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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Blackwell, Morton: Files

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File Folder: Nuclear Freeze ^{12 16} (7 of 10)

FOIA ID: 99-026/Wittner

OA-9088 OA 9079

Date: 08/13/1999

gm 4/29/08

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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1- memo	James Baker to William Clark re: nuclear freeze. 2p. <i>R 7/24/00 F99-026 #1</i>	8/16/82	P1
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RESTRICTIONS

P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].

P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
F-5 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

MEMBERS WHO BECAME COSPONSORS SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE 97TH CONGRESS

H.J.R. 521 BY ZABLOCKI (D-WI) -- UNITED STATES POLICY WITH
 RESPECT TO FREEZE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND APPROVAL OF THE SALT II AGREEMENT

CURRENTLY 182 COSPONSORS:160 DEMOCRATS, 22 REPUBLICANS

06/23/82 -- AS INTRODUCED (20)

BARNES (D-MD)	FASCELL (D-FL)	ROSENTHAL (D-NY)
BINGHAM (D-NY)	GEJDENSON (D-CT)	SHAMANSKY (D-OH)
BONKER (D-WA)	HAMILTON (D-IN)	SOLARZ (D-NY)
CROCKETT (D-MI)	LANTOS (D-CA)	STUDDS (D-MA)
DYMALLY (D-CA)	LEACH (R-IA)	WOLPE (D-MI)
ECKART (D-OH)	LE BOUTILLIER (R-NY)	YATRON (D-PA)
ERDAHL (R-MN)	MICA (D-FL)	

07/19/82 -- ADDED (162)

ADDABBO (D-NY)	FLORIO (D-NJ)	PANETTA (D-CA)
AKAKA (D-HI)	FOGLIETTA (D-PA)	PATTERSON (D-CA)
ALBOSTA (D-MI)	FOLEY (D-WA)	PEASE (D-OH)
ALEXANDER (D-AR)	FORD, WILLIAM (D-MI)	PEPPER (D-FL)
ANDERSON (D-CA)	FORD, HAROLD (D-TN)	PERKINS (D-KY)
ANNUNZIO (D-IL)	FORSYTHE (R-NJ)	PEYSER (D-NY)
ANTHONY (D-AR)	FOWLER (D-GA)	PRICE (D-IL)
AUCOIN (D-OR)	FRANK (D-MA)	RAHALL (D-WV)
BEDELL (D-IA)	GARCIA (D-NY)	RANGEL (D-NY)
BEILENSON (D-CA)	GLICKMAN (D-KS)	RATCHFORD (D-CT)
BENJAMIN (D-IN)	GOODLING (R-PA)	REUSS (D-WI)
BENNETT (D-FL)	GRAY (D-PA)	RICHMOND (D-NY)
BIAGGI (D-NY)	GREEN (R-NY)	RODINO (D-NJ)
BLANCHARD (D-MI)	GUARINI (D-NJ)	ROE (D-NJ)
BOGGS (D-LA)	GUNDERSON (R-WI)	ROSTENKOWSKI (D-IL)
BOLAND (D-MA)	HALL, TONY (D-OH)	ROYBAL (D-CA)
BOLLING (D-MO)	HARKIN (D-IA)	RUSSO (D-IL)
BONER (D-TN)	HAWKINS, AUGUSTUS (D-CA)	SABO (D-MN)
BONIOR (D-MI)	HECKLER (R-MA)	SAVAGE (D-IL)
BOWEN (D-MS)	HOLLENBECK (R-NJ)	SCHEUER (D-NY)
BRODHEAD (D-MI)	HOWARD (D-NJ)	SCHNEIDER (R-RI)
BROWN, GEORGE (D-CA)	HUGHES (D-NJ)	SCHROEDER (D-CO)
BROWN, HANK (R-CO)	JACOBS (D-IN)	SCHUMER (D-NY)
BURTON, JOHN (D-CA)	KASTENMEIER (D-WI)	SEIBERLING (D-OH)
BURTON, PHILLIP (D-CA)	KILDEE (D-MI)	SHANNON (D-MA)
CHISHOLM (D-NY)	KOGOVSSEK (D-CO)	SHARP (D-IN)
CLAY (D-MO)	LAFALCE (D-NY)	SIMON (D-IL)
CLINGER (R-PA)	LEHMAN (D-FL)	SMITH, NEAL (D-IA)
COELHO (D-CA)	LELAND (D-TX)	ST GERMAIN (D-RI)
COLLINS, CARDISS (D-IL)	LONG, GILLIS (D-LA)	STARK (D-CA)
CONTE (R-MA)	LOWRY (D-WA)	STOKES (D-OH)
CONYERS (D-MI)	LUNDINE (D-NY)	SWIFT (D-WA)
COUGHLIN (R-PA)	MCCLOSKEY (R-CA)	SYNAR (D-OK)
COYNE, JAMES (R-PA)	MCHUGH (D-NY)	TAUKE (R-IA)
COYNE, WILLIAM (D-PA)	MCKINNEY (R-CT)	TRAXLER (D-MI)
DASCHLE (D-SD)	MARKEY (D-MA)	UDALL (D-AZ)
DELLUMS (D-CA)	MARKS (R-PA)	VENTO (D-MN)
DE NARDIS (R-CT)	MATSUI (D-CA)	VOLKMER (D-MO)
DICKS (D-WA)	MAVROULES (D-MA)	WALGREN (D-PA)
DIXON, JULIAN (D-CA)	MAZZOLI (D-KY)	WASHINGTON (D-IL)
DORGAN (D-ND)	MIKULSKI (D-MD)	WAXMAN (D-CA)
DOWNEY (D-NY)	MILLER, GEORGE (D-CA)	WEAVER (D-OR)
DWYER (D-NJ)	MINETA (D-CA)	WEISS (D-NY)
EARLY (D-MA)	MINISH (D-NJ)	WILLIAMS, PAT (D-MT)
EDGAR (D-PA)	MITCHELL, PARREN (D-MD)	WIRTH (D-CO)
EDWARDS, DON (D-CA)	MOAKLEY (D-MA)	WRIGHT (D-TX)
ERTEL (D-PA)	MOFFETT (D-CT)	WYDEN (D-OR)
EVANS, DAVID (D-IN)	MOLLOHAN (D-WV)	YATES (D-IL)
EVANS, COOPER (R-IA)	NEAL (D-NC)	YOUNG, ROBERT (D-MO)
FARY (D-IL)	NOWAK (D-NY)	ZEFERETTI (D-NY)
FAZIO (D-CA)	OAKAR (D-OH)	DE LUGO (D-VI)
FERRARO (D-NY)	OBERSTAR (D-MN)	FAUNTROY (D-DC)
FINDLEY (R-IL)	OBEY (D-WI)	HOYER (D-MD)
FITHIAN (D-IN)	OTTINGER (D-NY)	KENNELLY (D-CT)

MEMBERS WHO HAVE NOT CO-SPONSORED EITHER H.J. RES. 538 (BROOMFIELD)
OR H.J. RES. 521 (HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE RESOLUTION)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Telephone</u>
Andrews, Ike F. (D-N.C., 4th)	2201 RHOB	225-1784
Applegate, Douglas (D-Ohio, 18th)	435 CHOB	225-6265
Aspin, Les (D-Wis., 1st)	442 CHOB	225-3031
Bafalis, L.A. (Skip) (R-Fla., 10th)	2433 RHOB	225-2536
Barnard, Doug, Jr. (D-Ga., 10th)	236 CHOB	225-4101
Bethune, Ed (R-Ark., 2nd)	1535 LHOB	225-2506
Bevill, Tom (D-Ala., 4th)	2302 RHOB	225-4876
Bouquard, Marilyn Lloyd (D-Tenn., 3rd)	2334 RHOB	225-3271
Brinkley, Jack (D-Ga., 3rd)	2470 RHOB	225-5901
Brooks, Jack (D-Tex., 9th)	2449 RHOB	225-6565
Chappie, Eugene A. (R-Calif., 1st)	1730 LHOB	225-3076
Conable, Barber B., Jr. (R-N.Y., 35th)	237 CHOB	225-3615
Corrada, Baltasar (D-P.Rico, Res. Comm'r.)	1410 LHOB	225-2615
Craig, Larry E. (R-Idaho, 1st)	515 CHOB	225-6611
D'Amours, Norman E. (D-N.H., 1st)	2242 RHOB	225-5456
Deckard, Joel (R-Ind., 8th)	125 CHOB	225-4636
de la Garza, E. (D-Tex., 15th)	1434 LHOB	225-2531
Derrick, Butler (D-S.C., 3rd)	133 CHOB	225-5301
Dingell, John D. (D-Mich., 16th)	2221 RHOB	225-4071
Donnelly, Brian (D-Mass., 11th)	1019 LHOB	225-3215
Dowdy, Wayne (D-Miss., 4th)	1631 LHOB	225-5865
Dunn, Jim (R-Mich., 6th)	1511 LHOB	225-4872
Dyson, Roy P. (D-Md., 1st)	1020 LHOB	225-5311
English, Glenn (D-Okla., 6th)	104 CHOB	225-5565
Evans, Billy Lee (D-Ga., 8th)	113 CHOB	225-6531
Evans, Thomas B., Jr. (R-Del., At Lge.)	316 CHOB	225-4165
Fenwick, Millicent (R-N.J., 5th)	1230 LHOB	225-7300
Fields, Jack (R-Tex., 8th)	510 CHOB	225-4901
Fish, Hamilton, Jr. (R-N.Y., 25th)	2227 RHOB	225-5441
Flipppo, Ronnie G. (D-Ala., 5th)	405 CHOB	225-4801
Frost, Martin (D-Tex., 24th)	1238 LHOB	225-3605
Fuqua, Don (D-Fla., 2nd)	2269 RHOB	225-5235
Gaydos, Joseph M. (D-Pa., 20th)	2366 RHOB	225-4631
Gephardt, Richard A. (D-Mo., 3rd)	218 CHOB	225-2671
Gibbons, Sam (D-Fla., 7th)	2204 RHOB	225-3376
Ginn, Bo (D-Ga., 1st)	2135 RHOB	225-5831
Gonzalez, Henry B. (D-Tex., 20th)	2252 RHOB	225-3236
Gore, Albert, Jr. (D-Tenn., 4th)	1131 LHOB	225-4231
Gramm, Phil (D-Tex., 6th)	1721 LHOB	225-2002
Gregg, Judd (R-N.H., 2nd)	503 CHOB	225-5206
Hall, Ralph M. (D-Tex., 4th)	1223 LHOB	225-6673
Hall, Sam B., Jr. (D-Tex., 1st)	318 CHOB	225-3035
Hammerschmidt, John Paul (R-Ark., 3rd)	2207 RHOB	225-4301
Hance, Kent (D-Tex., 19th)	1214 LHOB	225-4005
Hatcher, Charles F. (D-Ga., 2nd)	1726 LHOB	225-3631

<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Telephone</u>
Hefner, W.G. (Bill) (D-N.C., 8th)	2161 RHOB	225-3715
Heftel, Cecil (cec) (D-Hawaii, 1st)	1030 LHOB	225-2726
Hendon, Bill (R-N.C., 11th)	212 CHOB	225-6401
Hertel, Dennis M. (D-Mich., 14th)	1017 LHOB	225-6276
Hightower, Jack (D-Tex., 13th)	2348 RHOB	225-3706
Holland, Ken (D-S.C., 5th)	2431 RHOB	225-5501
Hopkins, Larry J. (R-Ky., 6th)	331 CHOB	225-4706
Horton, Frank (R-N.Y., 34th)	2229 RHOB	225-4916
Hubbard, Carroll, Jr. (D-Ky., 1st)	2244 RHOB	225-3115
Ireland, Andrew P. (D-Fla., 8th)	1124 LHOB	225-5015
Jeffords, James M. (R-Vt., At Lge.)	1524 LHOB	225-4115
Jenkins, Ed (D-Ga., 9th)	217 CHOB	225-5211
Jones, Ed (D-Tenn., 7th)	108 CHOB	225-4714
Jones, James R. (D-Okla., 1st)	203 CHOB	225-2211
Jones, Walter B. (D-N.C., 1st)	241 CHOB	225-3101
Kazen, Abraham, Jr. (D-Tex., 23rd)	2408 RHOB	225-4511
Kemp, Jack F. (R-N.Y., 38th)	2235 RHOB	225-5265
Leath, Marvin (D-Tex., 11th)	336 CHOB	225-6105
Lee, Gary A. (R-N.Y., 33rd)	322 CHOB	225-3333
Leyitas, Elliott H. (D-Ga., 4th)	2416 RHOB	225-4272
Long, Clarence D. (D-Md., 2nd)	2405 RHOB	225-3061
Luken, Thomas A. (D-Ohio, 2nd)	240 CHOB	225-2216
McCurdy, Dave (D-Okla., 4th)	313 CHOB	225-6165
McDade, Joseph M. (R-Pa., 10th)	2370 RHOB	225-3731
McGrath, Raymond J. (R-N.Y., 5th)	506 CHOB	225-5516
Mattox, Jim (D-Tex., 5th)	1111 LHOB	225-2231
Miller, Clarence E. (R-Ohio, 10th)	2208 RHOB	225-5131
Moorhead, Carlos J. (R-Calif., 22nd)	2346 RHOB	225-4176
Mottl, Ronald M. (D-Ohio, 23rd)	2459 RHOB	225-5731
Murphy, Austin J. (D-Pa., 22nd)	204 CHOB	225-4665
Natcher, William H. (D-Ky., 2nd)	2333 RHOB	225-3501
Nelson, Bill (D-Fla., 9th)	307 CHOB	225-3671
Nichols, Bill (D-Ala., 3rd)	2417 RHOB	225-3261
O'Brien, George M. (R-Ill., 17th)	2439 RHOB	225-3635
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr. (D-Mass., 8th)	2231 RHOB	225-5111
Patman, William (D-Tex., 14th)	1408 LHOB	225-2831
Paul, Ron (R-Tex., 22nd)	1234 LHOB	225-5951
Petri, Thomas E. (R-Wis., 6th)	1024 LHOB	225-2476
Pickle, J.J. (D-Tex., 10th)	242 CHOB	225-4865
Porter, John Edward (R-Ill., 10th)	1529 LHOB	225-4835
Pritchard, Joel (R-Wash., 1st)	2263 RHOB	225-6311
Pursell, Carl D. (R-Mich., 2nd)	1414 LHOB	225-4401
Rinaldo, Matthew J. (R-N.J., 12th)	2338 RHOB	225-5361
Rose, Charlie (D-N.C., 7th)	2435 RHOB	225-2731
Roth, Tobias (Toby) (R-Wis., 8th)	215 CHOB	225-5665
Roukema, Marge (R-N.J., 7th)	226 CHOB	225-4465
Santini, Jim (D-Nev., At Lge.)	2429 RHOB	225-5965
Schulze, Richard T. (R-Pa., 5th)	2444 RHOB	225-5761
Sensenbrenner, F. James, Jr. (R-Wis., 9th)	315 CHOB	225-5101
Siljander, Mark D. (R-Mich., 4th)	1022 LHOB	225-3761
Skelton, Ike (D-Mo., 4th)	1404 LHOB	225-2876

<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Telephone</u>
Smith, Christopher H. (R-N.J., 4th)	513 CHOB	225-3765
Smith, Joseph F. (D-Pa., 3rd)	1723 LHOB	225-6271
Smith, Virginia (R-Neb., 3rd)	2202 RHOB	225-6435
Snowe, Olympia J. (R-Maine, 2nd)	130 CHOB	225-6306
Stump, Bob (D-Ariz., 3rd)	211 CHOB	225-4576
Sunia, Fofu I.F. (D-Am. Samoa, Del.)	1709 LHOB	225-8577
Wampler, William C. (R-Va., 9th)	2407 RHOB	225-3861
Watkins, Wes (D-Okla., 3rd)	137 CHOB	225-4565
Weber, Edward F. (R-Ohio, 9th)	512 CHOB	225-4146
Whitley, Charles O. (D-N.C., 3rd)	404 CHOB	225-3415
Whittaker, Bob (R-Kan., 5th)	516 CHOB	225-3911
Whitten, Jamie L. (D-Miss., 1st)	2314 RHOB	225-4306
Wilson, Charles (D-Tex., 2nd)	2265 RHOB	225-2401
Won Pat, Antonio Borja (D-Guam, Del.)	2441 RHOB	225-1188

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

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

Adams, John
Fleet Reserve Assn.

