 68-70; Doug Hostetter and Michael McIntyre, "The Politics of Charity,"

- Christian Century*, Sept. 18, 1974, pp. 845–50. On the International Rescue Committee, see R. Harris Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1972), p. 404n; Simpson, *Blowback*, p. 200n. Also, U.S., Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War: Executive and Legislative Roles and Relationships; Part I: 1945–1961*, 98th Cong., 2nd sess., 1984, pp. 301–303.
27. Interview with Valerian Trifa, conducted by Dennis Debbaudt, Oct. 20, 1981, by telephone. Transcript made available to author.
 28. *United Israel Bulletin*, Summer 1974, p. 1.
 29. Interview with Dennis Debbaudt, Detroit, Michigan, Sept. 1984.
 30. Interview with Walter Melianovich, Washington, D.C., May 17, 1985.
 31. John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), p. 181; interview with Mark Masurowsky, Washington, D.C., May 1985.
 32. Loftus, p. 29.
 33. U.S., *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, Nuremberg Document #PS 3047 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1946), Vol. 5, pp. 772–76.
 34. Interview with Mark Masurowsky.
 35. Interview with Cheslav Nadjiuk, Los Angeles, June 28, 1986. Also, a list of those who attended the 14th plenum of the Byelorussian Central Council (the Nazi puppet government in exile) in South River, New Jersey on Sept. 4 and 5, 1954, includes Nadjiuk (spelled Naydzyuk) and says that he attended the 1944 Congress.
 36. Gerhard L. Wineberg, *The Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 116–18.
 37. Joseph Lettrich, *History of Modern Slovakia* (New York: Praeger, 1955), pp. 143–73. The declaration of war is mentioned on p. 169.
 38. Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War against the Jews* (New York: Bantam, 1976), p. 544.
 39. David Duke for President Committee, Quarterly Report of Receipts and Disbursements, Federal Election Commission, Form 3P, Schedule BP, July 1–Sept. 30, 1987, p. 9.
 40. Joseph M. Kirschbaum, ed., *Slovakia in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Toronto: Slovak World Congress, 1973), pp. 9–10; Lettrich, pp. 116–17, 175.
 41. Kirschbaum, p. 151.
 42. *New York Times*, May 25–June 10, 1981; Thomas Sheehan, "Italy: Terror on the Right," *New York Review of Books*, Jan. 22, 1981, pp. 23–26. Also, Luigi Di Fonzo, *St. Peter's Banker* (New York and London: Franklin Watts, 1983); Larry Gurwin, *The Calvi Affair* (London: Macmillan, 1983).
 43. *Boston Sunday Globe*, Oct. 18, 1987, p. A18.
 44. *Who's Who in American Politics: 1987–88*, 11th ed. (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1987).

45. Di Fonzo, p. 229.
46. *New York Times*, June 4, 1981, p. 7.
47. Di Fonzo, p. 230.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
49. Gurwin, p. 189.
50. *Who's Who in America: 1984–1985*, 43rd ed. (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, 1984); Gurwin, pp. 12, 189–90.
51. Di Fonzo, pp. 72–73.
52. Stella's curriculum vitae, 1986, p. 2.
53. The announcement was made Oct. 20, 1981 according to an undated White House letter received by the author in Feb. 1984.
54. *New York Post*, Feb. 21, 1986, p. 8.
55. Stella's curriculum vitae, 1986, p. 5.
56. Robert Katz, *The Fall of the House of Savoy* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 366–67; Charles Fenyvesi, *Splendor in Exile* (Washington, D.C.: New Republic Books, 1979), pp. 92–93; E. J. Dionne, Jr., "Italy's Royal Heir, in Exile, Pleads to Return," *New York Times*, March 2, 1986, p. 6.
57. Fenyvesi, pp. 100–101; Taki Theodoracopulos, "Princes and Playboys," *Esquire*, Feb. 27, 1979, pp. 87–88.
58. Fenyvesi, p. 96.
59. The delegation's membership, their backgrounds and planned itinerary were described in a booklet distributed at the Republican Heritage Groups Council meeting, "President Reagan's [sic] Reinauguration Celebration Delegation," (Room 8, 11F, 150, Chi Lin Road, Taipei, Taiwan: Chinese Times, 1985).
60. A proposal to create such affiliates was roundly denounced by delegates at the June 1986 convention.
61. Kevin Phillips' syndicated newspaper article, "Economics, Not Heritage, the Key," was reprinted in *Cossack Life* in 1975. Mr. Phillips declined to look for a more accessible citation, but a copy of the reprinted article is in the author's possession.
62. "17th Annual Convention Program," National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council, Washington, D.C., Oct. 30–Nov. 1, 1987.
63. Quotations in this section from the 1985 Republican Heritage Groups Council convention are from the author's own notes of the event.
64. Interview with Michael Sotirhos, Washington, D.C., Sept. 1984.
65. National Republican Heritage Groups Council brochure, Washington, D.C., n.d.
66. Author's notes from the 1985 Republican Heritage Groups Council Convention.

67. Peter Braestrup, "GOP's Open Door: Who's Coming In?" *Washington Post*, Nov. 21, 1971, p. A1.
68. Jack Anderson, "Doleful Dole," *Washington Post*, May 18, 1978, p. A25; Jack Anderson and Les Whitten, "Nazi Eulogy," *Washington Post*, May 4, 1976, p. B15.
69. "Join the Crusade for Freedom" brochure, National Committee for a Free Europe, New York City, n.d.. The Crusade for Freedom was a project of the Committee for a Free Europe, which was the ostensible sponsor of Radio Free Europe.
70. Interview with Andy Valuchek, Washington, D.C., May 20, 1985.
71. *Washington Post*, Jan. 8, 1979, p. C1.
72. Telephone interview with Wes McCune, July 14, 1988. See also "ASC's John Fisher Moves Further into Right-Wing Politics," *Group Research Report*, April 3, 1970, p. 25, which states that "Fisher is in effect the organized leader of the military-industrial complex as it impinges on civilian life." *Group Research Report*, Feb. 26, 1975, p. 6 and Nov. 1983, p. 37 makes similar assertions.
73. William Turner, *Power on the Right* (Berkeley, California: Ramparts Press, 1971), p. 199. Turner's book has a chapter on the ASC. Also, *New York Times*, July 10, 1958, p. 56.
74. Turner, pp. 199–200.
75. America First Committee literature, 1940–41. See, for example, "Monster Rally and Demonstration" flyer (Brooklyn, New York: Brooklyn Chapter, America First Committee, June 1940), which reads, "Keep United States Out of War...No Convoys, No War, No Death for American Boys."
76. J. Edgar Hoover to Major General Edwin M. Watson, Secretary to the President, FBI Memo (Feb. 13, 1942), p. 6.
77. *Ibid.*, 2-page cover letter; Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, *Sabotage: The Secret War Against America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), pp. 241–42.
78. J. Edgar Hoover to Major General Watson, cover letter.
79. J. Edgar Hoover to Major General Watson, p. 4; "Monster Rally and Demonstration" flyer, America First Committee letterhead, June 1940.
80. Frances Locher, ed., *Contemporary Authors* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1981), Vol. 101, p. 394. This interview was conducted April 30, 1980.
81. Turner, pp. 200–201.
82. Donald S. Strong, *Organized Anti-Semitism in America* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940), pp. 83–108.
83. Strong, pp. 83–93; Robert Wohlforth, "Spy-Hunters: 1930," *The New Republic*, Jan. 29, 1930, pp. 271–73 (note also reply in Harry Jung, "Correspondence," *The New Republic*, March 12, 1930, pp. 101–102); Norman Hapgood, *Professional Patriots* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1927), p. 139, 162–65.