Allenn, Ann
American Logistics Assn.

Ashkinaze, Al
Young Americans for Freedom

Baker, Warren
Navy League of the U.S.

Barlow, Jeff
Heritage Foundation

Barr, Noreen
Eagle Forum

Bereskin, Peter
National Republican Heritage Groups

Bierman, Everett
Republican Staff Director Foreign Affairs Committee

Billings, Bill
National Christian Action Coalition

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

Burton, Nancy
N.C.P.A.C.

Byron, Patricia
T.E.L.L.

Carney, Hon. William
Congressman, U.S.

Catlin, Ben
Air Force Assn.

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

Curren, Patrick
Conservatives Against Liberal Legislation

Fisher, John
American Security Council

Folber, Robert
The Heritage Foundation

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

Gallant, Dick
Military Order of the Purple Heart

Graham, Gen. Daniel
Coalition for Peace Through Strength

Galliano, Ralph
Congressional Majority Committee

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

Harrison, Tom
Conservative Club of Alexandria

Heckman, Bob
Fund for a Conservative Majority

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

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

Hvasta, John
Slovak World Congress

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

Knight, Albion
Stanford Research Institute

Kramish, Dr. Arnold
Coalition for Peace Through Strength

Lozansky, Ed
Comm. of Separated Families, Sakharov Committee

Makris, Tony
American Security Council

Marshall, Earl Jr.
Air Force Sergeants Assn.

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

McAuliffe, Kathleen
Air Force Assn.

McGuigan, Pat
Comm. for the Survival of a Free Congress

Messing, Andy
The Conservative Caucus

Mikus, Dr. Joseph
Slovak World Congress

Montes, Jose
Council for Inter-American Security

Montgomery, Forest
Natl. Assn. of Evangelicals

Moore, Powell
Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations

Moorer, Adm. Thomas
Assn. of Naval Aviation

Olszewski, Alan
The American Legion

Paquette, Patricia
Conservative Victory Fund

Parker, J.A.
The Lincoln Institute

Pendrak, Helen
T.E.L.L.

Pimm, Sam
Young Americans for Freedom

Richardson, Gen. Robert
American Security Council

Roberts, Gen. J. Milnor
Reserve Officers Assn.

Robinson, Ron
Young America's Foundation

Rostow, Eugene
Director, Arms Control, State Department

Ruph, Morgan
AMVETS

Russell, Donald
AMVETS

Sheffey, John
National Assn. for Uniformed Svcs.

Sleeper, Col. Raymond
American Security Council

Smith, Tom M.
Blinded Veterans Assn.

Steadman, Karen
National Defense Council

Stone, Brad
The Congressional Club

Sullivan, Harry
The American Legion

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

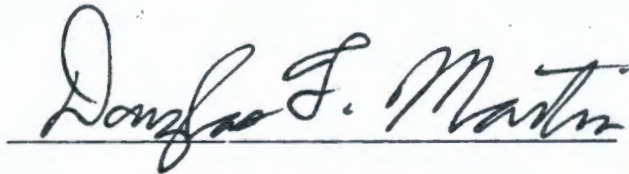
Thomann, Col. Charles E.
National Military Intell. Assn.

Wait, Pat
Leadership Action

Wilson, Col. Minter
Retired Officers Assn.

Winik, Jay
Jewish War Veterans

Zseleczy, Emil J.
National Republican Heritage Group Council



Douglas F. Martin
Office of Public Liaison - White House

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 27, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ELIZABETH H. DOLE

THRU: DIANA LOZANO

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL *MB*

SUBJECT: Administration Nuclear Freeze Battle

Thank you for sending me Judge Clark's August 16 memo to Jim Baker on this subject. This is a very important issue which we dare not ignore.

The pro-defense organizations are in close communication through a coalition, The Stanton Group, organized and chaired by Paul Weyrich. I strongly suggest that Judge Clark make a presentation on this topic at an early meeting of this alternate-Thursday coalition.

There are already many organizations with a wealth of resources and expertise interested in this topic. Just a clear expression of Administration cooperation would spur major efforts in outside organizations.

Nuclear Freeze



FYI
Copies

to
E.H.D.

Ken Cribb

Ron Mann

Bill Schwab

Susan Kramer

Ang Maritz

✓ file

Neale
Frye

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EHD
Red

ATTACHMENT

Bill T.

Document No. 081456SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 8/27/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: NUCLEAR FREEZE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FULLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	WILLIAMSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DOLE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VON DAMM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

May we have your comments on the attached as soon as possible.
Thank you.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ATTACHMENT

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
(x2702)

Response:

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 23, 1997
By Greg Arnam, NARA, Date 9/10/97

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

2

- o A send-off for Rowny and Nitze, as they return to Europe in October.
- o Calls or letters to people like Governor Dreyfus of Wisconsin, who is not running for re-election but prematurely made a pro-freeze statement.

We continue to produce materials on the arms control subject, and we plan to provide information, materials and advice to groups in Wisconsin and California that already are organized to combat the freeze. While we cannot endorse these organizations or their fund-raising efforts, I have asked Ed Rollins to find out if the groups now existing are valid and give us other insights from his contacts on the hustings, as well as some polling data from Dick Wirthlin. Elizabeth Dole may also be able to help us reach special groups.

We are even looking into the innovative idea of asking the American Security Council or some other supportive organization to produce an arms control book with an introduction by a well-known American (Charleton Heston, Clint Eastwood), who could be privately sponsored on a "celebrity book tour" nationally to hit the Phil Donahue-type shows that so many people watch.

I believe it is vital that the pro-freeze movement not affect our ability to negotiate arms control agreements or continue the President's defense program. For that reason, it seems imperative that we move ahead with this informational campaign and try to avoid a series of lop-sided votes, manipulated by the freeze movement to bring pressure on us and on the Congress.

I recognize the difficulty we will have in making even a semi-respectable showing in most of these states, as well as the awkward situation that may be created from some candidates if we make a fight for this. But it seems almost irresponsible not to proceed. I recommend you consider the matter and advise me that we have your approval before we give the major go-ahead on August 18.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the concept as outlined.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



United States
of America

file Nuclear Freeze

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 97th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 128

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1982

No. 106

**CALLING FOR A MUTUAL AND
VERIFIABLE FREEZE ON AND
REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AND FOR APPROVAL
OF THE SALT II AGREEMENT**

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 521) calling for a mutual and verifiable freeze on and reductions in nuclear weapons and for approval of the SALT II agreement.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. ZABLOCKI).

The motions was agreed to.

(Mr. McDONALD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Chairman I rise in opposition to the Zablocki resolution and in favor of the Broomfield-Stratton substitute.

Mr. Chairman, a generation of Europeans and Americans have grown up accepting as an article of faith that their security was assured by the fact that America's defenses were far superior to those of the Soviet Union. But now this assumption is no longer true.

The Soviet leaders have used a combination of means to achieve superiority in strategic as well as conventional weapons over the United States and the NATO allies. One method was a foreign policy and propaganda campaign calling for "peaceful coexistence." A second salient was arms control negotiations in which under political pressure to "make a deal" quickly, the United States granted concessions that enabled the U.S.S.R. quickly to "catch up" in strategic arms. A third tactic was to launch an intense covert action effort promoting U.S. disarmament which now is manifest as the "nuclear freeze" campaign.

Who were the initiators and key organizers of the U.S. nuclear freeze campaign? They are the same so-called peace groups and activists who earlier organized protests in support of the Vietnamese Communists. They are the same people who still support the Hanoi regime despite the evidence of the millions of refugee and boat people. They are the same ones now organizing support for the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Communist terrorists in El Salvador and Southern Africa.

One of these "nuclear freeze" supporters, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) still maintained in 1945 that in the 1930's, Adolf Hitler had been the world's "best hope" for peace.

If WILPF's judgment was so wrong in 1945 in the face of so much evidence of the nature of Nazi totalitarianism, why should this group be trusted when it excuses the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan?

Another early and very active supporter of this "nuclear freeze" resolution is the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). But despite the implications of its name, AFSC is not a pacifist organization. Its leaders have urged Americans not to condemn revolutionary terrorism on the grounds that the existence of any sort of inequality in our own free society "legitimizes" terrorist violence. And organizationally, AFSC supports this immoral argument by supporting the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization.

Logic demonstrates that a "freeze" in any contest benefits the one who is leading. In the case of strategic nuclear weapons, it can be shown clearly that the Soviet Union now has a significant, dangerous lead over the United States. This unquestionably is

the reason Soviet chief Leonid Brezhnev publicly supported a "nuclear moratorium" in a speech early in 1981.

It is equally clear that it was no coincidence that U.S. disarmament groups and activists with past histories of collaboration with earlier Soviet covert action campaigns were galvanized into supporting a "nuclear freeze" campaign immediately after Brezhnev's statement although "freeze" type proposals have been floated before.

The "nuclear freeze" campaign is a fraud. There is no grassroots movement of support for this resolution. Its passage in local meetings was orchestrated by small groups of activists—the same activists who formerly were telling us that the South Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian people would be "better off" under the Communists, and who put together demonstrations against nuclear power and industrial development.

The individual credited by the "nuclear freeze" campaign with drafting this proposal is Miss Randall Forsberg, who commenced her peace activities with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and became a WILPF "intern" at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). SIPRI was embarrassed recently by the information that Norway was prosecuting a SIPRI "researcher" for espionage for a hostile foreign power—clearly the Soviet Union.

The grassroots "nuclear freeze" and disarmament demonstrations of the past spring failed dismally to attract local participation other than the usual activists. That they were noticed at all was the work of the television and print media who sought out interviews with participants in tiny rallies to pad out air time and column inches.

To return to the issue of "peaceful coexistence," I think we ought to examine what Lenin, the chief prophet of Soviet Communist orthodoxy, had to say on the subject. In 1919, Lenin told the Russian Communist Party:

We are living not merely in a State, but in a system of states and it is inconceivable for the Soviet Republic to exist alongside of the imperialist states for any length of time. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end comes, there will have to be a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states.

And in 1915, Lenin projected that once the Communists were victorious in seizing control of one country, they would use it as a base for destabilizing other non-Communist countries and, depending on the instance, use their armed forces to aid Communist revolutionaries by invasion. Lenin's exact words were:

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country base. After expropriating the capitalists and organizing their own socialist

production, the victorious proletariat of that country will arise against the rest of the world—the capitalist world—attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries stirring uprisings in these countries against the capitalists, and in case of need using even armed force against the exploiting classes and their states.

For several decades, it has been our strategy, primarily because of rejection of the social cost of an intensely militarized society as well as for the economic cost to accept Soviet superiority in conventional forces. This we had counterweighted through our nuclear strategic deterrent. Strategic deterrence has successfully prevented a world war for the past 37 years. We are now at risk because we have been surpassed by the Soviet Union in strategic weapons.

The answer to this situation is to modernize our deterrent, not to give up and thereby signal the Soviets that we have lost our will to withstand their pressure.

We should understand how this situation came about. First in the 1960's, the Soviets initiated arms control talks and held out the idea that if the United States showed "good faith" by making concessions and by unilaterally not building any new major weapons while talks were underway, the Soviet leaders would accept "parity" in strategic weapons with the United States. This was supposed to end the arms race and bring a golden age of cooperation, friendship and trust between the Soviets and the West.

At the same time as "peaceful coexistence" and "détente," was being promoted, the Soviets escalated their support to Communist terrorist insurgent forces in Indochina and to the Hanoi government which were attacking pro-Western and neutral governments; and increased support for similar terrorist groups in Southern Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

Our political leaders accepted this. Our conventional forces had been in a long decline since the Korean war. In the 1960's, despite the Vietnam conflict, it continued. We stopped modernizing major strategic weapons and having new ones "on line," started transferring high technology with direct military applications to Russia, and signed the first Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty. The talk about "parity" proved irrelevant. SALT-I established conditions that permitted the Soviet Union to achieve strategic superiority over America—and with Soviet development of multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles—MIRV'd warheads—the U.S.S.R. achieved strategic parity in 1974.

But having achieved parity in 1974, the U.S.S.R. has never slowed the frantic pace of its military buildup. Indeed, the production rates for SS-20 missiles, for example, were increased during the past 2 years.

By 1977, Western defense officials were working on plans to modernize NATO as well as America's strategic

deterrent forces in order to counter the Soviet buildup.

Exactly at this moment, a "peace offensive" was started in Europe and America. This so-called peace campaign in fact is a Soviet covert action campaign—clandestine political warfare—carried out under the direction of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. In fact, this campaign seeks de facto Western disarmament, for you can disarm by not modernizing your military forces which are the basis of deterrence as surely as by directly consigning weapons to the scrap heap.

The CPSU International Department has three apparatuses for initiating and directing Soviet covert action campaigns. First, it coordinates the efforts of the nonruling Communist parties. Second, it directs the international front groups which conceal Moscow's hand, although certainly not perfectly, in political pressure and propaganda operations. Third, the KGB's departments involved in covert action through the use of "agents of influence" and intelligence "assets" work in coordination with the international department.

Playing a key role in coordinating Soviet political warfare operation against America and NATO is the World Peace Council, the principal international Soviet-controlled front under the control of the CPSU International Department. As a new study by the Western Goals Foundation, "The War Called Peace: The Soviet Peace Offensive," documented:

Since 1950, when it launched the Stockholm Peace Appeal, the World Peace Council (WPC) has been the Soviet Union's single most important international front organization. The WPC's first Stockholm Peace Appeal sought an absolute ban on the atomic bomb at a time when the Soviet Union's nuclear capability lagged far behind the United States. The 1950 Stockholm Peace Appeal declared that "the first government to use the atomic weapon would be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal." This theme is still being promoted by leaders of the U.S. disarmament drive.

The WPC and a closely related Soviet front which works in tandem with it, the Prague-based Christian Peace Conference, focused their activities during the 1970's on involving Western religious leaders and groups in Soviet covert action campaigns.

The U.S. anti-Vietnam demonstrations of the late 1960's and early 1970's was coordinated through the World Peace Council; and organizers and activists from the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), Fellowship or Reconciliation (FOR), SANE, and the War Resisters League (WRL) participated. These same groups were the first to organize and promote the "nuclear freeze" proposal.

As the Soviet covert action campaign got under way in 1977 with the main focus of activity in Europe, street demonstrations were organized by the local chapters of the World Peace Council with the help of local Communist parties, anti-Western New Left radicals, pacifist socialists, militant ecology groups and some leftist religious activists and church groups.

What were the demands on their banners? The new disarmament groups said "Stop the neutron bomb," and "Say no to cruise and Pershing missiles"—the very same slogans first put forth by the Soviet-controlled WPC.

Their bias was shown by the fact that their literature said nothing about the threat to peace posed by the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact forces. Instead they denounced the United States of America as the chief "threat to peace" in the world, the originator of oppression and so on. The line was very familiar. We have been hearing it since the Soviets launched their first "peace offensive" in 1950.

As loud as are their protests against NATO and America, the "peace" movement remains characteristically silent on the matter of Soviet SS-20's, Soviet Backfire bombers, the nuclear-armed Soviet submarines lurking in the sea near European coastlines, and Soviet sea-launched cruise missiles. Whenever forced to include some statement on Soviet nuclear weapons, these phony "peace" groups find excuses for Soviet aggression and resort to the line that "it's up to Soviet citizens to make changes in their society and it's up to U.S. activists to bring about disarmament of America."

The "nuclear freeze" campaign coalesced from earlier separate campaigns against individual U.S. weapons systems. In Europe, as we said, the focus was on the theater nuclear forces opposing the Warsaw Pact—the Pershing II intermediate range missile, the cruise missile and neutron bomb. In America, the so-called peace groups concentrated their attacks against plans to modernize the U.S. strategic forces. The Trident submarine, B-1 bomber and MX missile were attacked on three levels.