84. John Roy Carlson, *Under Cover* (Philadelphia: Blakiston Company and New York: E. P. Dutton, 1943), p. 392. Jung had White Russian emigres translate the “Protocols” from Czarist forgeries in Russian to English forgeries. See also Strong, pp. 105–6.
85. *New York Times*, July 24, 1942, p. 8; Strong, p. 95.
86. *The Coalitionist*, published by the ACPS, from 1929–32. See, for example, *The Coalitionist*, Nov. 1929, p. 1.
87. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955; New York: Athencum, 1981), pp. 314, 319–21.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
89. Barry Mehler, “The New Eugenics: Academic Racism in the U.S. Today,” *Israel Horizons*, Jan.–Feb. 1984, p. 25.
90. *In Fact*, August 11, 1947, p. 2; *In Fact*, Feb. 24, 1947, p. 4. *In Fact*, begun as a biweekly in 1940, soon became a weekly that was published until 1950. It was edited by George Seldes.
91. *In Fact*, Feb. 14, 1949, pp. 1–2. For details on *National Republic*, see *In Fact*, Feb. 24, 1947, p. 3.
92. *New York Times*, July 24, 1942, p. 8.
93. Felix Morley, “Travesty of Justice,” *Human Events*, Nov. 21, 1945, pp. 192–95.
94. Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, *Cross-Currents* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1956), pp. 156–60.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 158; Thomas Reeves, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), p. 662.
96. Margaret Fisk, ed., *Encyclopedia of Associations*, 8th ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1973), Vol. 1, p. 1057. For background on the political character of ACPS, see *Group Research Report* throughout the 1960’s and *Report to America* (an ACPS organ) 1960–1962.
97. “American Coalition of Patriotic Societies,” *Group Research Organizations Directory*, Washington, D.C., Feb. 12, 1963, p. 2.
98. *Encyclopedia of Associations*, 22nd ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1987), Vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 1669.
99. *Who’s Who in America: 1984–1985*.
100. Proceedings of the Military-Industrial Conferences, 1955–61.
101. *New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1967, pp. 1, 32; “The Foreign Policy Research Institute,” *Ramparts*, March 1966, pp. 39–40 for discussion of CIA ties to think tanks and foundations; Gene M. Lyons and Louis Morton, “School for Strategy,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March 1961, p. 103–6.
102. Robert Strausz-Hupé, William Kintner, and Stefan Possony, *A Forward Strategy for America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), p. 15.
103. Clarence Lasby, *Project Paperclip* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 128.

104. Wernher von Braun is listed as a participant in the 1958 Military Industrial Conference in the published proceedings of the conference: George B. de Huszar, ed., *National Strategy in the Age of Revolutions* (New York: Praeger, 1959), p. iii; Medaris presented a lecture at the 1957 Conference, according to *Military-Industrial Conference: Papers and Discussions*, Chicago, 1957, p. v.
105. *Who's Who in Germany* (Munich: Intercontinental Book and Publishing Co., 1956).
106. James Pool and Suzanne Pool, *Who Financed Hitler* (New York: Dial Press, 1978, 1979), pp. 207, 211.
107. *Who's Who in Germany*; *New York Times*, June 13, 1944, p. 4.
108. *New York Times*, July 14, 1923, p. 2.
109. T. H. Tetens, *The New Germany and the Old Nazis* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 255.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 56–70, 254–55.
111. New Benjamin Franklin House, a Lyndon LaRouche outfit, has translated and printed an English-language version of August von der Heydte's 1972 book, *Modern Irregular Warfare* (New York: New Benjamin Franklin House, 1986); according to LaRouche's *New Solidarity*, Feb. 21, 1986, p. 8, von der Heydte signed a political advertisement (placed in newspapers throughout West Germany), which identified him as a member of Patriots for Germany, a LaRouche front.
112. de Huszar, pp. 269–82. "Special Report on the American Security Council," *Group Research Directory*, May 25, 1962, pp. 4–11; Lyons and Morton, "School for Strategy," pp. 104–5; Harold Relyea, "The American Security Council," *The Nation*, Jan. 24, 1972, p. 114.
113. See Lyons and Morton, "School for Strategy," pp. 103–6 on the extremism of the Institute for American Strategy, its ties to the Pentagon and its origins in the military-industrial conferences; Senator William Fulbright's "Memorandum Submitted to the Department of Defense on Propaganda Activities of Military Personnel," *Congressional Record*, August 2, 1961, pp. 14433–39; *New York Times*, June 18, 1961, p. 1 on the NSC directive; Frank R. Barnett, "A Proposal for Political Warfare," *Military Review*, March 1961, p. 3; and "Special Report on the American Security Council," pp. 9–11 for discussion of Senator Fulbright's memorandum on the military's sponsorship of seminars on communism. The *New York Times* and Lyons and Morton articles are reprinted in the *Congressional Record* as attachments to the Fulbright Memorandum.
114. *Ramparts*, March 1966, p. 39.
115. Barnett, "A Proposal for Political Warfare," p. 3.
116. "Special Report on the American Security Council," p. 9.
117. David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York: Random House, 1964; Bantam, 1965), pp. 167–69; Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 120–25, 264–65; Institute for American Strategy letterhead, n.d.

118. *Guidelines for Cold War Victory* (Chicago: ASC Press, 1964), pp. 9-10. In *Group Research Individuals Directory*, 1962, see, for example, the backgrounds of Lt. Gen. Edward Almond (Ret.); Spruille Braden; Charles Edison; Adm. Ben Moreel (Ret.); Rear Adm. Chester Ward (Ret.); Gen. Robert Wood (Ret.); and Gen. C.A. Willoughby (Ret.).
119. Frank P. Mintz, *The Liberty Lobby and the American Right: Race, Conspiracy, and Culture* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 4-5; *Right*, Sept. 1960, p. 5.
120. Turner, p. 211.
121. *Coalition Insider*, Nov.-Dec. 1980, p. 2. *Coalition Insider* is an organ of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength. For subsequent quotes, all from this edition of *Coalition Insider*: on showings of "The Salt Syndrome," p. 3; on "super-dove" McGovern, p. 2; on the South Dakota race, p. 3; on ASC PAC Abdnor contribution, p. 4; on Singlaub and Grassley campaign, pp. 4-5; on D'Amato campaign, pp. 4-5; on Church as architect of intelligence system destruction, p. 5; on Church and Soviet supremacy, pp. 4, 5, 7; on ASC aiding 67 candidates, p. 4; and on ASC PAC contributions to other campaigns, p. 4.
122. Interview with Dr. Richard Kolm at his Washington, D.C. home, May 21, 1985; "Szasz's springboard" quote is from a confidential interview.
123. The names of NCAEG affiliates were provided by Z. Michael Szasz in a telephone interview on May 20, 1985 and by Dr. Richard Kolm.
124. Alexander Ronnett, *Romanian Nationalism: The Legionary Movement* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1974). The book's cover has the Iron Guard symbol on it.
125. See Corneliu Z. Codreanu, *For My Legionaries*, trans. (1936; Madrid: Editura "Libertatea," 1977). Codreanu was the founder and ideological leader of the Iron Guard. This book, written in 1936, is the Guard's *Mein Kampf*. The English translation is available from Liberty Bell, a neo-Nazi publisher and book distributorship at P.O. Box 21, Reedy, W. Va., 25270.
126. Blum, pp. 91-96; Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, eds., *The European Right* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1965), pp. 565-66; interview with Dennis Debbaudt.
127. Interview with Alexander Ronnett, Chicago, December 1984.
128. Program for the seventh IHR Conference, held in Los Angeles on Feb. 15-17, 1986. For the text of his speech, see Alexander Ronnett, M.D. and Faust Bradescu, Ph.D., "The Legionary Movement in Romania," *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1986, pp. 193-228. The *Journal of Historical Review* is published by IHR.
129. Interview with Ronnett. Also, WACL documents and interviews with Iron Guard delegates to 1985 WACL conference. Ronnett was WACL delegate for many years.
130. Austin J. App, *The Six Million Swindle* (Tacoma Park, Maryland: Boniface Press, 1973), available from the Institute for Historical Review, 1822 1/2 Newport Blvd., Suite 191, Costa Mesa, California, 92627.

131. Forster and Epstein, p. 229; Austin J. App, *No Time for Silence: Pleas for a Just Peace Over Four Decades* (Costa Mesa, California: Institute for Historical Review, 1987), p. 62.; Austin J. App, *Ravishing the Conquered Women of Europe*, as cited by John Roy Carlson in *The Plotters* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1946), pp. 160–61.
132. National Convention Program brochure, NCAEG, Washington, D.C., Sept. 29–Oct. 1, 1983.
133. Interview with Joseph Plonski at the Republican Heritage Groups Council convention in Los Angeles on June 25, 1986. Other statements in this section attributed to Plonski are also from this interview.
134. William S. Turchyn and NCAEG, NJ Chapter, *Victory Without Fear: A Response to OSI's "Nazi Hunting" Experiment* (Rivington, New Jersey: NCAEG, 1985), p. 26.
135. *Washington Post*, Nov. 21, 1971, p. A13.
136. *CCPA News & Views*, Feb.–March 1983, p. 3.
137. Rev. Anthony Cekada, *Light on the OSJ* (Oyster Bay, New York: The Roman Catholic, n.d.; reprinted from the *The Roman Catholic*, December 1981). This article is a Catholic traditionalist examination of the Order. See also the cover page of Charles Pichel, *History of the Hereditary Government of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, 2nd ed. (Shickshinny, Pennsylvania: Maltese Cross Press, 1970), which traces the Knights of Malta from Jerusalem in 1050 to the U.S.A. in 1908.
138. Sander A. Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States: 1924–41* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 116–17.
139. Pichel, *History of the Order of St. John*, pp. 192–93. See, for example, in Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, *Cross-Currents* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1956), the descriptions of Pedro del Valle (p. 145), George Stratemeyer (p. 168), and Bonner Fellers (p. 163). Also, a number of figures named in Pichel's *History of the Order of St. John* were instrumental in setting up the Liberty Lobby. Edward von Rothkirch, a member of the Order, helped set up Truth-in-Press, a Liberty Lobby 501(c)3 tax-exempt group, and has worked with LaRouche for many years.
140. *Washington Post*, Nov. 21, 1971, p. A13.
141. "Western Goals Annual Report, 1981–82," Alexandria, Virginia, 1982; Karol Sitko, *ABN Correspondence*, March–April 1983, pp. 10–13.
142. *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 17, 1985, p. 16; *Washington Post*, Sept. 18, 1984, p. A2; and *Washington Post*, National Weekly Edition, Oct. 1, 1984, p. 12.
143. "National Coalition for America's Survival: Human Rights and National Survival Program" brochure, Conservative Alliance, Washington, D.C., n.d. Arthur Jones and the America First Committee are listed both under "Prominent Individual Members" and "Organizational Members" in the brochure. According to the *Washington Post*, National Weekly Edition, Oct. 1, 1984, p. 12, Warren Richardson has been the lobbyist for CALL; his nomination by Reagan as general counsel for HEW was torpedoed in 1981 when it was

discovered that he worked for the Liberty Lobby for four years in the 1970's. Richardson is also the former Executive Director of CAUSA, Rev. Moon's organization.

144. *New York Times*, Oct. 12, 1985, p. 12. On June 28 and 29, 1986, Jones addressed a two-day Ku Klux Klan event planned to provoke confrontations in Chicago's racially tense southwest side Marquette Park and in the near-north shoreline area of Chicago where a Gay Pride Day march was ending.
145. *New York Times*, April 17, 1938, p. E4; *New York Times*, August 4, 1966, p. 8; *In Fact*, Dec. 30, 1940, pp. 2–4; and *In Fact*, July 1, 1940, p. 2.
146. Interviews with Sam Dickens, Washington, D.C., July 16, 1986; Curt Winsor, Washington, D.C., July 17, 1986; Constantine Menges, by telephone, April 1986; and another who requested anonymity. The discussion and quotations which follow are, unless otherwise noted, based on these interviews. For information on Radio Free Americas, see *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1967, pp. 1–2.
147. An anonymous interview.
148. *Washington Report*, Oct. 1978, p. 8. *Washington Report* is published by ASC.
149. John Fisher, "President's Report," ASC, Boston, Virginia, 1982.
150. Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque, "Ronald Reagan Is No War Monger—But What about His Advisors?" press statement, Oct. 31, 1980.
151. Interview with Dickens.
152. "White House Hosts ASC Foundation Speakers Bureau Seminar," *Washington Report*, Sept. 1983, pp. 4–5. The event was August 25–26, 1983.
153. Jenny Pearce, *Under the Eagle* (Boston: South End Press, 1984), pp. 175–80.
154. Interview with David Taylor, by telephone, August 1986.
155. *Peace Through Strength Report*, March 1985, p. 1.
156. *American Banker*, May 11, 1987, p. 3; Jeffrey Zaslow, "Ex-officers of First Chicago Investigated in Possible Funds Diversion for Group," *Wall Street Journal*, May 11, 1987, p. 9.
157. Interview with Matthias Lydon, by telephone, March 4, 1988.
158. *Peace Through Strength Report*, July 1985, p. 2.
159. *New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1988, p. A11.
160. "In Defense of America: A Campaign for Peace Through Strength" fund-raising brochure, ASC Foundation, Washington, D.C., [1984].
161. *Ibid.*
162. ASC statement at Sept. 19, 1984 press conference sponsored by the Coalition for Peace Through Strength.
163. *Washington Report*, Nov. 1983, p. 5.
164. ASC press packet, Sept. 19, 1984.
165. See (Lexington, North Carolina) *Dispatch*, March 26, 1986, p. 4 which reports

that Milton Croom “said this week he agrees with right-wing extremist Lyndon LaRouche on many issues, and was pleased LaRouche candidates had recently won primaries in Illinois.” Also see *North Carolinians against Racist and Religious Violence Report on the North Carolina Elections*, May 7, 1986, which identifies Croom, who ran for the North Carolina Senate on the Democratic ticket, as a LaRouche candidate; corporate filing of station WTRI in Maryland; *Washington Post*, May 18, 1987, p. A16.