At one level there were protests at the factories and shipyards in which these weapons were being made and at military bases on which they would be stationed.

At the second level, so-called liberal organizations with varying degrees of political influence but which were strong supporters of "detente" with Moscow and had opposed U.S. efforts to help South Vietnam were approached by the disarmament groups for testimonial statements against modernizing our nuclear deterrent forces and to apply pressure on Congress and the White House.

At the third level, Liberal Congressmen and Senators were pressed to vote against funding for the B-1, MX and Trident, to vote for severe cuts in

those programs, and to encourage the White House to undertake SALT-II negotiations as a substitute for building new defenses.

During the 4 years of the Carter administration, this campaign registered some startling successes. The neutron bomb program was terminated; the MX missile delayed; the Trident submarine program was seriously cut; and the B-1 bomber was killed. A SALT-II treaty was signed which was so unbalanced in Moscow's favor that the Senate declined to consider its ratification.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union increased its rate of strategic arms acquisition and deployment. As deployment of one series of Soviet submarines or missiles ended, a more advanced model took its place on the production lines. As America killed its B-1 bomber, the Soviets produced their own equivalent, the Backfire. As America considered producing a single Trident submarine, the Soviets built their Typhoons.

In November 1980, American voters decided they did not want this course to continue. The polls continue to show that Americans reject by a 70-percent majority a nuclear freeze that would leave this country second in defense capability to the Russians.

The majority of the American people look at what the Soviets are doing in Afghanistan, see the oppression in Poland, see how the Soviets have been exporting Communist insurrection and totalitarian dictatorships into Central America, and then come to the correct understanding that the Soviet Communists and their allies want more and more power and have not abandoned long-term goal of world power. Then they very sensibly conclude that the most sensible response is to put our shoulder to the wheel and modernize our deterrent forces to the extent that the Soviets recognize our hardware capability and our moral determination.

Will and determination to maintain one's independence does not get you anywhere without the means to back it up.

Following the November 1980 election, U.S. Communists and leftists who collaborate with the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council and allied Soviet front groups were holding meetings on how to defeat the new administration's announced plans to modernize American and NATO defenses.

As our friend and colleague, John Ashbrook wrote shortly before his death in an introduction to "The War Called Peace," the United States has fallen into a "dangerous pattern of maintaining tremendous superiority over the Soviet Union—but only on the drawing boards and with prototypes that are never put into production. Paper weapons deter no one. They demonstrable do not deter the Soviet Communists who are waging war against us—an ideological, eco-

conomic, political, and terrorist war against all the Free World."

But little leftist disarmament activity took place until Brezhnev's Moscow speech in which he suggested a "nuclear moratorium." Within weeks, U.S. disarmament activists met in Washington to plan a campaign, but they used slightly different words from Brezhnev and called it a "nuclear freeze."

Money was raised, offices are rented, and in new clothes, the groups that had collaborated with the Soviet controlled World Peace Council produced the "Nuclear Freeze Campaign" which has received extensive uncritical television and newspaper coverage in America.

The nuclear weapons freeze unites under one slogan the one separate demands of the Soviet-directed European and American disarmament campaigns.

The "nuclear freeze" would mean no NATO deployment of the planned 464 Tomahawk cruise missiles and 108 Pershing II missiles. The "nuclear freeze" would mean no neutron bombs to counteract the threat of invasion by Warsaw Pact tanks. The "freeze" would mean no construction of B-1 bombers, no further development of "Stealth" bombers, no MX missiles or new Trident submarines.

I would like to make the point that our old Titan ICBM's have been ordered to the scrap pile without even getting the Soviet Union to give up an equivalent number of its ICBM's. We also have our aging Nautilus nuclear submarines whose service life is nearly completed. A "nuclear freeze" would mean those submarines would not be replaced resulting in yet another American move of unilateral disarmament.

The June 12 "March for a Nuclear Freeze and Disarmament" and the June 14 civil disobedience action during the U.N. Second Special Session on Disarmament were the product of a year of planning. Even so, only 165,000 marched past the United Nations, while the remainder of the crowd in Central Park consisted of young people attracted by the free concert by leading rock music stars.

It was evident that the New York demonstration was not controlled by pacifists, but by revolutionaries.

Leftist organizations marched in a large contingent supporting Soviet-backed PLO terrorists and others in El Salvador, Turkey, Northern Ireland, Iran, South Africa and the Philippines. But the organizers kept these openly revolutionary Marxist-Leninist groups separated from the church and religious groups.

It also was plain that the U.N. march was Communist-organized. Not only did the Communist Party, U.S.A.-controlled section of the World Peace Council, the U.S. Peace Council, take a prominent role in organizing the nuclear freeze march and rally, but groups with long and consistent records of participation in WPC cam-

paigns were equally prominent. USPC leaders including executive director Mike Myerson, a high ranking CPUSA official, and USPC coordinator Sandra Pollock were especially active in the planning. In addition, the Communist Party was a sponsor of the event in its own name.

Likewise, most of the trade union groups—the old District 65 Distributive Workers now affiliated with the United Auto Workers, District 1199, National Union of Hospital Health Care Employees, United Electrical (UE), and so forth—came from unions long dominated by the Communist Party.

Furthermore, the Communist Party, U.S.A., reserved for itself the right to make the final statement in the march—a statement that disarmament did not mean an end to Communists fighting in "wars of national liberation." They did this by concluding the parade with the banners of the U.S. Peace Council and other Communist Party-controlled organizations; followed by the red banners of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and members of its hierarchy led by Gus Hall who first came to public attention as a Moscow-trained saboteur during the Republic Steel strike more than 40 years ago. Last of all marching in formation came the veterans of the Communist International Brigades from the Spanish Civil War, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

The Communists support the nuclear weapons freeze for several reasons: First, the nuclear freeze would preserve Soviet superiority over America in strategic nuclear weapons, and over NATO's theater nuclear weapons.

Second, the nuclear freeze would be a crushing political defeat because it would demonstrate to the nations of the world that the West no longer had the will to defend itself against Soviet aggression. Economic and political isolation would quickly follow.

The nuclear freeze has other dangers. It would encourage the Soviets to press their military advantage through nuclear blackmail to "Finlandize" the United States. If the Soviet strategists believe their military superiority over America is overwhelming, they will without question use it for political blackmail. At that point, the end of American national sovereignty, the end of the Western forms of representative government, freedom and independence would follow quickly.

Or—putting aside the probability of Soviet political blackmail—American military weakness would pose a dangerous temptation to the Soviets to use their military forces in a first strike. The Russians are not suicidal. No country in history outside the fantasy of the "Mouse That Roared" has ever declared an aggressive war on an opponent it believed significantly stronger than itself.

Supporters of the nuclear freeze resolution say that because the United States has 9,000 nuclear warheads,

2,000 more than the number estimated in the U.S.S.R.'s atomic arsenal, we have a commanding nuclear lead and ought now to stop.

As John Rees wrote in an article, entitled "Why We can't Afford a Nuclear Freeze," which appeared in the May 1982 American Opinion magazine:

America's nuclear warheads are very much smaller than those of the Soviet Union. The 9,000 U.S. warheads have a total explosive power of 2,968 megatons. We have 54 ancient Titan missiles with single warheads of 5 to 10 megatons. Dividing it out, you will see that the average U.S. warhead has a yield of one-third of a megaton.

The Soviet Union, with 30 percent fewer warheads, nevertheless has a "throw weight" of 8,111 megatons—1.7 times greater than ours. The average Soviet ICBM warhead has the explosive power of three megatons, while some of the warheads on their medium-range and intermediate range missiles are smaller.

In practical terms, this means that Soviet warheads pack a punch strong enough to destroy up to 90 percent America's land-based nuclear deterrent Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM's)—54 ancient Titan missiles with single warheads of some 5 to 10 megatons, and 998 Minuteman-II missiles whose small warheads are in the kiloton range.

This article went on to point out that since 1965, the U.S.S.R. deployed 300 superpowerful SS-9 and SS-18 missiles which have multiple warheads, each in the megaton range. In the past 12 years since conclusion of the first SALT treaty, the Soviet Union has deployed three new generations of missiles with multiple MIRVed warheads. These are designated SS-17—four independently targeted warheads—SS-18—up to eight MIRVed warheads—and the SS-19—six MIRVed warheads. It continued:

During the Nixon Administration, the U.S. government proposed that the number of long-range strategic bombers, Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM's) and Submarine-launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM's)—be "frozen." By June 1972, the totals of these types of strategic weapons in the arsenals of the U.S. and USSR were about identical. But this offer to accept and maintain "real parity" was totally rejected by the Soviet Union.

While the Nixon White House sought to conclude an arms limitation agreement primarily for the political purposes in being able to go into the 1972 campaign with an agreement with the Russians under one's belt to build one's image as a "peace" candidate. To get that 1972 Interim Agreement of the limitations of strategic arms, the United States made major concessions to the Soviets who were very well aware of the partisan political intent and the domestic pressures being exerted on the Nixon Administration—since they were doing all they could to exacerbate the anti-Vietnam campaign.

In that 1972 arms control protocol, America agreed to Soviet demands (based on Soviet claims that essentially said that England and France were not really sovereign nations and that their nuclear weapons were really under American control and should be counted with U.S. forces) and that they should be allowed a considerably larger strategic missile force. For example, as part of this protocol, the United States agreed to let the Soviets have 950 subma-

rine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM's) while we would build only 710.

The sad fact is that all the American SLBM's permitted under the 1972 interim protocol have not been built because our Trident submarine program has been deferred and redeferred so that where once we had planned to deploy three Trident submarines a year to replace our aging Nautilus/Poseidon submarines and their missiles that have warheads with only 50 kilotons of explosives force, we produce but one. As of the end of last year, the United States had 575 SLBM missiles. And the Soviets? They have 989 SLBM's, 39 over the 1972 interim protocol. And they are still building.

In land-based strategic missiles, the picture is similar. As American Opinion reported:

In the mid-1960's under the Johnson Administration, America 904 ICBM's to the USSR's 292—that was a 3 to 1 superiority in strategic missiles. But in 1967, when the first preliminary discussions on a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-I) took place, the Johnson Administration, with the full support of Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara decided unilaterally to "freeze" the U.S. ICBM force at 1056. We are now down to 1054 because in the last couple of years, two missiles have exploded in their silos. There are no replacements and there are the Minuteman-II production line has been shutdown for several years.

The situation with Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM's) shows how the U.S. has undertaken *de facto* unilateral disarmament in this area over the past decade by slowing the rate of construction of nuclear powered ballistic missile submarines below what is needed to replace our aging Polaris-Poseidon submarines and missiles (which carry warheads with a mere 50 kiloton kick).

Prior to January 1975, the USSR had 34 Yankee-class ballistic missile submarines each carrying 15 missiles. The Soviets began bringing a more modern, higher-performance class of ballistic submarines, the Delta class, in 1973, just after SALT-I was signed.

Between 1973 and 1981, the Soviets produced 30 Delta class submarines and increased the rate of production to 6 per year, arming them with MIRVed missiles with increased range and packing multimegaton punches.

Throughout the 1970's, the Soviets kept improving both the SS-N-5 missiles and the Delta submarines. The Delta-1 carried 12 missiles; Delta-II and Delta-III subs have 16. The SS-N-5 missile has been deployed in two modes, one with a range of 7,800 kilometers, and the improved version with a range of 9,100 km. The SS-N-18 missile has been deployed in three modes. One mode carries three MIRVed warheads with a range of 6,500 km. Mode 3 carried seven MIRVed warheads with an identical range.

The range of the SS-N-3 and SS-N-18 Soviet Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles is markedly greater than our C-4 Tridents which we have just begun to deploy. These already-deployed Soviet missiles have greater range than our C-4 Tridents and carry MIRVed multi-megaton warheads. Between 1973 and 1981, the USSR deployed 30 Delta submarines whose SS-N-3 and SS-N-18 missiles have ranges of 7,500 to 8,000 kilometers. The production rate has increased to 6 per year.

By 1979, the Soviets were testing the new SS-NX-20 missile and following year launched the first giant Typhoon class sub-

marine which carries 20 missile launch tubes.

The response of our administration to this build-up in light of "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" with the Kremlin was to order our new Trident submarine program to be cut to only one per year for the period 1981 to 1985.

As American Opinion noted:

In 1978, the United States had 656 SLBM missiles. As the Polaris/Poseidons are being retired, we have let the number of our SLBM missiles dwindle to 576.

What is more alarming is that the Trident program projected a total of only 13 submarines; yet 27 Tridents are needed just to replace the 656 missiles we had on our old submarines four years ago.

In other words, unless the United States commences a significantly expanded Trident submarine program (and moves to develop and build successors to Trident), America will be unilaterally reducing the number of submarine-launched ballistic missiles as the Nautilus/Poseidons are retired. The "nuclear freeze" resolution would block new submarine construction. This is one more example of why this House should not and must not support the "nuclear freeze" resolution.

There can be little doubt in the minds of serious students of the Soviet system that the demand for a "nuclear freeze" is a critical tactic of their policy. This was analyzed in an article in American Opinion in February of this year by John Rees which stated:

Consistency of leadership personnel is one of the hallmarks of the Soviet regime. Membership in the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party changes slowly so that the top officials have decades of personal tactical experience in the USSR's protracted war against the Free World. Mikhail Suslov has been the Politburo official responsible for coordinating all ideological matters including the international propaganda themes since the days of Josef Stalin. And Suslov's principal deputy, Boris Ponomarev, had headed the CPSU International Department since the late 1940's. Thus it is hardly surprising that a Soviet Politburo directive issued by Suslov in 1949 that established the prime targets for recruitment into the "fronts" and the so-called "peace" campaign still obtains today:

"Particular attention should be devoted to drawing into the peace movement trade-unions, women's, youth, cooperative, sport, cultural, education, religious, and other organizations, and also scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, parliamentary, and other political and public leaders."

It is difficult for Americans and citizens of other Free World lands to grasp the ability of a totalitarian "command" regime like the USSR to subordinate all of its agencies to goals set by the ruling Politburo. The Soviet Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defense, the KGB chief Yuri Andropov, and the ideological chief and his deputy who heads the CPSU International Department all are members of the Politburo. Thus not only are the resources of the Soviet Communist Party's International Department—the fronts and local nonruling Communist parties—mobilized; but so are the secret agents of influence controlled by KGB and the diplomatic corps of the Foreign Ministry.

Among the fronts established by the Soviet Union after World War II are the

Afro-Asia People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO); International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL); International Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR); International Organization of Journalists (IOJ); International Union of Students (IUS); Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF); World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY); World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW); World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU); and the World Peace Council (WPC). Another front, the Christian Peace Conference (CPC), has been under total Soviet control since 1968 and operates in tandem with the World Peace Council.

This February American Opinion article continued by examining what we now know to be the antecedents of the nuclear freeze campaign. It reads:

A major center for Soviet front activity is the United Nations in New York and Geneva. The World Peace Council, Women's International Democratic Federation, Christian Peace Conference and their sister fronts are highly active among the U.N. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), particularly on the issues of disarmament and support for the Soviet-backed terrorist national liberation movements.

WPC planning targeting the Second U.N. Special Session on Disarmament moved into high gear with the NGO "Urgent Action Conference for Disarmament," held in August 1981 in Geneva, which was organized by the Special NGO Committee on Disarmament cochaired by WPC president Romesh Chandra.

In the words of a WPC report, the NGO meeting considered "obstacles to disarmament in the arms race, especially in nuclear arms, as well as NGO actions to overcome them." In plain words, that meant the topic was how to stop the U.S./NATO defense modernization program. The WPC report pointed out how useful the U.N. Non-Governmental Organizations could be if harnessed to the disarmament drive in influencing American and European government leaders.

And there was a panel of international disarmament activists who agreed that "urgent measures be taken to stop the drive towards a nuclear catastrophe and emphasized the importance of NGOs in influencing decision-makers to curb the arms race." An examination of the membership in this panel is instructive. One member was Nino Pasti, a former General in the Italian Army who held high-level NATO posts in the early 1970s when he suddenly retired and ran successfully for the Italian Senate as an "Independent" on the Italian Communist Party ticket. Pasti's action prompted European comments to the effect that NATO could no longer be considered as having any secrets. Pasti is highly active in the Italian WPC section and in the WPC.

Other participants were Randall "Randy" Forsberg, executive director of the Brookline, Massachusetts-based Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, who joined with John Kenneth Galbraith and U.S. Rear Admiral (Ret.) Gene LaRocque, the highly dovish head of the prodismament Center for Defense Information in events at the 1980 Democratic National Convention; Leopoldo Nilus of the World Council of Churches; Soviet Spokesman Prof. G. A. Trofimenko and Prof. Hilke Tromp, of the University of Groningen, the Netherlands, who with Admiral LaRocque co-sponsored a major disarmament conference in Groningen last spring.

Prime among the WPC/led United Nations NGO concerns were "the danger of the deployment of new nuclear medium range missiles in Europe and . . . immediate negotiations on this subject." The NGO disarmament group agreed that their main activity in 1981-82 would be to contribute to "the preparations and work" of the Second U.N. Special Session on Disarmament in June 1982.

Later in the American Opinion article, Mr. Rees documented the Communist connections of former NATO generals and the Washington-based Center for Defense Information (CDI) which more accurately should be called the Center for Defense Disinformation. The article reads:

In the disarmament drive, the Soviet media and the World Peace Council are making heavy use of several former NATO military officers who, following their retirements (which terminated their access to military secrets and ended their ability to directly influence policy), have become highly visible "assets" for the Soviet propaganda machine.

Particularly active have been Gen. Nino Pasti, the former NATO Vice-commander now a member of the Italian Senate elected to the Italian Senate as an "independent" on the Communist Party ticket; Major Gen. Gert Bastian, formerly commander of the 12th Armored Division of the West German Army; and U.S. Rear Admiral (Ret.) Gene LaRocque, director of the Center for Defense Information (CDI).

Several of these retired military officers including Bastian, Pasti, Johan Kristi of Norway, Francisco da Costa Gomes of Portugal who is a World Peace Council vice-president, Georgios Humanakos of Greece, Von Meyenfeld of the Netherlands and French Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti, signed a statement in November 1981 addressed to the NATO military commanders and foreign and defense ministers. The "peace generals" attacked the NATO military upgrading agreements regarding the Pershing and cruise missiles, called for arms negotiations with the Russians, and asked the European NATO members to break away from alliance with the U.S. to develop better relations with the Warsaw Pact regimes.

Pasti held a press conference in the Hague to charge that the very idea of a "strategic superiority of the Soviet Union and its military build-up was, as the Soviet press agency TASS reported, a "lie fabricated by the CIA and spread by NATO propaganda." The Soviet media heavily publicized the WPC general's comment, "I can give the assurance that the most convinced opponent of war is the Soviet Union, who in the last war suffered the gravest trials. This cannot be said of the United States where the idea of war is linked with the profits of certain circles."

Pasti is a leader of the Italian section of the World Peace Council and with the WPC itself. American Opinion continued by reporting that both these World Peace Council "generals for peace" made U.S. speaking appearances on Capitol Hill in 1981, which were organized by SANE. The WPC groups also met with the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP), a lobbying group highly active on Capitol Hill. These appearances illustrate how the WPC exerts its influence over prominent U.S. disarmament groups, and indeed even over Members of this Congress as on

May 5, 1981, at the invitation of Members, a 2-hour WPC briefing was held in Congress. As Mr. Rees reported:

The featured speakers were Pasti, who was identified only as an Italian Senator, not as a prominent World Peace Council activist; and Richard Barnet, co-founder of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), the influential leftist think-tank which has developed a network of contacts among Congressmen and their aides, government officials, the press and academic community.

IPS has been characterized as the "perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities which would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the KGB." Barnet and Pasti urged support for the Brezhnev offer of a "nuclear moratorium" . . .

The next day, Pasti returned to Capitol Hill accompanied by World Peace Council president Romesh Chandra and six other WPC representatives. Again, a group of Congressmen . . . issued an invitation to their colleagues to meet with the foreign delegation to discuss "arms spending," southern Africa and U.S. policy in Central America. None of them could claim that they did not know this was a WPC group since the invitation specified that the delegation was led by Romesh Chandra and identified him as the World Peace Council president.

The tour by Chandra, Pasti and company was coordinated by two U.S. Peace Council functionaries drawn from the ranks of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), the youth group of the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA). In Washington, the WPC group met with the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP), an anti-defense lobbying group, and were honored with a reception held in the home of a SANE staffer.

So here we have seen leaders of a major Soviet front working with leaders of U.S. disarmament groups—IPS, SANE, CNFMP and the Communist Party-controlled U.S. Peace Council—in attempting to influence Representatives and Congressional staffers.

As many of us are aware, the Center for Defense Information, to which I referred earlier, is highly active in these matters of waging "war through peace." As the study of Soviet covert action in the peace movement by the Western Goals Foundation, "The War Called Peace" noted:

The publications of the CDI and statements of its leaders consistently have opposed each major upgrading in U.S. defense forces, and have opposed U.S. overseas bases and defense treaties with non-communist allies. CDI leaders and publications have been praised and quoted by the Soviet media on those and related issues since CDI's inauguration in 1973.

In the fall of 1975, after causing a crisis in U.S.-Japan relations by telling a subcommittee of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that the U.S. did not honor agreements to off-load atomic weapons from U.S. warships before they entered Japanese harbors, LaRocque went to Moscow as a guest of the Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, a think-tank with close ties to the KGB. LaRocque later altered his statements on U.S. nuclear weapons and admitted he had no knowledge that the U.S. had ever violated its agreements with Japan in a Moscow interview with the correspondent for the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) newspaper Akahata [10/26/75].

Currently, LaRocque's statement, "If you dummies let us, we'll fight World War III in Europe," is being widely used by the organizers of demonstrations against "Euromis-

iles" in the NATO countries. (WIN magazine, 1/1/82).

. . . program, "International Observers Roundtable" (15 November 81). Gennady Gerasimov commented:

"When I was in Washington quite recently, I happened to be at the Center for Defense Information where I talked with Rear Adm. Eugene Carroll, retired, codirector of this center. He confirmed again, he stressed that all their calculations show that a nuclear war would inevitably and ineluctably become universal and that a limited nuclear war is impossible and unrealistic. For this reason, incidentally, the rear admiral expressed his support for Leonid Ilch Brezhnev's appeal to the U.S. Administration to give up dreams of attaining military superiority over the Soviet Union. Each of the sides today possesses sufficient potential to destroy each other, even several times over. Thus attempts to secure military advantages are senseless. This was the opinion of this retired rear admiral."

The Western Goals study continued:

CDI's former military officers are frequently quoted by the Soviet propaganda organs to legitimize their attacks on NATO and U.S. defense forces as trigger-happy dangers to peace.

Although CDI states it "supports a strong defense but opposes excessive expenditures or forces," it has opposed every major new U.S. weapons system—from the B-1 bomber and Trident submarine to cruise missiles and neutron warheads—

LaRocque's deputy at CDI, Eugene J. Carroll, another retired U.S. rear admiral, recently was praised on the Moscow Radio Domestic Service as upsetting the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance while at the same time minimizing the Soviet military buildup.

In 1979, in cooperation with the Members of Congress for Peace Through Law Education Fund, CDI financed a 27-minute film, "War Without Winners," to promote the litany that "there is no defense against nuclear war." The film was produced by Harold Wilens, chairman of the board of the Factory Equipment Corporation, CDI advisor, and a leader of Businessmen Move for New National Priorities (BEM); and its director was Haskell Wexler, the revolutionary film director who in 1975 produced a propaganda film for the terrorist Weather Underground Organization consisting of interviews with five fugitive leaders including Kathy Boudin.

The CDI film project director was its senior staff member Arthur L. Kanegis, now CDI's media director. Late in March 1982, Kanegis, of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, was interviewed for National Public Radio's All Things Considered news show dismissing evidence of Soviet use of nerve gas and other biological toxins in Afghanistan and Cambodia.

CDI's newsletter, Defense Monitor, publishes carefully selected data that consistently presents the USSR as a weak opponent. For example, a recent issue (Vol. XI, Number 1, 1982) asserts "there is no evidence to support the notion of growing Soviet 'geopolitical momentum'" and points to setbacks in Egypt, Somalia, Guinea, Bangladesh and India without noting gains in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Nicaragua, Grenada, Syria, Iraq, Libya, and other countries.

In total contrast to the CDI are the views of Albion Knight who was graduated from West Point in 1945 and at the time of his retirement from the

U.S. Army in 1973 was a brigadier general. Much of General Knight's military career involved his expertise in nuclear weapons and upon his retirement he joined the staff of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and later the Energy Research and Development Administration. In 1977, he resigned from ERDA in protest against the Carter administration test ban treaty with the Soviet Union. Not only does General Knight have a distinguished and scientific background but in 1954 he was ordained as an Episcopal priest and in addition to his service as a line officer he conducted a pastoral ministry. General Knight gave an interview to the national conservative news magazine *The Review of the News* (June 9, 1982) in which he stated:

The proposal for a nuclear freeze is politically wrong, militarily a mistake, and theologically based upon fallacies.

The "nuclear freeze" would freeze the United States into a position of clear strategic inferiority to the Soviet Union. It would keep the United States in a position of being blackmailable politically by the Soviet Union. It offers the American people no hope when there is hope.

It is quite possible for the American people to be defended against a Soviet attack. But a "nuclear freeze" may make that impossible because it not only says freeze what you have, but it freezes research, development, testing and production of nuclear weapons. There are defensive weapons that may protect the American people as well as our allies which would not be developed. I think that it is morally wrong not to defend a nation when it is technically feasible to do so.

General Knight was asked why the opinions of the clergy have been given so much weight on disarmament. He replied:

In the past, the clergy has had a rather high credibility with the American people in discussions of moral issues because obviously that is their business. However, the clergy in this particular case are only looking at a few selected moral issues, not across the board moral issues. By and large, I think the clergy of the large "mainline" denominations have been used emotionally and they do not understand the issues that they are talking about.

Some can be educated. For example, when I was able to talk to the clergy of one diocese about these problems caused by the fact that the nuclear arms race has already been run and won by the Soviet Union and about its implications to the United States, all but about two arrived at a very clear understanding of the other moral issues that they had not faced.

They included the question of intentionally leaving the American people unprotected, and intentionally targeting innocent Soviet men, women and children who have absolutely nothing to do with the policies of their government.

These clergymen finally began to see that there were other moral issues involved. But I'm convinced that if there is a possibility of sitting down with them without the emotion that has been associated with the nuclear freeze that has come from the headquarters of the churches, the local clergy will understand. Their people already understand, and if their people understand, they will certainly have a better understanding.

Asked about the charge that nuclear weapons are "immoral" and that their use would be a "crime," General Knight said:

There is a theological fallacy that weapons per se are either moral or immoral. Weapons, be it a rock, rifle or a nuclear weapon have no moral value whatsoever. The morality comes from the mind of the person who decides that it must be used, and for what purpose. Is that purpose to destroy freedom? Then it is immoral. Is it to protect freedom? Then it is moral.

I think the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were intensely moral because when I served in the occupational forces in Japan in 1945 and 1946, I saw the defenses that I otherwise would have been required, as a young lieutenant, to overcome on the island of Kyushu. Not many people would have survived that initial landing.

Before I conclude, we should briefly examine some of the key groups promoting the "nuclear freeze."

American Friends Service Committee—AFSC—formed by a group of Socialist Quakers opposed to the draft in World War I, the AFSC has been penetrated and used by Communists since the early twenties when it sent Jessica Smith, later the wife of Soviet spies Harold Ware and John Abt—since the fifties CPUSA general counsel and a member of the CPUSA Political Committee—to the Soviet Union to determine famine relief needs in Russia which was suffering from the effects of forced collectivization of farms and the effects of civil war.

In its literature, the AFSC has publicly and consciously chosen to support revolutionary terrorist groups and has tried to justify revolutionary armed struggle and terrorism on the grounds that no matter how violent the revolutionary process, the future Socialist utopia would end the "violence of the status quo."

As a result of AFSC support for the Vietcong, the Philadelphia Meeting of the Society of Friends withdrew its financial support from the AFSC. The AFSC worked in collaboration with the World Peace Council against U.S. aid to South Vietnam, sending "observers" to participate in WPC meetings.

AFSC's six key program areas are disarmament—Terry Provanca—and human rights; global justice—targeting South Korea and Central America—the Middle East—where the AFSC supports the cause of the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization—PLO—Southern Africa—where AFSC supports the pro-Soviet terrorist movements in Namibia and South Africa—Indochina—supporting the pro-Soviet Hanoi government in Vietnam and its puppet regime in Cambodia—and opposing registration for a military draft.

The director of the AFSC's disarmament program since the revival of the international disarmament campaign in the midseventies has been Terry Provanca, a WPC activist and founding member of the U.S. Peace Council—USPC—who is also a leader of the

Mobilization for Survival—MFS—and is active with the World Information Service on Energy—WISE.

AFSC operates a lobbying arm, the Friends Committee on National Legislation—FCNL—headed by Ed Snyder, who has played a key role in developing strategy for pressure on Congress against the U.S. defense budget, and particularly against development or deployment of new weapons systems.

Another AFSC project, the National Action/Research on the Military/Industrial Complex—NARMIC—serves as the AFSC's intelligence-gathering arm. NARMIC works closely with the Institute for Policy Studies—IPS—the North American Congress on Latin America—NACLA—a pro-Cuba research group, and other antidefense and disarmament research organizations.

Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) was organized in 1965 by the National Council of Churches, but first became widely known in 1967 when it cosponsored a White House demonstration in conjunction with the Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a coalition strongly influenced by Communists and found by the House Committee on Internal Security in 1970 to have "operated from its inception with significant international Communist support" through the World Peace Council. CALC's former leader, Rev. Richard Fernandez, served on the New Mobe Steering Committee.

In January 1970, CALC described its goals in these terms:

What we are about today is not simply an end to the war in Vietnam, but a struggle against American imperialism and exploitation in just about every corner of the world. . . . Our task is to join those who are angry and who hate the corporate power which the United States presently represents, and to attempt, in our struggle, to liberate not only black, brown and yellow men in every corner of the world, but more importantly, to help liberate our own nation from its reactionary and exploitative policies.

CALC's present codirector, John Collins, was an endorser of the U.S. Peace Council's November 1981 national conference. On February 17, 1982, CALC released an "open letter to Congress" signed by 400 religious activists and leaders opposing U.S. aid to El Salvador. With the AFSC, CALC sponsored a U.S. speaking tour by nine European disarmament leaders. According to a report prepared for radical philanthropist Stewart Mott:

CALC has been most active in the formation and nurturing of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, participating on the steering committee and involving a number of the 42 CALC chapters in the Freeze Conferences. . . . There is a new CALC chapter in Amarillo, Tex., (home of Bishop Matthiasen and the Amarillo Pantex Plant, DOE's assembly plant for all war-heads), and it is serving as a center for job references, and counseling of the former atomic workers who have left their jobs on principle, and for a conversion study and vigils.

The report noted that CALC's present mailing list had dwindled to 2,000 names from 50,000 during the anti-Vietnam protests until 4 years ago when CALC hired Liz Broder's direct mail firm to rebuild the list now at 20,000 names.

Other CALC program areas include South Africa and the "politics of food"—CALC provided the initial U.S. coordination for the campaign against the Nestle Corp.'s infant formula.

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy (CNFMP)—based at 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C. 20002, 202/546-8400, is a lobbying group and information clearinghouse formed to lobby Congress for termination of U.S. military aid to South Vietnam. Following its success and the conquest of South Vietnam in May 1975, CNFMP underwent a name change and redirection into the new disarmament campaign.