166. See Dennis King, *Nazis without Swastikas* (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1983); Chip Berlet and Joel Bellman, *Lyndon LaRouche: Fascism Wrapped in an American Flag* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Political Research Associates, forthcoming); and *Brownshirts of the Seventies* (Arlington, Virginia: Terrorist Information Project, n.d.), which is available from National Lawyers Guild, Civil Liberties Committee, 14 Beacon Street, #407, Boston, Massachusetts, 02108.
167. “Populist Groups Get More States,” *Spotlight*, August 20, 1984, p. 14 says that McConkey was state chair of the Populist Party.
168. Leonard Zeskind, *It's Not Populism* (Atlanta, Georgia: National Anti-Klan Network, 1984), available from the Center for Democratic Renewal, P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, Georgia, 30302. For further background on the Populist Party, see also the author's article, “Fake Populism, Real Fascism,” *New America*, Jan.–Feb. 1985, p. 12.
169. *A Strategy for Peace Through Strength* (Boston, Virginia: ASC Foundation, 1984).
170. *Who's Who in America: 1984–85*, Vol. 2.
171. Joseph C. Goulden, *The Death Merchant* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984; Bantam, 1985), pp. 21, 27.
172. Jonathan Marshall, “The Friends of Michael Hand,” *Inquiry*, Nov. 24, 1980, p. 11. Also, Black wrote the chapter, “Structure for Strategy,” on the National Security Council in *A Forward Strategy for America*, pp. xi, 359–95. Black's *Who's Who in America* entry omits the position in the Eisenhower administration.
173. *Who's Who in America: 1984–85*, Vol. 2.
174. Australia, *Commonwealth-New South Wales Joint Task Force on Drug Trafficking: Report of Royal Commission*, Vol. 2, Nugan Hand (part 1), June 1982, pp. 298–299, 303–304 (hereafter cited as *Joint Task Force Report*); *Wall Street Journal* front page series, August 24–26, 1982.
175. *Wall Street Journal*, August 24–26, 1982; *Joint Task Force Report*, Vol. 4, pp. 731–51.
176. *Joint Task Force Report*, Vol. 4, p. 796.
177. *Joint Task Force Report*, Vol. 4, pp. 796–97; see also Jonathan Kwitny, *The Crimes of Patriots: A True Tale of Dope, Dirty Money, and the CIA* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1987), pp. 120–21.
178. National Strategy Committee letterhead, ASC, received Sept. 19, 1984.

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179. "Salute to Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick" dinner program, ASC Foundation, April 16, 1985, p. 3.
180. Interview with John Fisher, Washington, D.C., July 16, 1986.
181. Caspar Weinberger, "Introductory Remarks," *Peace Through Strength Report*, July 1985, p. 2. Includes another Reagan letter to ASC, commending the June 4th event.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
183. *Peace Through Strength Report*, Jan. 1986, p. 3.
184. Lee Norrgard and Joe Rosenbloom, 3rd, "The Cold Warriors," *Common Cause Magazine*, July–August 1985, pp. 14–19, esp. p. 19.
185. John Fisher, "President's Report," ASC, Boston, Virginia, 1983.
186. John Fisher, "President's Report," 1985.
187. "ASCPAC Plays Vital Role," *Peace Through Strength Report*, August 1984, p. 8. On p. 6, the newsletter also says ASC helped to raise \$186,000 for Cong. Bill Dickinson. Jack Kemp made a claim similar to Chappell's.
188. "Quotable," *Peace Through Strength Report*, Winter 1987, p. 4.
189. Liberty Lobby promotional brochure, Washington, D.C., n.d., with endorsing quote from Dickinson.
190. U.S., Congress, Office of the Clerk of the House, *Ethics in Government Act: Financial Disclosure Statement for 1984*, 98th Cong., 2nd sess., 1984, attachment, p. 1.
191. U.S., Congress, Office of the Clerk of the House, *Ethics in Government Act: Financial Disclosure Statement for 1985*, 99th Cong., 1st sess., 1985, attachment, p. 1.
192. *Financial Disclosure Statement for 1984*, attachment, p. 1.
193. *National Security Report*, June 1987, pp. 4–5.
194. Norrgard and Rosenbloom, p. 14.
195. *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, March 15, 1986.
196. Turner, p. 202. G. Duncan Bauman, formerly the publisher of the now defunct *Globe Democrat*, has been on the ASC's National Strategy Committee for years, according to ASC letterhead, received Sept. 19, 1984.
197. *Coalition Insider*, Nov.–Dec. 1980, p. 7. *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 1, 1984, p. 30, in an editorial, attacked the AFL-CIO for supporting candidates with low ASC ratings.
198. Monthly Reports of PAC Campaign Financing, Federal Election Commission, Form 3X, Schedule B.
199. Turner, p. 211.
200. La Rocque, "Reagan Is No War Monger."
201. *Washington Post*, Nov. 4, 1984, p. A8.

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202. CCA corporate records, State of Virginia; CCA brochure, Boston, Virginia, n.d., shows Steve and Linda Fisher as president of CCA and president of CCA's subsidiaries respectively. Their father, John M. Fisher, is listed as the chairman of CCA.
203. Interview with John Fisher, Boston, Virginia, July 16, 1985; Norrgard and Rosenbloom, pp. 16–17.
204. Interview with John Fisher, Washington, D.C., July 16, 1986.
205. Interview with Jay Winek, by telephone, Sept. 1984. The ASC had listed the Coalition for a Democratic Majority as a member organization of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength without CDM's permission, according to Winek. After several years of letters asking the ASC to desist, CDM's name was dropped from the 1985 list.
206. *Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 28, 1984, p. 46.
207. E. L. Anderson, "Northern League Notes," *Right*, Feb. 1959, p. 6. Carto used the pen name E. L. Anderson with *Right* and its successors, such as *Western Destiny*. Carto's use of this alias is mentioned in one of the best articles on his operations, C. H. Simonds, "The Strange Story of Willis Carto," *National Review*, Sept. 10, 1971, pp. 978–89, esp. p. 982. Anderson as Carto alias also confirmed to this writer by former Liberty Lobby official.
208. *Right* promoted an international pagan-racial gathering scheduled for July 1959 that was organized by Pearson. See also "The Northern League" (London) *Searchlight*, June 1984, p. 9; "Reagan Praises Leading Fascist" (London) *Searchlight*, Sept. 1984, p. 2.
209. *Right*, Sept. 1960, p. 5, which also says, of the Nazis, "Their critics should consider that at this late date, only a hard-core group of fanatically-determined young men can possibly save the White Race."
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254. The above mentioned meeting was a commemoration of those neo-Nazi Order members killed in a shootout with local and federal agents. For additional coverage of the event, see *New York Times*, Oct. 12, 1985, p. 12.
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Ukrainian Review is published in the U.S. by ODFFU and the editor is Slava Stetsko.

260. *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Summer 1984, p. 214 mentions Nesterucz' UCCA affiliation and other ethnic activism.
261. Interview with Bohdan Futey, Washington, D.C., May 17, 1985; *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Summer 1984, pp. 215–16.
262. Confidential interview, OUN-B member.
263. The campaign stop was widely reported. See *Ukrainian Newsletter* (the organ of the World Conference of Free Ukrainians, the international body in which all Ukrainian factions participate), Nov.–Dec. 1984, pp. 3, 7. It reports on the Reagan visit and notes that Fedorak was elected to the Presidium of the UCCA Executive Committee. Fedorak was also Toastmaster at a UCCA banquet where Jeane Kirkpatrick received a “Shevchenko Freedom Award.”
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APPENDIX 1

The Chicago Controversy PART ONE

WMAQ-TV (NBC) Chicago

Evening News, Unit 5 Report

Broadcast Date: May 10, 1987

Peter Karl, Reporter — Marsha Bartel, Producer

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Transcript prepared by Political Research Associates.