CNFMP states that by a "new" policy, it means one "based on . . . the need to cooperate with nations of highly different political systems." CNFMP's programs call for U.S. recognition and economic aid to Communist and pro-Soviet regimes in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola. Other programs call for aid to revolutionary and anti-U.S. terrorist movements by a cutoff of U.S. aid and economic relations with the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, South Africa, El Salvador, Chile, et cetera. This indicates that CNFMP's phrase "nations of highly different political systems" is code for "Communist totalitarian regimes."

CNFMP is a major distributor of propaganda originating from the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and Center for Defense Information (CDI), and works closely with the two groups. Steve Daggett, on the IPS staff for 3 years, in 1981 became CNFMP's budget priorities coordinator.

CNFMP's slogans and projects closely parallel those of the World Peace Council (WPC) and WPC delegations to Washington hold meetings with CNFMP. A number of CNFMP activists participated in the 1979 founding of the U.S. Peace Council.

On February 26, 1982, CNFMP sponsored an all-day conference, Nuclear Arms and National Security, on issues for the U.N. Second Special Session on Disarmament (SSD-II). CNFMP is supporting the "nuclear freeze" campaign, is working with the AFSC's NARMIC on a "Guns versus Butter" slide show, and has hired Liz Broder to build its 12,000-name mailing list to 500,000.

Among the members of the CNFMP's Disarmament Working Group (DWG) are the IPS Militarism and Disarmament Project, NARMIC, Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), War Resisters League (WRL) and U.S. Peace Council (USPC). Prior to the formation of the USPC, another CPUSA front, the National Center to Slash Military Spending,

participated in the CNFMP/DWG. After formation of the USPC, that front dissolved and recommended its members and supporters become active in both CNFMP and the USPC.

Members of the coalition include the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Business Executives Move (BEM), Center for International Policy (CIP), Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), SANE, War Resisters League (WRL), Women Strike for Peace (WSP) and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), as well as several church-related groups.

Committee for National Security (CNS)—1742 N Street, NW., Washington, D.C. 20036, 202/833-3140, according to IPS, its co-founder and senior fellow, Richard Barnet "played a major role in organizing" CNS "to mobilize broad support for detente to counter the voices calling for a return to confrontation and intervention."

Other CNS leaders include Paul Warnke, an IPS trustee and SALT II negotiator for the Carter administration; and former CIA Director William Colby.

In 1982, Warnke was working with ACEWA on a task force to implement the Kennan proposals on nuclear weapons cuts. CNS has a global task force with Dick Ullman and Gus Speth on population and development issues; and has received funding from the Cos Cob Foundation "for work on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and . . . a speakers' bureau to stress that this treaty is a part of the Nuclear Freeze Campaign."

Nancy Ramsey, former legislative director for WILPF and then coordinator of Americans for SALT before joining CNS, has resigned now that "CNS is off to a good start," has considerable media attention, and is raising a sustaining budget of \$300,000 a year.

Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies (IDDS)—251 Harvard Street, Brookline, Mass., 02146, 617/734-4216, was formed in January 1980 by Randall Forsberg, 38, a former Harvard Ph. D. candidate and "peace researcher" at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) where she went initially as an intern from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). IDDS recently received tax-exempt status, and has a staff of eight full-time and three part-time employees. Forsberg, IDDS executive director, in 1980 circulated a draft call for a "nuclear freeze." It received minimal support from the major disarmament groups until March 1981, following the Brezhnev speech to the CPSU 26th Congress.

In cooperation with CDI leaders Gene LaRocque and John Kenneth Galbraith, Forsberg was active in disarmament lobbying of delegates to the 1980 Democratic National Convention, taking the position that "for the U.S. to regain nuclear superiority,

rather than stopping the arms race, will produce unprecedented danger of first strike by both sides in time of crisis; and is the single greatest danger currently facing the world."

IDDS officers include Patrick Hughes, secretary, and George Sommaripa, treasurer. The board of directors includes individuals from the academic and activist wings of the anti-defense lobby including several individuals and organizations active with the WPC. Board members include Betty Lall, chairperson, U.N. Committee on Disarmament and International Security; Hayward Alker, MIT; Richard Barnet, IPS; Elise Boulding, Dartmouth; Kay Camp, WILPF; Harvey Cox, Harvard; Richard Falk, Princeton; Sanford Gottlieb, New Directions; Robert Johansen, Institute for World Order (IWO), Cheryl Keen; Ann Lakhdir; Everett Mendelsohn, Harvard; Philip Morrison, MIT; George Rathjens, MIT; Judith Reppy, Cornell; and Brewster Rhoads, director, CNFMP.

Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)—1901 Q Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20009, 202/234-9382, is a revolutionary thinktank that has consistently supported policies that facilitate the foreign policy goals of the Soviet Union and weaken the position of the United States. This has been true whether the issue is disarmament (for the West), abolition of nuclear power (for the West), opposition to intelligence agencies (for the West) or support for Soviet-backed revolutionary terrorist groups.

To put its policy recommendations into action, IPS has built networks of contacts among congressional legislators and their staffs, academics, Government officials, and the national media.

In 1978, in an article in "National Review," Brian Crozier, director of the London-based Institute for the Study of Conflict, described IPS as the "perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities which would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the KGB."

IPS has been particularly concerned with researching U.S. defense industries and arms sales policies to free world countries under pressure from Soviet-supported terrorist movements. The director of IPS arms sales research, Michael Klare, is a veteran of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), a Castroite research group that has aided CIA defector Philip Agee, and who worked with the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS), and IPS offshoot affiliated with the Fund for Peace. Klare has made frequent trips to Havana to "lecture" on U.S. arms policies to "graduate students" at the University of Havana, and has participated in disarmament conferences sponsored by WPC groups.

IPS's arms race and nuclear weapons project is directed by William "Bill"

Arkin, who is compiling a book of U.S. nuclear weapons data with "everything from where the bombs are stored to where weapons delivery systems are cooked up." This is to be kept up-to-date with revisions biannually.

Arkin, who formerly worked for the Center for Defense Information, is coordinating an attack on the defense budget by a group including Bertram Gross and longtime IPS activist Richard Kaufman, assistant director and general counsel of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.

Arkin was coordinator of the March 1982 European Nuclear Disarmament (END) "researchers conference" in Holland; briefed END leaders on U.S. weapons developments" which affect Europe, * * * and works closely with Stan Norris of CDI and with press people from the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, the Washington Post, and CBS" where 60 Minutes was utilizing his material on nuclear weapons in Europe.

In addition to taking a leadership role in the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Conference, February 19-20, 1982, in Denver, and conducting a workshop attacking the impact of military spending on local areas, and writing a pamphlet on nuclear weapons to be distributed by the time of SSD-II, Arkin reportedly was also teaching a course at the Defense Intelligence School called "Research and Methodology: Effects of Limited Nuclear War in Europe."

IPS played a seminal role in the formation, funding and development of networks linking Western ecological and antinuclear activists with key disarmament organizers and armaments researchers, including some in Eastern Europe. These groups include the Nuclear Research and Information Service (NIRS), the World Information Service on Energy (WISE), and European Nuclear Disarmament (END).

On April 10, 1982, an IPS-sponsored group visiting Moscow for a week of meetings with high-level Soviet officials responsible for disseminating disinformation and propaganda for United States consumption, met with U.S. reporters to serve as the unofficial means for floating the possibility that Brezhnev might agree to a New York summit meeting in New York at SSD-II.

The IPS group, led by its principal spokesman, Marcus Raskin, IPS co-founder and senior fellow, included Robert Borosage, IPS director, National Lawyers Guild (NLG) activist and former director of the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS); Minneapolis Mayor Donald M. Fraser; Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Episcopal Bishop of New York; New York lawyer Robert S. Potter; and Roger Wilkins, journalist and senior fellow of the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS) which specializes in "black issues."

The IPS group identified only two of the CPSU Central Committee officials

they met—Georgi A. Arbatov, head of the Institute of the United States of America and Canada, a "think-tank" that provides research and analysis and also cultivates and develops contacts with Americans at the direction of the KGB and the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; and Vadim V. Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU International Department responsible for "disinformation."

The IPS group was used by the Soviets to float a classic disinformation salient by carrying back statements from anonymous "Soviet leaders" threatening to put the Soviet missile force in Europe on an immediate launch footing.

In various U.S. interviews, Borosage has floated such standard Soviet themes as that the U.S.S.R. is satisfied by "rough parity" with the United States, that the United States is re-starting the arms race, that the Soviets want to go back to SALT II and get U.S. ratification; that if the United States starts another round in the arms race, it will seriously hurt the Soviet economy and ordinary Soviet citizen—but they will still go ahead, so competition is futile; and the threat that the modern U.S. weapons proposed for deployment are "very dangerous * * * and would lead to much more dangerous stages that would make both sides insecure, not more secure."

Mobilization for Survival (MFS)—with national offices until the close of the U.N. SSD-II in the Church of All Nations, 48 St. Marks Place, New York, N.Y. 10003, 212-460-8545, was organized in the fall of 1976 by a handful of United States and European WPC activists. MFS made its first formal appearance on April 23, 1977, at a conference in Philadelphia led by individuals active with the WPC, Chicago Peace Council, WILPF, WSP, AFSC, CALC, and related groups. These included British disarmament activist Peggy Duff of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP); Sid Peck; Sid Lens; Ron Young, AFSC; Michael Klare; Terry Provance; David McReynolds and Norma Becker.

Sid Peck, a former CPUSA functionary, explained MFS's origins by noting that the WPC, in cooperation with the ICDP and Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs the Japanese Communist Party-controlled Gensuikyo were "working closely with nongovernmental organizations the world over to create the maximum impact on the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in late May 1978."

MFS has been to a considerable extent superseded by the June 12 Disarmament Coalition partly to protect MFS's tax-exempt status and for legal considerations since the June 12 group was involved in civil disobedience planning.

MFS's "educational" role allows it to serve as a communications network for local environmental and anti-nuclear power groups promoting their participation in disarmament activities; and to prepare disarmament information packets for outreach to churches, hospitals, and trade unions.

National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign Clearinghouse (NNWFCC)—4144 Lindell Street, room 201, St. Louis, Mo. 63108, 314/533-1169, was set up late in 1981 as the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign moved into high gear. Pending its own tax exemption, NNWFCC was funded via the Council for a Livable World Education Fund.

Chief coordinator of the Clearinghouse is Randy Kehler, a veteran War Resisters League organizer who went to Federal prison starting in 1970 for 2 years as a draft resister. Later Kehler led the successful "nuclear freeze" campaign in western Massachusetts prior to his selection to head the coordination center. Prior to the June 12 demonstration, Kehler moved to New York City and was a key organizer.

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign (NWFC) was launched at a National Strategy Conference for a Nuclear Freeze, held in Washington, D.C., March 20-22, 1981. Among the key initiators were Cora Weiss, Riverside Church Disarmament Project (RCDP); Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) which at that time was still sponsoring presentations and reports to its chapters from those who had attended the WPC's September 1980 World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia, Bulgaria; Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC); CNFMP; SANE; the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR); War Resisters League (WRL); and MFS Religious Task Force.

The conference followed a call for a nuclear weapons moratorium in a speech by Soviet President Brezhnev at the February 1981, 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Endorsers of the nuclear freeze include Mike Myerson, a CPUSA functionary serving as executive secretary of the U.S. Peace Council (USPC). Major organizational support for the campaign is being provided by the AFSC, CALC, WRL, and WILPF.

NWFC national executive committee member Currie Burris, national coordinator of the Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) "Human Security: Peace and Jobs" program who last year participated in a tour of Europe by leaders of U.S. disarmament groups, is urging the NFC "to develop enough clout to stop the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe. They are scheduled to go on line in 1983 and this would be disastrous for the Freeze Campaign."

Burris also has recommended that U.S. activists take lessons from the Dutch stop the neutron bomb organi-

zation, which is led by Dutch Communist Party functionary Nico Schouten and is a spinoff from the World Peace Council—WPC.

A more obvious radicalization in orientation of the nuclear freeze campaign was in evidence at its February 19-20, 1982, national conference where influential WRL activist David McReynolds, urged opposition to U.S. aid to El Salvador be included in freeze campaigning and criticized the NWFC for not challenging "the whole structure of anti-Soviet prejudices" saying, "This is something the left should do."

The NWFC national executive committee projects a 3-to-5-year campaign may be needed to obtain U.S. Government agreement to a freeze, and members have expressed their belief that a change in the White House in 1984 would be necessary for victory.

Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR)—P.O. Box 144, Watertown, Mass. 02172 (617/924-3468) states that in 1961, PSR "acted as a united medical voice in warning of the hazards of atmospheric nuclear testing, significantly contributing to the momentum that led to the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963."

The present PSR, Inc., organized in 1978 by 10 Boston-area antinuclear health activists, describes itself as a "nonprofit organization committed to public and professional education on the medical hazards of nuclear weaponry."

PSR works with a variety of groups backing United States and Western unilateral disarmament including IPPNW, the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), FAS, CDI, and IPS in promulgating the most extreme "end of the world" propaganda as the inevitable result unless the United States heeds its appeal to reduce tensions with the U.S.S.R. and ban "all use of nuclear weapons."

Claiming a membership of 10,000 and 101 chapters, the PSR president is Helen Caldicott, 43, an Australian pediatrician and disarmament zealot whose shrill hysterical voice had frequently been heard at MFS antinuclear rallies.

She claims to have been instrumental in persuading Australian trade unions to oppose mining of uranium ore, and reportedly has attempted to persuade top AFL-CIO officials to adopt antinuclear policies. In 1981 Caldicott and other peace activists visited the U.S.S.R. She has given up her position at Harvard Medical School to devote full time to disarmament organizing.

PSR's presentations on the horrors of nuclear war are heavily salted with radical supporters of Soviet-backed Third World terrorist groups, veteran unilateral disarmament proponents, and health care professionals associated in the past with such groups as the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), Medical Aid to Indochina

(MAIC), and the United States-Cuba Health Exchange (US-CHE).

A presentation on February 13, 1982, by the New York City PSR, P.O. Box 411, Planetarium Station, New York, N.Y. 10024 (212/477-3416)—the salaried staff coordinator is Joanne Pomerantz—featured Richard J. Barnet, IPS; Jerome Frank, board member of SANE and CLW and a past president of FAS; Robert J. Lifton, IPPNW activist and US-CHE sponsor; Studs Terkel and Victor W. Sidel, M.D., professor and chairman of the Department of Social Medicine, Montefiore Hospital and Medical Center of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, and US-CHE sponsor.

Speakers at other New York City PSR meetings from August 1981 to January 1982 include Michio Kaku, Physics Department, City College of New York—CCNY—a frequent radical rally speaker who links his antinuclear sentiments to the Hiroshima atomic bombing; H. Jack Geiger, M.D., a founding PSR member and president of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War—IPPNW—in which top Soviet Government officials have leadership roles; Barry Commoner, Citizens Party; and Joe Fahey of Pax Christi and the Manhattan College peace studies section on the European nuclear disarmament movement.

SANE—a citizens committee for a sane world—514 C Street NE., Washington, D.C. 20002 (202/546-7100), cooperates directly with the WPC, cosponsoring two Capitol Hill appearances by WPC activists in 1981. SANE and the CNFMP are cooperating in compiling a joint computerized mailing list by congressional districts, and in a media task force against the Reagan administration defense budget.

SANE's major 1982 project, cosponsored with Congress Watch and FRAC is the fair budget action program which will apply pressure in congressional districts for diverting the defense budget to social programs.

SANE played a leading role in a 1975 Chicago National Conference to Slash Military Spending organized by the CPUSA's then head of WPC U.S. activities, Pauline Royce Rosen. The organization formed from that conference, the National Center to Slash Military Spending, joined CNFMP; but dissolved in 1980 and was superseded by the U.S. Peace Council (USPC).

SANE executive director is David Cortright, a founder of the U.S. Peace Council, former GI organizer at Fort Bliss, IPS protege of Marcus Raskin, and staffer of the Center for National Security Studies. Cortright has hired Chad Dobson of the Campaign To Stop the MX and moved him from Salt Lake City to the east coast to help organize the June 12 demonstration.

SANE's board of directors is headed by Cochairmen Seymour Melman and

William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM). Its letterhead lists board members including Ramsey Clark, William Davidson, Jerome Frank, Representative TOM HARKIN, Homer Jack, David Livingston, Robert Maslow, Joseph Miller, Michael Moffitt (IPS), Robert Musil, Leon Quat, Marcus Raskin, Representative FRED RICHMOND, Alex Rosenberg, Morton Stavis, Edith Tiger, Sr., Mary Luke Tobin, Kosta Tspis, and Representative TED WEISS.

U.S. Peace Council (USPC)—7 East 15th Street, room 408, New York, N.Y. 10003, 212/989-1194, was launched as the official U.S. national section of the WPC at a November 1979 conference in Philadelphia.

The CPUSA newspaper Daily World, November 1, 1979, credited three veteran CPUSA organizers for laying the organizational basis for the WPC by "working for years to establish local committees, organize delegations from the United States to international meetings of the WPC, and distribute information about the Peace Council to activists in the United States."

Those named included Pauline Royce Rosen, "who coordinated all WPC activities in the United States for many years" and led what in effect was a CPUSA front serving as a cover for the WPC, the National Center to Slash Military Spending (NCSMS), which dissolved in 1980 and recommended to its supporters they join the USPC and CNFMP; Sylvia Kushner of the Chicago Peace Council (CPC); and Elsie Monjar of the Los Angeles Peace Council (LAPC).

Among those taking active roles in the USPC founding, speaking or listed as workshop leaders, were Mark Shanahan, CNFMP; Sarah Staggs, CPC; Connecticut Representative Irving Stolberg; David Cortright, SANE; Rev. William Hogan, CALC; Terry Provan, AFSC; Erica Foldy, CNFMP; Frank Chapman, AFSC; Archie Singham, The Nation editorial board; Betsy Sweet, WILPF; Massachusetts Representative Saura Graham; New York City Council members Miriam Friedlander and Gilberto Gerena-Valentin; and Ed Vargas, vice president, Connecticut Federation of Teachers, Hartford, Conn.

The published list of USPC sponsors included Canon Frederick B. Williams, president, Council of Churches of Manhattan; Alden Whitman; Edith Villastrigo, director, Washington Office, Women Strike for Peace (WSP); Michigan State Senator Jackie Vaughn III; Fred Stover, U.S. Farmers Association; Rev. Anthony M. Stevens Arroyo, director, CEMI, Pax Christi; Dr. Robert J. Schwartz, chairman, New York SANE; Jack Sangster, Fund for New Priorities in America (FNPA); Ruth Messinger, New York City Council; Maryann Mahaffey, Erma Henderson and Clyde Cleveland, Detroit City Council members; Dr. L. Charles Gray,

vice president, Christian Peace Conference; Donna Cooper, Washington, D.C. Peace Center; Illinois Representative Carol Mosely Braun; and Marjorie Boehm, president, U.S. section, WILPF.

In a brochure distributed at its second convention in November 1981, the USPC explained its support for disarmament and Third World revolutionary organizations:

The campaign to stop weapons of mass destruction cannot be separated from support for the peoples of Southern Africa, Asia and the Middle East The movement to defend and consolidate detente is at the same time a movement to halt the forces that seek to crush struggles for liberation. The demand for jobs and rebuilding the cities of our country is simultaneously a demand to reduce the military budget, from which we must get the billions of dollars needed for that task.

USPC executive director is Michael Myerson, a top-ranking Communist Party official.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)—headquartered at 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107 (215/563-7110), and a Washington legislative office formerly shared with WSP, has been cooperating in WPC and WIDF projects to such an extent that WILPF last year was made a WPC affiliate. WILPF has a tax-exempt "educational" arm, the Jane Adams Peace Association (JAPA). WILPF leaders include Yvonne Logan, president; Libby Frank, executive director; Betsy Sweet, program director.

The heavyhanded pro-Soviet stance of many WILPF activists includes participation in the WPC and USPC by Disarmament Coordinator Katherine "Kay" Camp; frequent sponsorship of exchange visits with the Soviet Women's Committee; and a call for a campaign against anti-Sovietism in the media—defined as any suggestion that the U.S.S.R. may be responsible for the arms race or pose a threat to the United States. WILPF's "STAR" petition campaign utilizes an old WPC slogan, "Stop the Arms Race."

Women Strike for Peace (WSP)—145 South 13th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107 (215/923-0861)—was founded in 1961 as a "national movement of women against the arms race and for the fulfillment of human needs." Virtually its first act was to assign CPUSA member Selma Rein to arrange WSP's affiliation with the WIDF.

WSP's national coordinator is Ethel Taylor, and its national legislative coordinator is Edith Villastrigo. WSP members have comprised a substantial proportion of U.S. delegations to World Peace Congresses. WSP has been working in support of the local nuclear freeze initiatives aiding in PSR horror shows, and carrying out effective "lobbies by proxy."

In June, during the week of the President's address to the U.N. Second Special Session on Disarmament, the Soviets conducted nuclear weapons

tests that followed the sequence of a nuclear first strike—a test of antisatellite weapons, firings of ICBM's, followed by tests of submarine-launched missiles and SS-20's. At the same time, military analysts reported various troop, ship, and aircraft movements which further indicated that the Soviet Union was testing a "model" first strike.

In a recent interview, Dr. Ray S. Cline, executive director of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, and a former Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, said of this Soviet exercise:

I think the Soviet Union wanted to remind the NATO allies that the U.S.S.R. does indeed have the capability to start a nuclear war, and that they intended our reaction to be fear leading to the acceptance of the idea that it is useless to build up resistance—conventional and nuclear—to counter their strength.

I see both that kind of military testing and the whole "peace" movement as a deliberate psychological warfare campaign against the stability and coherence of the NATO alliance. Fear is what the Soviet Union always relies on. Certainly fear of nuclear weapons being used in a "first strike" is a very useful solvent to remove the timid and fearful from the supporters of a strong NATO.

The nuclear freeze resolution is one of the most ill-advised measures to ever come before this body.

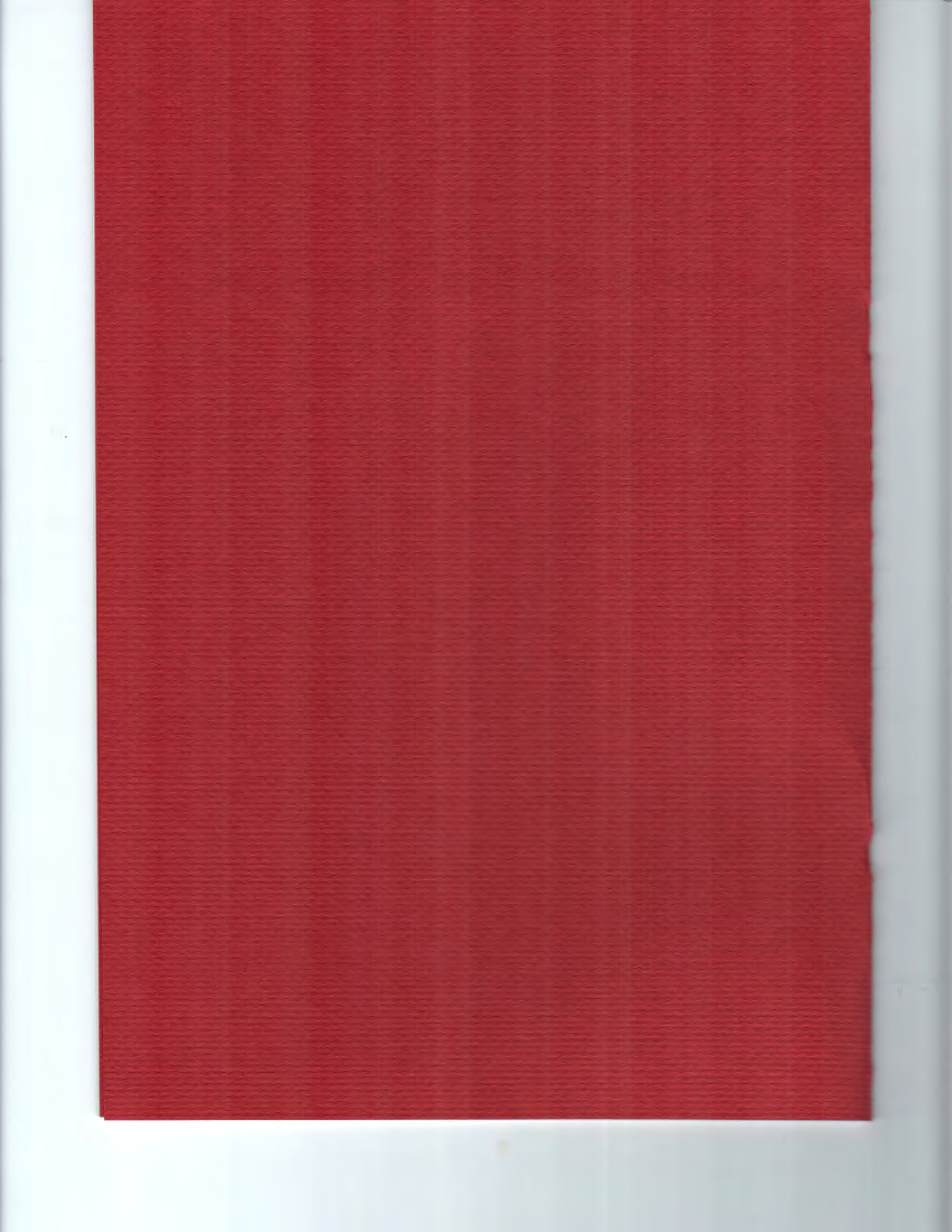
It is possible to defend the American people against a Soviet attack. But a nuclear freeze will make that impossible because it not only says "freeze what you have," but also freezes research, development, testing, and production of nuclear weapons. It would freeze the United States in the position of strategic inferiority to the Soviet Union and in a position where we would be subject to blackmail by the Kremlin, and offers us no hope of preserving our freedom.

The nuclear freeze resolution should be defeated by a resounding vote.



INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

Annual
Report 1980



**Annual
Report 1980**



... bringing the business and academic communities together.

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No sooner did the late Lionel Trilling coin the phrase "adversary culture," than it became increasingly the common term capturing events that all of us, vaguely or acutely, had found intruding into our lives. The Institute for Educational Affairs exists because our culture—the way we think about our economy, our society, our politics, our lives—has become disjointed and infused with adversary sentiments and with utopian expectations.

Our way of life began over two hundred years ago, as a self-described "experiment in self-government," with popular acceptance of the decency inherent in the impulse "to better one's condition." That phrase of Adam Smith's, which Americans took to heart, energized our national life and created a great and prosperous nation inhabited by a free people.

Yet the nation now finds itself confronted by an established cultural system that condemns the society which sustains it. In our schools, media, speech, dress, entertainment, and other expressive activities we see the manifestations of a cultural system in the United States today at odds with the workings of the economic, social, and political institutions and values that first gave rise to our civilization. This adversary culture did not arise spontaneously. It rose on the strength of ideas hostile to many of the fundamental values of our society, and it is with ideas that the adversary culture must be combated.

The Institute for Educational Affairs is a truly unique effort to deal with this truly unique situation. The Institute has in mind nothing less than creating a national dialogue about what our guiding principles might be. Out of such a dialogue, we hope, there will begin to emerge a culture that fulfills its traditional role as sustainer and guardian of our civilization.

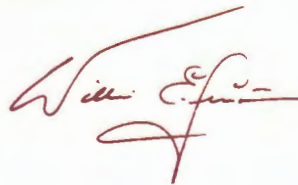
To create the Institute we brought together business leaders and leading scholars because they represent two parts of our society between which there has in the past been too little in common. All share a determination to prevent our system's collapse into utter confusion. We have brought these two groups together owing to a shared belief that now is "a time for truth," which requires the raising of implicit issues, the asking of unasked questions, and the placing upon the public agenda of a new, but at the same time very old, set of values and goals. The

Institute will by its actions demonstrate that private philanthropy, one product of a free economy, and unfettered scholarship, the only disinterested form of reason, exist in natural harmony.

The Institute will help those thinkers whose work speaks to the ideas about freedom and justice fundamental to our way of life. This is the only means consistent with our ideals by which those values can be preserved and advanced. Through its grants, the Institute can at least guarantee that those thinkers can gain access to the marketplace of ideas, where they have been unfashionable. While we recognize the adversity in opposing the "adversary culture," we know that dialogue and dissent must be carried on at every level, and that unquestionably it must start at the highest scholarly level. All that we can say with certainty, at this time, is that the future of our traditions depends upon ideas, and that it is only the sovereignty of ideas about what constitutes a free and decent society which can, in the end, be our saving grace.



Irving Kristol



William E. Simon



Only a few years ago, affirming the health of modern culture was a dispiriting task. Intellectual fashion dictated that there was in fact no culture in America at all. Commentators said a new international awareness, a "new consciousness," had to be created free from history and tradition.

The response to this call for a new consciousness was disheartening to most of us. Without accepting an uninspired praise of the ordinary, turning away from this public doctrine seemed to be a hopeless task.

Now that is changing. The Institute's successes in the last two years are a measure of the seriousness with which people now view our cultural capital. Success can be gauged in several ways. First of all, we hear few calls today for a new consciousness. More significant, however, is the interest of writers and scholars in doing critical but sympathetic research in American cultural issues. Success can be seen too in growing public awareness that our nation's passage from Horatio Alger on Main Street to Ralph Nader on Pennsylvania Avenue has had unfortunate consequences—declining productivity, increasing divisiveness, and frustration in the body politic. What consequently has emerged from a confusion over national values is a skepticism about preordained cultural, economic utopias; what has appeared is an openness to re-examining our traditional values.

American values cannot be refurbished merely by recovering the virtues of *Tom Sawyer*, even with the aid of Masterpiece Theatre on educational TV. The impulses of our culture since the turbulences of the 1960s still reverberate in public portrayals: John Wayne gives way to Woody Allen, Herbert Hoover is transformed into J.R. Ewing, Sergeant York's replacement is M.A.S.H. The "heroes" of comedy and derision replace the heroes of tradition and faith.

The public view of value conflicts originating in academic debate has drawn the American consciousness toward traditional values once again, however, and the Institute has found ways to nourish this new wave of traditional values in public debate and public policies. The chief work we do is described in the Report on Grants which appears elsewhere in this *Report*. Each grant shows serious ideas under study by first-rate scholars.

We offer a forum for the exchange of information, advice, and counsel about developments in the world of ideas. For information about the world of ideas we publish a quarterly news-

letter, *The I.E.A. Report*, and other occasional pieces such as Irving Kristol's *Foundations and the Sin of Pride*, an assessment of foundation activity. For advice about trends in scholarship we convene the Foundation Officers Forum to discuss ideas and program developments. For counsel, we operate the I.E.A. Clearinghouse, the demand upon which has led to the first volume of our *Guide to Public Policy Research Organizations*. More information about these items follows.

In its first two years, the Institute adopted a simple rule that we believe should guide our grant program in the future. We use the division of labor—teachers teach, scholars study, and writers write about the results of that study for a larger audience. While our grants go to the academic and learned community, our services make the business and philanthropic communities active partners in understanding and spreading ideas. Our work relates the seemingly esoteric pursuits of scholars and writers in the humanities and social sciences to the practical concerns of all citizens.

In short, we bring together the businessman and the scholar, the thinker and the doer, with a faith in the power and the glory of well-proved ideas—ideas that shape American culture now as they have for two centuries.

Philip N. Marcus

Philip N. Marcus



In the course of the last year, the Institute for Educational Affairs doubled the size of its grant program with 45 additional awards extending it into several new and fruitful areas. Generally, the I.E.A. grant program focuses on the contentions over values which underlie the social, cultural, and political questions confronting our society. With our support, scholars and writers can help bring the historic and philosophic traditions which shape our culture to bear on intellectual public discourse.