PETER KARL: There are many private citizens who are working hard to support the contras. We have found some of them have ties to Nazi Germany. Working through groups who wave the banner of anti-communism, some have the ear of foreign policy makers, and some don't like to talk openly about their past.

The Nicaraguan contras needed money. So national security advisor Lt. Col. Oliver North made it his job to get it. And, according to the Tower Commission report, North turned to this man, retired General John Singlaub, for help.

[Screen: 1985]

JOHN SINGLAUB: I represent hundreds of thousands of Americans who are sympathetic to your cause, and want to help.

KARL: In 1985, Singlaub promised the Nicaraguan contras the backing of the Americans. He turned to a private network of anticommunist organizations for help—some right here in Chicago.

[Screen: Dr. Alexander Ronnett, Contra Fundraiser]

ALEXANDER RONNETT: I consider myself a freedom fighter.

KARL: Dr. Alexander Ronnett is a Chicago area doctor. He is actively involved in a number of anticommunist groups working for the contras.

RONNETT: If they do want to struggle for liberty, they deserve the help of anybody that understands the situation politically.

KARL: Ronnett provided both moral and financial support to the contras. He traveled overseas to raise money. His journey brought him into the offices of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, and into the White House.

KARL: Have you ever been invited to the White House?

RONNETT: Many times, yes.

PETER KARL: For briefings?

RONNETT: Yes, almost every month...twice...

KARL: On national security and all that sort of stuff?

RONNETT: Yes.

KARL: You've been invited?

RONNETT: Yes.

KARL: For what purpose?

RONNETT: To attend, to be briefed on certain situations...

(fade under)

KARL: But who is Dr. Alexander Ronnett? A Unit 5 investigation reveals that he belongs to a controversial organization that dates back to the days before World War II. It was called the Legion of the Archangel Michael. According to these counterintelligence reports, it was an extreme right, shock organization that used criminal means to achieve its goals. It was labeled as anti-Semitic and fascist.

The Legion was also known as the Iron Guard. It began in Romania in the 1930's. Its members swore blood oaths in support of its leaders. The goal of the Iron Guard was to purify the Romanian race; and to that end, the Guard supported the Nazis—and worked to rid Romania of communists and Jews.

Efraim Zuroff is with the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Israel.

EFRAIM ZUROFF: They were very xenophobic, very anti-Semitic. Their agenda was the exclusion of Jews, from Romanian politics, from Romanian life . . . they viewed the Jews as an enemy.

KARL: According to this document from the Simon Wiesenthal Center, Dr. Alexander Ronnett's name is on the list of Iron Guard members who were active during World War II. The list was turned over to the Justice Department. The Justice Department says it could not comment specifically on the report.

[Screen shows list of names: Dr. Alexandru Ronette-Rahmistriuc]

RONNETT: You can put a lot of things on paper, you can make a lot of accusations—and it is how you resolve them, that is the essence. And as it stands today, in my opinion the Justice Department of the United States is the injustice department.

KARL: Ronnett says he never was a member of the Legionnaires in Romania, but admits to being a strong supporter of the Legionnaires today. His office is lined with symbols representing the Legion. Ronnett says he's rewriting history to favor his point of view. His books talk about the Jewish menace in Romania in the 1930's and 40's. Quote:

“Because their exclusive and hoarding mentality had broken the financial and commercial equilibrium of the country and because by means of corruption and hidden pressures, the Jewish community had become a veritable state within a state.”

RONNETT: Economy and politics go hand in hand, you cannot separate them. So who has the money, who has the economical power, will control the political arena, too.

KARL: So you wanted to limit the number of Jews who were in power?

RONNETT: That's right . . . or . . . not eliminate them. It's just curtail their influence . . . economical influence.

PETER KARL: You should know that Dr. Ronnett was very active in the Reagan/Bush campaign in 1984, but he has taken an autographed picture of President Reagan off his wall because he disagrees now with the President's handling of the Iran-contra affair. Those involved in the Chicago Controversy are small in number, and we don't mean or intend to paint ethnic groups with the broad brush of anti-Semitism or fascism. Tomorrow at ten, more on the Chicago Controversy, and the Nazi connection.

(transition from report on Iran-contra hearings)

The Chicago Controversy

PART TWO

WMAQ-TV (NBC) Chicago

Evening News, Unit 5 Report

Broadcast Date: May 11, 1987

Peter Karl, Reporter — Marsha Bartel, Producer

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Transcript prepared by Political Research Associates.

RON MAGERS: . . . what Robert McFarlane and others did was try to find some private money to aid the contra cause, and some of the private money, and support, came from Chicago.

CAROL MARIN: Peter Karl and Unit 5 have learned the contra connection goes from Chicago all the way back to the Nazis of World War II. Peter . . .

PETER KARL: Carol and Ron, the Reagan Administration may be surprised to learn about the background of some of the people they did business with to deliver aid to the contras.

Go back in time forty years to World War II. Many Eastern European countries had a common goal: stop Russia and communism, no matter what the cost. And for at least some period, many turned to the Nazis for support. Now forty years later, it's a similar story in Nicaragua. They call themselves freedom fighters, and they are vowing to stop communism, no matter what the cost.

A Unit 5 investigation has found that some people with ties to Nazi Germany forty years ago are members of groups actively providing support to the Nicaraguan contras today. Even more surprising, some of those groups are right here.

[Screen: John Loftus, Former Investigator]

JOHN LOFTUS: Well, the Nazis didn't go away. They are in Chicago. They are working on another covert operation

(fade under)

KARL: John Loftus is a former investigator for the Justice Department. For two years he tracked down alleged Nazis living in America.

LOFTUS: If we had known who John Kosiak was, he would never have set foot in America.

KARL: In the early years of the war, John Kosiak was an engineer in Byelorussia, an area bordered by Russia on the east and Poland on the west. When the Nazis took over, a puppet government was established. And according to this roster, John Kosiak was promoted to a leadership role in that puppet government.

LOFTUS: It's the politicians like Kosiak that helped run the Nazi empire.

KARL: Kosiak wrote this book on the history of Byelorussia. He describes the ongoing relationship between the puppet government and the Nazis. He even shows this telegram sent to Adolph Hitler in June of 1944:

"Fuehrer: . . . The Byelorussian people will unbendingly fight together with the German soldiers against our common enemy—Bolshevism. We hope and believe in the final victory which under your direction will bring a happy future."

It was approved by the members of the Byelorussian Congress . . . Kosiak among them. John Kosiak is now living in the Chicago area.

LOFTUS: John Kosiak helps propagandize for the support of the Contras.

KARL: Kosiak refused to do an on-camera interview. But reports show he is active in several anticommunist organizations currently working to support the Nicaraguan contras. One group is the ABN, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. It's a worldwide organization, and its news magazine pictures ABN leaders with some powerful politicians, such as Vice-President George Bush, and even President Ronald Reagan.

LOFTUS: Backing the ABN is like hiring the Ku Klux Klan to be your consultant for school desegregation. Anyone who allows their name to be affiliated with the ABN . . . is going to be terribly embarrassed.