Support of Journals and Journalists

Our major objective in supporting scholars and writers is to ensure that ideas play a strong role in public debate. Toward this end we support intellectual journals as vehicles to convey ideas. Assistance to these journals—this year, at the University of Chicago and St. John's College—helps them gain a solid financial base, and enables young, talented writers to publish their views. Moreover, it helps ensure that values and traditions gain renewed, wide exposure among students, professors, and other intellectuals in the communities where these journals appear. We are confident that this area of our grant program will be expanded in future years.

Scholarship in Political Economy

Political economy is a new area of support for which we began a fellowship program for young scholars to study the foundations of economic analysis. Though economics and political science are established as separate disciplines, the Institute's purpose here is to develop new approaches which relate the one to the other; our recent grants supported studies (conducted at major research centers) of: the politics of the money supply (at the National Bureau for Economic Research); economic analyses of elections (at the Center for the Study of American Business); and the economic perspectives of anti-nuclear groups (at Berkeley). These grants represent a pioneering and innovative development in scholarship, examples of supporting promising scholars at the cutting edge of inquiry.

Studies in Religion and Society

Recognizing that the traditional separation of religion and politics has frequently given way, among some established religions, to newer doctrines of social and political activism, the Institute has begun developing a program centering on religion and society. Grant support in this area can help provide intellectual

leadership which is necessary for preserving religion as a stabilizing, spiritual force in society. A number of projects are in planning which follow upon the I.E.A.-supported, investigative work by Herman Nickel concerning the attack by church groups on corporations that market infant formula in developing nations.

Foreign Policy

Values underlie foreign policy as much as they do domestic policy debates, and the first I.E.A. grants to study foreign policy issues were awarded in the last year. The grants support studies in such areas as the development of Brazil, the constitutional foundation of national security policies and practices, the relationship between nationalism and Marxism in the Third World, the history of the American Communist Party, and a critical analysis of Marxism.

Political Thought, Law, and Social Science Disciplines

The Institute has continued its program, begun last year, of demonstrating the relevance of the humanities and social sciences for understanding fundamental cultural issues. New grants emphasized studies in: law (assessing the role of courts in several policy areas); jurisprudence (constitutional history and development); history (the biographies and research notes of several prominent American political and social analysts); and political theory (the study of arguments on income redistribution).

Values and Public Policy

Public policy is a major focus of the Institute's grant program when policy questions involve, at bottom, conflicts over basic values, not simply the usual political or economic issues. Among the vexing issues to be analyzed by the Institute's grantees—issues on which the public must confront fundamental, philosophical questions—are the development of civilian nuclear power, welfare policy, and those policies that either promote or help reconcile ethnic conflict. In each of these policy areas the Institute has given several grants where the study of history, religion, and philosophy are applied at the roots of the debates.

Support in Education

Of equal importance to supporting scholars and writers in preserving our intellectual heritage is improving upon the effective-



ness of education itself. Our education grants attend to the basic need of producing quality textbooks, curriculum materials, and of training serious, competent teachers. By these means we can ensure that students learn about their heritage in a positive and healthy context. We have awarded grants to support the writing of two undergraduate college textbooks, and of two casebooks on the Constitution for law school students. In addition, we have supported the writing of two books concerning high school education (one on improving the teaching of history and one on American literature) to provide effective curriculum materials for the secondary school classroom.

The serious intellectual and philosophical confusions afflicting education are the subjects of several innovative grants awarded in the last year. One supports a renowned scholar examining the crises in academic leadership; two others aim at directly improving the quality of undergraduate education in liberal arts colleges and in undergraduate courses at a major research university.

Outside the Institute and Into the Future

Beyond expanding and improving the grant program for scholars and writers, the Institute assisted several other organizations to develop special projects. Our aim in these grants is to expand the institutional support for traditional values and practices in areas that fall outside the purview of I.E.A.'s own programs.

After two years of operation (and a total of 68 grants approved in one and a half years of actual grant-giving), the Institute's programs have developed a unique focus on ideas and writers in the humanities and social sciences. In this area of the intellectual world lies the greatest challenge to the well-being of traditional ideas. The Institute's programs address this challenge through several kinds of grants: by supporting writers and journals of opinion for students, professors, and citizens; by supporting expert scholars on the issues; and by encouraging serious efforts at improving education. These are the goals we will continue to strive for in the future.

List of Grants 1980

SUPPORT OF JOURNALS AND JOURNALISTS

Journals

General Support	Professor Leo Raditsa: <i>St. John's Review</i> , a publication at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland	\$27,000
	Mr. John Podhoretz and Mr. Tod Lindberg: <i>Counterpoint</i> , a student publication at the University of Chicago	5,000

Internships

	The Heritage Foundation: Internship at <i>Policy Review</i> , a journal of public policy	12,000
	The Reason Foundation: Internship at <i>Reason</i> magazine	5,250

Journalists

	Mr. Burton Pines, <i>Time</i> magazine: <i>Back from the Brink</i> , a book that will describe the resurgence of traditional ideas in American society	5,000
	Mr. Eric Hoffer: Assembly of research notes for his forthcoming works and for future biographical use	7,800
	Mr. Aram Bakshian, Jr.: "Some Things Considered," an article examining the National Public Radio program, "All Things Considered"	500

SUPPORT FOR SCHOLARSHIP

Political Economy

	Dr. Marc Plattner: A book-length, critical examination of the contemporary arguments for income redistribution	13,345
	Professor Steven Rhoads, the University of Virginia: <i>Economics, Consumer Sovereignty, and Public Policy Analysis</i> , a book on political economy analyzing current economic thinking	20,000
	Dr. Philip Lyons: A book entitled, <i>The Forgotten Center and the Politics of Poverty: A Case for the Revival of the Market Solution</i> , which will attempt to restore and reapply the political defense, in the thought of the American Founders, of the free market system	7,500



	Dr. Robert Shapiro, Harvard University: Research at the National Bureau for Economic Research on the political character of the money supply	\$14,650
	Professor Jeanne Nienaber, the University of Arizona: A study of the character and nature of groups involved in the anti-nuclear movement in the United States to be prepared at the University of California, Berkeley	12,960
	Professor Walker Pollard, Ohio State University: Research into the effects on elections of economic conditions to be done at the Center for the Study of American Business	15,000
Religion and Society	Ethics and Public Policy Center: (1) A book-length study of the involvement of church groups in the boycott of the Nestle Company for its infant formula marketing program	16,000
	(2) Dissemination of Herman Nickel's <i>Fortune</i> magazine article, "The Corporation Haters"	7,435
	Dr. Robert Licht, American Enterprise Institute: A monograph entitled, "Family and Polity: The Public Interest and the Private Family" (Supplement to earlier grant)	1,388
Foreign Policy	Mr. Norman Gall: A series of articles for major periodicals on the economy and politics of Brazil	12,000
	Mr. Dawa Norbu, the University of California, Berkeley: A book entitled, <i>Marxism, Nationalism, and Revolution: An Inquiry into the Origins of the "Third World" Ideology</i>	4,000
Law and Jurisprudence	University of Chicago Press: Editorial preparation for the publication of the late Professor Herbert Storing's collection of Anti-Federalist writings—an incentive to return to the original thought of the American Founders	14,000
	Professor James Q. Wilson, Harvard University: A conference of younger scholars on the role of the courts in the making of social policy	3,157
	Dr. Michael Uhlmann: A study critically examining the Supreme Court's recent decisions on reapportionment offering alternative approaches	12,000

**Values and
Public Policy**

Professor Robert Michener, the University of Chicago: Development of a course in law and legal institutions and preparation of a book-length study of the interaction of law and public opinion in 20th-century America (grant continuation) \$16,492

American Legislative Exchange Council: Internship to expand its research department devoted to questions of federalism 12,000

Dr. Joseph Shattan: A book on the political history of civilian nuclear power in the United States examining the root causes of public disaffection 24,250

Dr. Donald Horowitz, The Smithsonian Institution: A cross-national study of ethnic conflict examining the bases of ethnic claims and their legitimacy 15,000

Dr. Elizabeth Whelan, American Council on Science and Health: Expansion of activities to promote a balanced discussion of health and environmental issues 25,000

Dr. Blanche Bernstein, New School for Social Research: A book on the politics of welfare examining the resistance to positive reform among welfare professionals and other groups 10,000

Committee for Responsible Health Care: Research project to catalogue and assess corporate initiatives in the health-care field 12,500

Professor Lawrence Mead, New York University: A preliminary study of the "work test" requirements for welfare recipients 11,478

Professors Seymour Martin Lipset and William Schneider, Hoover Institution and Harvard University respectively: A book on changing public attitudes toward American institutions, particularly business 2,500

**Political
Thought**

Professor Werner Dannhauser, Cornell University: A pilot study for a comprehensive series reassessing Marx and Marxism 15,000

Professor David Schaefer, Holy Cross College: An article on the thought of Robert Nozick as an attempt to expand the dialogue about modern egalitarianism 2,500



Dr. Roger Pilon, Institute for Humane Studies: A book on the theory of first order rights, demonstrating that the right to property is a first order right that implies an obligation in others to observe it \$14,000

Professor William Lunch, the University of San Francisco: A book entitled, *The Nationalization of Politics*, which will bring to public attention the radical change toward the centralization of politics that has occurred in American political life 17,023

History

Professor Harvey Klehr, Emory University: A book on the Communist Party in America from 1939 to 1945 13,106

Dr. Sidney Hook, the Hoover Institution: Completion of his memoir 4,000

SUPPORT IN EDUCATION

Textbooks

Professor John Norton Moore and Mr. Robert Turner, University of Virginia Law School: Preparation of a casebook on national security law 8,000

Professor Hadley Arkes, Amherst College: An introductory textbook in political science based on the principle that politics rests on rational moral laws understood only by careful thought 8,000

Professors Richard Bishirjian and Dante Germino, College of New Rochelle and the University of Virginia respectively: An introductory textbook in political theory from the point of view of the "Voegelinian" school active in the revival of traditional thought in America 13,250

Professor Terence Marshall, the Sorbonne, Paris: Preparation of the first in a series of volumes of essays in French on American political institutions 4,000

Professor Susan Resneck Parr, Ithaca College: Preparation of a guidebook on moral education for high school teachers of literature 13,100

Course Development	Professors Leon Kass and Ralph Lerner, the University of Chicago: Doubling of a course, "Human Being and Citizen," which represents one half the work of the freshman year, and gives students a grounding in the fundamental ideas and values of the Western tradition	\$22,933
	Professor Robert Horwitz, Kenyon College: Conduct a summer institute for college teachers of political science encouraging the adoption of Kenyon's course, "Quest for Justice," which prepares students to appreciate the achievement of the American Founders	28,250
Education Policy	Professor David Riesman, Harvard University: Critical analysis of the selection process for academic leaders which currently tends to penalize the best qualities in education leaders	13,000
	The Council for Basic Education, Mr. James Howard: A report on the place of history in the schools, focusing on the importance of the discipline and its current perilous condition	10,000

List of Grants 1979

SUPPORT OF JOURNALS AND JOURNALISTS

General Support	<i>Interpretation</i> magazine, Queens College, City University of New York	\$2,000
	<i>Character</i> magazine, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle	12,000
Internships	<i>Regulation</i> magazine, American Enterprise Institute	10,500
	<i>Public Opinion</i> magazine, American Enterprise Institute	10,500
	<i>Policy Review</i> , The Heritage Foundation	10,500
	<i>American Spectator</i> , Bloomington, Indiana	10,500
	<i>Reason</i> magazine, The Reason Foundation	10,500

SUPPORT FOR SCHOLARSHIP

Political Economy	Mr. Michael Scully: "Business Ethics"	20,000
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Religion and Society	Dr. Robert Licht, American Enterprise Institute: "Family and Polity"	\$15,750
Law and Jurisprudence	Professor Nathan Glazer, Harvard University: "The Courts and Social Responsibility"	14,064
	Professor Robert Michener, University of Chicago: "Law and Society"	14,117
Values and Public Policy	Mr. Roger Starr: "The Decline of the American City"	5,000
	Professor Stanley Rothman, Amherst College: "The Media Elite"	20,000
	Professor Abigail Thernstrom: "The Voting Rights Act of 1965"	15,000
Political Thought	Mr. John Agresto, National Humanities Center: "The Federalist Papers"	10,000
	Professor Kenneth Kolson, Hiram College: "Beyond Party"	3,700
	Mr. Bradford Wilson, The Catholic University of America: "The Private Sector"	5,000
	Professor Arthur Maas, Harvard University: "The Congress"	5,000
History	Professor Allen Weinstein, Amherst College: "The Haunted Wood"	25,000
SUPPORT IN EDUCATION		
Textbooks	Professors Philip Kurland and Ralph Lerner, University of Chicago: "A Constitutional Casebook"	35,800
Course Development and Education Policy	Boston University, Center for Learning in a Free Society: "Pilot Program in Summer Training of Teachers in American History"	20,000
	National Humanities Center: "Conference on Moral Education"	7,798
	University Centers for Rational Alternatives: Development grant	20,000

Finances

The Institute for Educational Affairs was incorporated in April 1978, and received both New York State and Federal tax-exempt status as a public foundation under Sections 501 (c) and 509 (a) of the IRS Code.

The Institute completed its second year of operation on 31 October 1980. The accounting firm of Seidman & Seidman conducted a "certified audit" of the Institute's accounts, copies of which are available upon request to prospective donors.

The Institute's total expenses for the year, \$679,106, are comprised of approved grants plus general and administrative costs. The Institute significantly expanded its program activities in this second year. The approved grants increased from 23 to 45; the funds awarded increased from \$301,429 to \$538,868.

The objective of I.E.A.'s grant program is to award accurately targeted grants for full effectiveness: the right scholar or writer preparing the innovative, imaginative work at the margin or cutting edge of inquiry. Toward this end, the average size of our awards is about \$12,000, a sum which can go a long way when other funds for worthy projects fall short, or when controversial projects cannot summon "mainstream" funding by private philanthropy.

It is hoped that the Institute's grant-giving program can continue its growth in the third year. With anticipation of such growth, the I.E.A. Board of Directors approved a budget for 1980-81 at its annual meeting on 24 October 1980. Copies of the Institute's budget are also available upon request to prospective donors.

Report of Certified Public Accountants

The Board of Directors
The Institute for Educational Affairs
New York, New York

We have examined the statements of assets, liabilities, and fund balance of The Institute for Educational Affairs as of October 31, 1980 and 1979 and the related statements of changes in fund balance for the years then ended. Our examinations were made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included such tests of the accounting records and other such auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the financial statements mentioned present fairly the financial position of The Institute for Educational Affairs at October 31, 1980 and 1979, and the changes in fund balance for the years then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a consistent basis.

December 30, 1980





Foundations

Allen-Bradley Foundation, Inc.
Bechtel Foundation
W.H. Brady Foundation, Inc.
The Drexel Burnham Fund
Sylvan C. Coleman Fund
The Continental Group
Foundation, Inc.
Shelby Cullom Davis Foundation
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Billy Rose Foundation, Inc.
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Corporations

Allied Telephone Company
American Brands, Inc.
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Inc.
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Emhart Corporation
Ford Motor Company Fund
General Motors Corporation
IMC Corporation
IMC Magnetics Corporation
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K-Mart Corporation
Loctite Corporation
Milliken & Company
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Insurance Company
SmithKline Corporation
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Application Guidelines and Procedures

Applicants should make initial inquiry to the staff of the Institute for advice before submitting a full proposal. The Institute does not have formal application materials; applications should be in letter form. A complete proposal should contain a full description of the project, including an explanation of the purpose of the project and of its intended result. The application should also provide the name, title, and complete address of the person or persons who will carry out the project and be chiefly responsible for its direction. *Curricula vitae* or other appropriate forms of biographical information should also be included. The application should contain a budget for the project and set the dates within which the project is to be carried out and completed. In addition, the application must list any other funding organizations that are considering or have considered the proposal. The full history of any support the project has already received from other sources should be presented as well.