KARL: Why embarrassed? Because according to this book, *Inside the League*, in 1980 seven of the eleven leaders of the ABN, and several of the organizations they represent, are listed as having close ties to the Nazis. Example: the Romanian Legionnaires. U.S. Army counterintelligence reports describe the Legion's role as Nazi collaborators during World War II. It is listed as being anti-Semitic and fascist.

Dr. Alexander Ronnett, the Chicago leader of the Legion today, vehemently denies those charges, and he also says the ABN does not have any ties to the Nazis.

KARL: (to Ronnett) What do you say to the people who say ABN is a collection of neo-Nazis . . .

RONNETT: Neo-Nazis . . .

KARL: . . . fascists . . .

RONNETT: . . . fascists, and criminals, and everything like that. I would tell them, even the [unclear] “kiss my butt,” because you are an idiot, even to believe that, and mimic some other [unclear] that told you that.

KARL: The Chicago ABN is only a small part of the private network working to fund the contras, and there is nothing illegal about what they are doing. But what worries John Loftus is that they are speaking for Americans.

LOFTUS: There are a lot of good people in the world who are anti-communists. We don't have to resort to the dregs of humanity.

KARL: In fairness, we want to make it clear that the vast majority of Eastern Europeans had nothing to do with these organizations.

Controversial Veteran

WMAQ-TV (NBC) Chicago

Evening News

Broadcast Date: November 11, 1985

Carol Marin, Reporter — Don Mosely, Producer

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Transcript prepared by Political Research Associates.

Daley Plaza, November 1, 1985.

CAROL MARIN: This is the group called Civilian Military Assistance rallying in Daley Plaza a week and a half ago. Rallying in praise of Ronald Reagan's Central American policy; rallying to raise money to overthrow the Sandinistas of Nicaragua.

ART JONES: One, two, three, four. No more Reds, no more war.

MARIN: On this day the head CMA cheerleader was Art Jones. Back in the 70's, Art Jones was part of the Nazi movement in Cicero. Now in the 80's, his America First Committee works with national neo-Nazi and white far-right organizations.

JONES: Communism will be defeated.

MARIN: Jones, a Vietnam veteran, says he is a patriot, and wants to stop the spread of communism in Central America; so does the CMA and so does the World Anti-Communist League.

[Screen: John Singlaub-World Anti-Communist League]



Leaders of Civilian Military Assistance (CMA) rally in Chicago, Illinois November 1, 1985 sponsored by CMA of Illinois. From left to right, Art Jones, neo-Nazi leader of the reconstituted America First Committee, Guy A. Hoch, rally coordinator and acting secretary for CMA of Illinois, and Tom Posey, national director of CMA. (Photo © 1986 Paul L. Merideth/PRA)



Art Jones, in full Nazi regalia, enters Chicago's Gage Park Fieldhouse with his followers for a 1979 rally against integration. While Jones no longer wears a swastika in public, his speeches and writings continue to reflect a neo-Nazi agenda with virulent anti-Jewish and anti-Black pronouncements. (Photo © 1986 Chip Berlet/PRA)

SINGLAUB: I represent hundreds of thousands of Americans who are sympathetic to your cause and want to help.

MARIN: Both the CMA and the World Anti-Communist League, the latter reportedly at the urging of President Reagan, have been supplying financial support for Nicaraguan rebels. But for some time now there has been a question of whether these anticommunist groups have been attracting, and in some cases enlisting, people like Art Jones—people who combine neo-Nazism with their anticommunism.

CHIP BERLET: It's clear that there are neo-Nazis and anti-Semites in both the World Anti-Communist League and CMA.

MARIN: People who study the far right, like Chip Berlet of Midwest Research, believe there is within the anticommunist movement now, a struggle going on.

BERLET: Inside the World Anti-Communist League itself there has been a fight for almost twenty years; with the anticommunists who are not Nazis and not anti-Semites trying to get rid of the Nazis and anti-Semites...and they haven't succeeded.

CAROL MARIN: Tonight, in at least one case, they have, however. Since our recent inquiries about Art Jones and his relationship to the CMA, Jones has been thrown out by the Illinois leader of CMA who says his group disavows racism and anti-Semitism. Meanwhile, Art Jones tonight told us he will still privately help the CMA while he works on other things, like his next project—organizing the Klan, Aryan Nations, and neo-Nazis to protest the upcoming national holiday marking the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King.

APPENDIX 2

Chronology of 1988 Bush Campaign Controversy

Coalition of American Nationalities
Republican and Bush Campaign responses to charges
(with selected other responses)

by Chip Berlet

Adapted from an article in the *Boston Phoenix*

When the Bush campaign was revealed as having recruited an ethnic support coalition which included racists, fascists, anti-Semites, Nazi apologists, and even aging Nazi collaborators, it responded with a number of conflicting statements. At various points during the controversy the Bush campaign announced:

- It would investigate the charges.
- It would not investigate the charges.
- It was shocked by the charges.
- It could not be held responsible for screening everyone.

- It was unable to substantiate the charges.
- The unsubstantiated charges were reckless political attacks.
- No one would resign until the charges were substantiated.
- The persons resigning admitted no wrongdoing.
- The anti-Semites had resigned from the campaign.
- The issue was closed.

Clearly there are some mutually exclusive positions in the above list.

The charges primarily came from three sources: a report by Detroit-based free-lancer Russ Bellant (published by Political Research Associates in Cambridge); a series of articles by reporter Larry Cohler and Walter Ruby appearing in *Washington Jewish Week*; and articles by David Lee Preston in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Both press sources focused on the Bush campaign's recruitment of Eastern European nationalists who had emigrated to the U.S. after World War II, having fled countries such as Latvia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and the Croation section of Yugoslavia. As the Bellant report revealed, these ethnic activists had gravitated towards the Republican Party due to a shared emphasis on rolling back communism and gaining independence for the nations near the Baltic coast and the Balkans which now are under Soviet domination.

Some of these ethnic emigrés, who champion "liberation" for these "Captive Nations," had fled their homelands due to their allegiance to Nazi Germany. Their continued support for fascism and their anti-Semitic views were aspects of their political work kept hidden while toiling on behalf of George Bush and the Republican Party.

A chronological look at the controversy shows how artfully the Bush campaign sidestepped the charges while simultaneously placating its Jewish and emigré constituencies.

8/2/88—A Bush campaign news conference announces the formation of Coalition of American Nationalities to coordinate the campaign activities of various ethnic groups.

9/1/88—Political Research Associates (PRA) mails galley copies of the report by Bellant to twenty reporters and news outlets. Press embargo is listed as 9/9/88 in the A.M.

9/8/88—The story officially surfaces in the press when *Washington Jewish Week* charges several Bush ethnic advisory committee members are well-known anti-Semites and profascists, including persons who opposed the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigation (OSI) and its probe into emigré Nazi collaborators in the U.S. The article focuses on Bush ethnic advisors Jerome Brentar and Ignatius Billinsky and includes material

on the Republican Heritage Groups Council, Florian Galdau, Philip Guarino, and Laszlo Pasztor from the Bellant report. [Bellant also “faxed” supporting documentation on Galdau to *Washington Jewish Week* prior to publication of the article. Bellant was not identified as the author of the PRA report until the third article in the *Washington Jewish Week* series.]

- Brentar has suggested the OSI search for Nazi war criminals is a communist plot, and worked with groups claiming the Holocaust is a Jewish hoax.
- Billinsky, a longtime critic of OSI, is president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America which Bellant describes as “heavily influenced but not totally controlled by” anti-Semites, collaborators with Hitler, and apologists for nazism.
- Galdau is described by Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal as the leader of the Romanian pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic movement in New York City.
- Guarino is linked in published accounts to the fascist-oriented P-2 masonic lodge in Italy, and has made racist statements about nonwhite ethnic minorities.

Mark Goodin, spokesperson for Bush campaign, announces, “The Reagan-Bush Administration supports OSI and George Bush will support OSI as president,” and pledges the campaign will look into the allegations. “If there is anything to them, we’ll take action,” says Goodin.

James Baker, Bush campaign chairman, adds, “There is no place in this campaign for anti-Semitism, racism, bigotry, or people who espouse those views. Any individuals who espouse those views will not be welcome in this campaign.”

Response in the Jewish community is quick. Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, says the charges are a shocking revelation:

It suggests a high degree of either insensitivity or incompetence on the part of George Bush’s staff. I’m sure George Bush is personally unaware of the sordid personal history of these people. But now that he has been made aware of them we have every right to expect him not only to remove these people but to repudiate what they stand for.

Albert Vorspan, senior vice-president of the Union of American Hebrew

Congregations calls the composition of the Coalition “outrageous and frightening. The inclusion of notorious extremists in a committee with such close ties to the vice president violates the principles that George Bush has publicly espoused.”

Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, urges “an immediate investigation by the Bush campaign of the backgrounds of members of the Bush campaign ethnic coalition who are known anti-Semites and have been linked to Holocaust revisionist and anti-OSI (Office of Special Investigations) activities.” Foxman adds, “There is no place in any political campaign for anti-Semites. The League urges that these persons be summarily removed.”

9/9/88—Bush spokesperson Mark Goodin announces Jerome Brentar has resigned, saying Brentar’s “association with [convicted Nazi war criminal] John Demjanjuk put him at odds with Vice-President Bush.” No mention is made of the more substantial charges regarding Brentar.

As for Galdau and Guarino, Goodin says, “We have absolutely no substantiation at this point of any of these charges.”

Michael S. Miller, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council, however, says his group has information supporting the *Washington Jewish Week* descriptions of Jerome Brentar, Florian Galdau, and Philip Guarino. “There’s absolutely no doubt in my mind that these three individuals have expressed sympathies with nazism, with fascism,” Miller tells the *New York Times*. The Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles is also cited by the *Times* as having corroborating background material.

9/10/88—The *Philadelphia Inquirer* runs an article by David Lee Preston which corroborates much of the material in *Washington Jewish Week*. Preston cites the forthcoming Bellant report.

9/11/88—The first section of the Bellant report is officially released to the press. The report describes how the Republican Party has been recruiting ethnic facists, racists, and anti-Semites for over 20 years, through its Heritage Groups Council.

9/11/88—The *Washington Post* carries a story on Bush advisor Fred Malek, who resigns from the Bush campaign almost immediately.

- Malek, according to the *Post*, while serving as an aide to President Nixon, had compiled lists of employees with “Jewish-sounding” names—names of persons Nixon suspected were part of a “Jewish Cabal” at the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

9/11/88—The *Boston Globe* carries a summary of the charges made in the Bellant report concerning the Republican Heritage Groups Council.

9/12/88—The Bush campaign announces five more resignations in addi-

tion to Brentar, in a stated effort to prevent Bush from being hurt by what are called “politically motivated attacks.”

The statement of resignation issued on behalf of the five panel members says in part:

We have been attacked unfairly by George Bush’s political opponents. These . . . attacks are aimed at neutralizing the support George Bush has and will continue to have in the ethnic community.

In addition to Brentar, who previously had resigned, the five new resignees include Galdau and Guarino as well as Ignatius Billinsky, Laszlo Pasztor, and Bohdan Fedorak.

- Pasztor, who recruited many of the ethnic leaders with questionable backgrounds for the Republican Heritage Groups Council, himself briefly served during World War II as an official in a Nazi-collaborationist Hungarian government controlled by an anti-Semitic organization, the Arrow Cross.
- Fedorak, also a leading critic of OSI, hosted the July 1988 campaign appearance by George Bush cosponsored by a pro-Nazi group.

Mark Goodin, spokesperson for Bush, dismisses these charges as “little more than politically inspired garbage . . . the campaign looked into the allegations against these individuals and was unable to substantiate them.”

Bush responds to reporters questions by saying: “Nobody’s giving in. These people left of their own volition. We’re not accusing anybody of anything . . . We’re getting into a very peculiar deal where some people are accusing people . . . I don’t like it a bit.”

A few days later, Radi Slavoff, national co-chairman of Bulgarians for Bush, becomes the seventh ethnic panel member to resign.

- Slavoff is charged with working in a national front which was aligned with Nazis, and heading up the Heritage Groups Council which has become a safe harbor for anti-Semites and pro-Nazis emigrés.

9/15/88—The entire Bellant report is released. The report includes a photo of Bush on the campaign trail at a July 1988 event co-sponsored by the pro-Nazi Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Also reproduced is a 1984 Republican ethnic-pride calendar which urges the celebration of “Croatian Independence Day.” The Croatia state was run by a Nazi-puppet government which oversaw the slaughter of over 500,000 Serbians and Jews.

9/15/88—With the resignations out of the way, the Bush counterattack begins. Bush spokesperson Mark Goodin denounces Bush's political enemies for disseminating "reckless allegations." Although he claims the Bush campaign has not seen the Bellant report, Goodin says "The campaign has been unable to substantiate any of the allegations . . . They are some of the most reckless allegations leveled against anybody . . . This has the unmistakable stink of Boston Harbor." Bush campaign supporters begin to refer to the charges as "Sasso-like attacks," and tell reporters the Bellant report is part of a Dukakis dirty-tricks effort. In fact, Political Research Associates has no ties to the Dukakis campaign and had moved to Cambridge from Chicago the previous summer, but the smear sticks. Most major media drop the story.

9/15/88—For those newspapers still covering the story, the Bush campaign's statements start to unravel. *Washington Jewish Week* reports that Florian Galdau says he had never been asked to resign and had no intention of doing so. According to the newspaper, Galdau "said he had never signed a statement issued by the Bush campaign in his name and that of four others whose resignations the campaign announced." Says Galdau, "I did not resign. Why should I resign? I don't want to resign. I was appointed [to the Bush committee] . . . and I don't think they have the right to ask me to resign."

Galdau's son, Florin: "[The Bush campaign] called my father [on Sept. 12] and denied they had any information whatsoever on any of the allegations made [against] him. Neither [the caller] or anyone else in the Bush campaign asked my father to resign—and he did not resign . . . If they ask him to resign, he will tell them to go to hell."

Meanwhile on a Cable Network News program Jerome Brentar insists he never resigned from the Bush ethnic panel; and he denies that the Nazis deliberately gassed Jews during the Holocaust.

Bush spokesperson David Sandor quickly responds: "This is obviously in conflict with what we have said. We stand by what we have said . . . We didn't force them to resign . . . George Bush is their friend. They will continue to support him. They stand by their statement."

9/16/88—Jerome A. Brentar tells the *Philadelphia Inquirer* he is "definitely still in the campaign, still in the coalition . . . I was asked to step down. I told them that I'll step down if they send me a letter outlining why I have to step down, what I did wrong to earn this degradation . . . Until I get such a letter, I feel I'm still part of the Coalition."

The Bush campaign finally takes its only stand relating to the actual issues involved, and issues the following statement: "Jerome Brentar and this campaign disagreed . . . We were at fundamental odds over some very important beliefs in this campaign toward racial and religious tolerance, and

he was asked to step down . . . as far as we're concerned he's no longer part of this campaign."

9/18/88—*Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter David Lee Preston reports that since 1969, several dozen alleged Nazis, fascists, and anti-Semites have held leadership posts in the Heritage Groups Council. He quotes Allan A. Ryan, Jr. (now with the legal office of Harvard University but formerly director of the Justice Department's OSI war criminal probe) as saying he had read Bellant's report and found it to be "well documented and reliable."

Preston also reports that in 1972 a convicted Nazi war criminal Boleslavs Maikovskis of Minneola, N.Y. served on the advisory board of the Latvian-American section of the Republican's Heritage Council for the Re-Election of the President.

9/22/88—In *Washington Jewish Week* the Republican National Committee's Kathryn Murray admits she has not read the evidence contained in the Bellant report, but claims the report is "filled with ridiculous charges" and "insults all ethnic Americans." Murray says the RNC has no intention of examining evidence of the extremist background presented against anyone in the report. The paper, however, reports ADL has evidence backing charges against four of the persons resigning from Bush campaign.

The *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* quotes Albert Maruggi, RNC press secretary, saying there were no plans to investigate the backgrounds of any of the ethnic group members cited in the Bellant report. Incredibly, four of the Bush ethnic panel members who resigned, Guarino, Slavoff, Galdau, and Pasztor, are still active in the RNC's Heritage Groups Council.

9/27/88—The *Boston Herald* carries an Alan Dershowitz column where Dershowitz reveals he has independent knowledge of some of Bellant's charges. "I first heard about the presence of Nazis in the hierarchy of the Republican Party as far back as 1970." In the course of working on the New York governor's race, Dershowitz says he "learned that several members of a Republican 'Captive Nations Committee' were Nazi sympathizers who had been personally involved in the Holocaust in Europe, as well as with racist and neo-Nazi groups in America."

9/27/88—*New York Post* columnist Pete Hamill in a column titled "George Bush and his fascist fan club" quotes Menachem Rosensaft, president of the Labor Zionist Alliance and leader of the International Network of Children of the Holocaust:

He accepted their resignations. And he said he was against anti-Semitism. But when they were gone, an aide said the charges against these men were "unsubstantiated and politically motivated." Clearly Bush wanted them out once they were exposed, but he still wants the votes of their constituency.

9/29/88—Ron Kauffman, Northeast political director for the Bush campaign tells the *Jewish Advocate* newspaper the Bellant report is “totally outrageous.” Mark Goodin, Bush campaign spokesman, denounces Bellant’s report and says people who voluntarily resigned from campaign “vigorously defended” themselves against the charges. “We were not able to substantiate any of the allegations . . . These individuals maintain fierce opposition to the charges. We certainly accept that explanation.” [At no time during the controversy did the Bush campaign contact Political Research Associates or Russ Bellant.]

11/1/88—Author Charles R. Allen Jr., an expert on the emigré Nazi network, questions the candor of Bush when he “professed ignorance of [the] pro-Nazi backgrounds” of the ethnic campaign supporters. In a *Village Voice* article, Allen produces a 1983 photograph of George Bush shaking hands with Yaroslav Stetsko, then leader of the pro-Nazi Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The photo was taken at a White House reception. Bush signed the photo: “To the Honorable Yaroslav Stetsko with best wishes—George Bush.” Allen also produced a 1976 RNC memo in which Bush, as RNC Chair, is reported to have reviewed the past work of the Republican Heritage Groups Council and set goals for the coming year.

11/4/88—The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reports charges concerning the background of Bush ethnic coalition leader Akselis Mangulis. Even before the story appears in print, the Bush campaign announces Mangulis has resigned, although the woman who answers the phone at the Mangulis residence tells reporters Mr. Mangulis was not asked to resign and would not resign.

- Mangulis, a Latvian member of CAN, is accused of belonging to the Latvian Legion which during World War II was connected to the Nazi SS.

Prior to the election, the charges in Bellant’s report are not covered in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Associated Press*, or *United Press International*. Coverage was extensive in the Jewish daily and weekly press, as well as alternative weeklies and monthlies, but for most of the country the story was never examined outside coverage of the initial resignations.

Following the election, on November 19, 1988, the *New York Times* ran an Op-Ed page column by Russ Bellant. One *New York Times* editor, at a media forum at Harvard University, had claimed the newspaper had thoroughly covered the charges raised in the Bellant report. In fact, the post-election column by Bellant is the first, and only, mention of the substance of Bellant’s charges. The column details the charges against several of the Bush supporters discharged during the campaign, and concludes that President “Bush owes Americans a complete explanation.”

On February 2, 1990, a *USA Today* article by Tom Squitieri notes that

“Four key Republican activists, ousted from George Bush’s 1988 presidential campaign amid charges of anti-Semitic or past profascist links, are back working for the party.” Fred Malek and Phil Guarino are named as having returned to work with “full party support.” But “questions persist about” Laszlo Pasztor and Radi Slavoff, writes Squitieri after interviewing Republican National Committee chief counsel Benjamin Ginsberg, quoted as saying Heritage Groups Council officials have been warned that they still need to “alleviate the taint of those charges.”

In late 1990, Political Research Associates issues a press release charging the Republican Party has yet to answer the charges in the 1988 Bellant Report, despite promises made during the Bush campaign that such an investigation would take place.

In response, *Washington Jewish Week* raises the issue in a November 29, 1990 column by Nancy Watzman. The column chronicles a series of letters between PRA and RNC chief counsel Ginsberg, and concludes that “There’s no excuse not to examine the documentation Political Research Associates has provided the RNC.”

In the December 12–18, 1990 issue of *In These Times*, Joel Bleifuss reports that during the Bush presidential campaign, the GOP “claimed it was launching an internal investigation. The investigation, however, never materialized, and two years later [four of the] fascists remain active in the National Republican Heritage Groups Council.”

APPENDIX 3

The Republican Ethnic Division

The Republican National Committee has maintained an ethnic outreach component since 1951. Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, former congressman Edward J. Derwinski, Anna Chennault, and Laszlo C. Pasztor have been among the key leaders of this effort for many years. Below is a chart from a Republican National Committee memo outlining the official chairman, predecessor formations, and early years of the Republican Heritage Groups Council.

ETHNIC/NATIONALITIES/HERITAGE GROUPS DIVISION

1951–76 Division Chairman

1951–53 Joseph A. Jackovics
1953–55 (Vacant)
1956 Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky
1957–58 (Vacant)
1959–60 Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky
1961–62 (Vacant)
1963–69 Cong. Edward J.
Derwinski

Heritage Groups Division

1970–73 Laszlo C. Pasztor, Dir.
1973–76 Julian M. Niemcyk, Dir.

National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council

1971–74 Laszlo C. Pasztor
1974–76 Cong. Edward J.
Derwinski

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- ACPS
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- ACWF
See American Council for World Freedom (ACWF)
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See Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL)
- AIA
See Aircraft Industries Association (AIA)
- AIM
See Accuracy in Media (AIM)
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See African National Congress (ANC)
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