The Institute evaluates the proposals it receives through professional peer review. All proposals, including those projects the Institute helps to generate, first are subject to initial staff inspection for completeness and for suitability. For applications accepted by the Institute, the staff solicits an expert in the area of proposed work for an evaluation of the application, asking for an opinion of the project's importance, the scholar's preparation, and the feasibility of the project. When this independent assessment is in hand, the staff correlates the assessment with a summary of the application in preparation for a review by a committee of the Board. Then the application, together with other applications, is presented to the Board at one of its quarterly meetings.

When the Board approves an application, the staff will convey the Institute's offer of support, explaining any conditions to be attached to the grant, and requesting with the applicant's acceptance of the offer a schedule for receiving payments. The condition for offers of support is the preparation of a final report at the conclusion of the grant. The Institute reserves the right to evaluate all grants.



The Institute provides several services to help keep businessmen, contributions officers, and others in philanthropy aware of important issues, and to help them find effective ways to deal with intellectual developments. Together, these services provide information and an exchange for the use of both the corporate and academic communities.

The I.E.A. Clearinghouse

The I.E.A. **Clearinghouse** is informed about literally hundreds of non-profit organizations, numerous academic organizations and activities, and countless scholars and writers. It has the capacity to provide information to corporations and foundations as a basis for judging organizations applying for assistance. In addition, the **Clearinghouse** responds to a variety of other requests, from identifying all the effective organizations in a particular field, to helping identify specialized research skills, to performing "audits" of contribution programs. The unique character of the Institute enables us to offer this service quickly and professionally.

The **Clearinghouse** functions with the use of our staff's expertise, our contacts and consultants throughout the academic community, and the resources of our Board members to help grant-makers play an informed, active role in the world of ideas.

In addition to answering many individual requests for advice and information in making grants, we have begun a program of publications to reach a wider audience. On the principles and purposes of philanthropy, we have reprinted Irving Kristol's important speech, *Foundations and the Sin of Pride: The Myth of the 'Third Sector,'* and mailed it to thousands of corporate and foundation executives, receiving additional requests for many more copies. On the practical side, we have published a *Guide to Public Policy Research Organizations*, which selectively lists organizations whose activities in support of a free society merit private financial support. The interest in our *Guide* has been quite favorable, and the publication of new, revised guides is being contemplated for the future.

In sum, the I.E.A. **Clearinghouse** is an invaluable asset in the Institute's continuing effort to increase the dialogue between the corporate and academic communities.



The Foundation Officers Forum

The **Foundation Officers Forum** is an integral part of I.E.A.'s effort to increase the effectiveness of corporate and other private philanthropy. The aim of the **Forum** is to keep corporate and foundation contributions officers abreast of the most recent thinking and research in areas of pressing public concern.

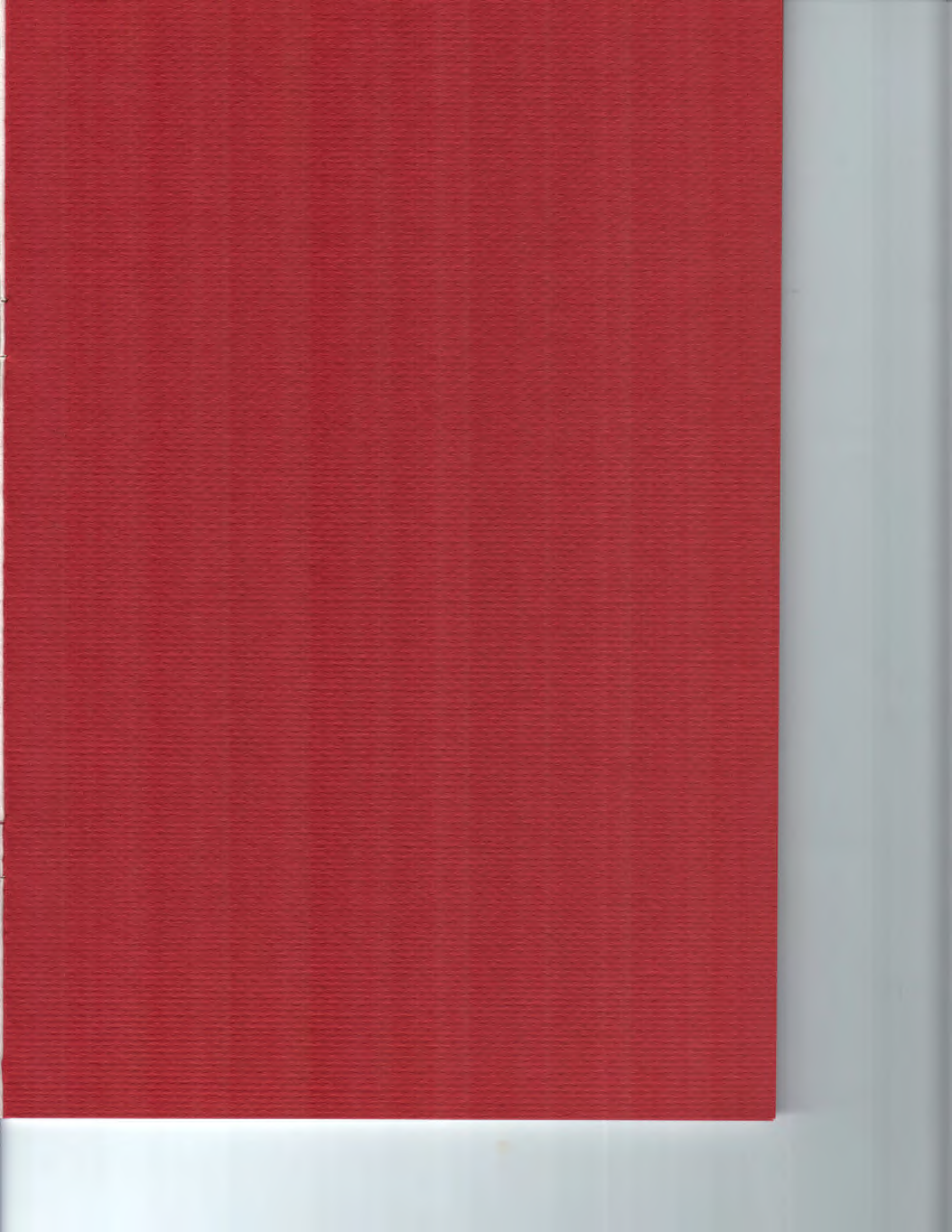
The **Forum** meets throughout the year to discuss a topical issue in depth, and to permit an exchange of views about promising activities and initiatives in the relevant field. The **Forum** is made up of over 160 participants, and continues to expand.

Some of the subjects addressed at recent **Forums** have been:

Economics and Economic Education
The Politicization of Religion
Science, Environmentalism, and Public Policy
Business and its Critics

Each **Forum** session centers on presentations by a panel of experts who give **Forum** members the benefit of their work. The presentations are followed by a general discussion of the issue, including practical ideas for the implementation of new projects.

From time to time, the Institute will publish special booklets, containing the texts of **Forum** presentations, which will be available from the Institute upon request.





Institute for Educational Affairs
310 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10017
(212) 687-2826



**THE
INSTITUTE
FOR
EDUCATIONAL
AFFAIRS**

Why There Is An I.E.A.

No sooner did the late Lionel Trilling coin the phrase "adversary culture," than it became increasingly the common term capturing events that all of us, vaguely or acutely, had found intruding into our lives. The Institute for Educational Affairs exists because our culture—the way we think about our economy, our society, our politics, our lives—has become disjointed and infused with adversary sentiments and with utopian expectations.

Our way of life began over two hundred years ago, as a self-described "experiment in self-government," with popular acceptance of the decency inherent in the impulse "to better one's condition." That phrase of Adam Smith's, which Americans took to heart, energized our national life and created a great and prosperous nation inhabited by a free people.

Yet the nation now finds itself confronted by an established cultural system that condemns the society which sustains it. In our schools, media, speech, dress, entertainment, and other expressive activities we see the manifestations of a cultural system in the United States today at odds with the workings of the economic, social, and political institutions and values that first gave rise to our civilization. This adversary culture did not arise spontaneously. It rose on the strength of ideas hostile to many of the fundamental values of our society, and it is with ideas that the adversary culture must be combated.

The Institute for Educational Affairs is a truly unique effort to deal with this truly unique situation. The Institute has in mind nothing less than creating a national dialogue about what our guiding principles might be. Out of such dialogue, we hope, there will begin to emerge a culture that fulfills its traditional role as sustainer and guardian of our civilization.

To create the Institute we brought together business leaders and leading scholars because they represent two parts of our society between which there has been too little in common. All share a determination to prevent our system's collapse into utter confusion. We have brought these two groups together owing to a shared belief that now is "a time for truth," which requires the raising of implicit issues, the asking of unasked questions, and the placing upon the public agenda of a new, but at the same time very old, set of values and goals. The Institute will by its actions demonstrate that private philanthropy, one product of a free economy, and unfettered scholarship, the only disinterested form of reason, exist in natural harmony.

The Institute will help those thinkers whose work speaks to the ideas about freedom and justice fundamental to our way of life. This is the only means consistent with our ideals by which those values can be preserved and advanced. Through its grants, the Institute can at least guarantee that those thinkers can gain access to the marketplace of ideas, where they have been unfashionable. While we recognize the adversity in opposing the "adversary culture," we know that dialogue and dissent must be carried on at every level, and that unquestionably it must start at the highest scholarly level. All that we can say with certainty, at this time, is that the future of our American tradition depends upon ideas, and that it is only the sovereignty of ideas about what constitutes a free and decent society which can, in the end, be our saving grace.

William E. Simon

Irving Kristol

The Institute for Educational Affairs is a nonprofit tax-exempt organization founded in 1978. The Institute is classified by New York State and the Federal government as a 501(c)3 organization, and it is classified by Federal I.R.S. Code as a [509(a)] public foundation.

Services

Service to private philanthropy is a major reason for I.E.A.'s existence. The Institute exists owing to the great and growing importance of private philanthropy, especially small foundations lacking professional staffs, and corporate foundations. Corporate giving is steadily increasing; more than \$2 billion was donated by corporations in 1979, about one third of it to education. Based on present trends, corporate philanthropy will soon replace foundations as the largest single source of private giving for education.

The Institute seeks to allow private philanthropy, once aware of its greatly increased importance, to make the most effective use of its support. If corporate philanthropy used its considerable funds to support traditional American values and institutions in higher education, the effect on restoring those values would be as powerful as the failure to pay attention to them has been detrimental. The Institute can advise private philanthropy about worthy recipients of its funds, whether an institution, department, program, or individual. I.E.A.'s clearinghouse has information, which is continuously updated, to be used for evaluation of projects and programs, and as a source of advice. The Institute can also provide professional consultations for designing and evaluating contributions programs to help insure that grants are effective, respected contributions to intellectual debate.

I.E.A. also sponsors meetings, for both top executives and corporate contributions officers, to help businessmen to become more proficient in assessing educational developments and their importance in the contemporary conflict of ideas.

Finally, by giving grants in the highly significant, frequently neglected, and even controversial area of cultural analysis, I.E.A. helps business to achieve the well-aimed, effective giving it might find most difficult to achieve on its own.

These tasks require sound judgments that only professionals with time, experience, and background can make; they require, too, access for consultation to the best scholars in the nation. The Institute has both.

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Philip N. Marcus

Program

The Institute conducts a grant-giving program based on the principles put forth by William E. Simon and Irving Kristol. Our particular concern is to repair the intellectual neglect that has caused a dangerous decline in popular understanding of the strengths of the American republic.

Our programs promote scholarship to strengthen understanding of the values and institutions that constitute the traditional foundations of American democracy. The research, writing, and education projects we support deal with all facets of American culture: its social, political, economic, intellectual, and religious practices.

The Institute makes a limited number of modest-sized grants. Our particular concern is for those projects that, while eminently worthwhile, might be neglected—because they are thought to be controversial, require special expertise to evaluate, have a “payoff” too far in the future, or for any number of other reasons—by other foundations or by corporate philanthropies.

Our grant programs are general in definition, with a special emphasis on fellowship support where it is possible for a small grant to have a substantial impact on the completion of a project. Decisions on grants always turn on the significance of the research for advancing understanding. The conclusions of studies sponsored by the Institute will, of course, differ from one another, just as they will in no way represent the views of the Institute or any of its directors. We believe that by supporting the very best research on American culture, we will have helped to produce a balanced public appreciation, as well as criticism, of our society.

Application Procedure

Applicants should make initial inquiry to the staff of the Institute for advice before submitting a full proposal. The Institute does not have formal application materials; applications should be in letter form. A complete proposal should contain a full description of the project, including an explanation

of the purpose of the project and of its intended result. The application should also provide the name, title, institution, and complete address of the person or persons who will carry out the project and be chiefly responsible for its direction. *Curricula vitae* or other appropriate forms of biographical information should also be included. The application should contain a budget for the project and set the dates within which the project is to be carried out and completed. In addition, the application must list any other funding organizations that are considering, or have considered, the proposal. The full history of any support the project has already received from other sources should be presented as well.

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Invitation

The Institute's Board of Directors is composed equally of leading businessmen and scholars, who seek to expand the flow of corporate philanthropy, and to direct some of these funds toward the Institute's efforts to achieve a deeper understanding of American culture and its traditions.

As a public foundation the Institute for Educational Affairs receives annual contributions from foundations, corporations, and charitable trusts to support its programs and services. Those who wish to further the work of I.E.A. or to use its services may obtain further information by calling or writing me. Just use the coupon below.

Philip N. Marcus
Executive Director

Institute for Educational Affairs
310 Madison Avenue — Room 1629
New York, New York 10017

- Please send me further information about the Institute.
- I am interested in learning about the Institute's services.
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Institute for Educational Affairs
310 Madison Avenue — Room 1629
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■ HOW THE 'NETWORK' WORKS

The New Right's Campus Press

FRAN R. SCHUMER

This past January *The American Spectator* and the neoconservative Institute for Educational Affairs sponsored a conference in New York City for college students interested in starting or maintaining conservative newspapers on their campuses. Two years ago such an event might have attracted only a few participants, but that was before the boom in campus conservatism. More than forty students from schools as diverse as Harvard, the University of Chicago, Holy Cross and the University of Louisville attended the one-day meeting at the New York City Athletic Club. Many of these students had already launched successful publishing ventures; others came at the invitation of the sponsors to learn how to do so.

Conservative students have long been out of favor on campuses, and only the recent ascendancy of conservatives to national power has alleviated their ostracism. As a result, the conference took on the atmosphere of an exile's return. Participants talked far less about the nuts and bolts of putting out a newspaper than they did about plans for uprooting the liberal orthodoxy they see as still entrenched on most campuses. Such speakers as *The Spectator's* R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., *Harper's* contributor Tom Bethell and I.E.A. executive director Philip Marcus counseled the student editors in matters of taste and tactics ("Don't print K.K.K. literature"), armed them for ideological battle ("If someone accuses you of being a racist or a sexist, accuse them back of McCarthy tactics") and gave them the confidence to fight ("We're winners now").

No doubt the introduction of a second point of view on campuses where liberalism has held sway was inevitable, even healthy. But the conference did illuminate the interesting fact that the new student right is less a spontaneous outgrowth of campus sentiment than the carefully nurtured product of the New Right's increasing awareness of the importance of university students. The purpose of the conference, in the words of its sponsors, was not so much to give students journalistic guidance, although that was available, as it was to "solidify the growing network of conservative support" around them. To that end, they were told of all the ideological and financial support available.

There are some thirty conservative university-affiliated newspapers now being published. Some have been stirred to life by the same political winds that swept Ronald Reagan into office, but others have been coaxed into existence by a

well-heeled network of conservative publications, corporate philanthropies and neoconservative activists.

Chief among these patrons is the I.E.A., which, operating as a sort of Ministry of Propaganda for the neoconservative camp, has prepared the soil for corporate largess in academia [see Peter H. Stone, "Teaching the 'Right' Stuff," *The Nation*, September 19, 1981]. In 1980, the I.E.A. gave \$5,000 to *Counterpoint*, a journal at the University of Chicago started by John Podhoretz, son of *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz, and \$27,000 to the *St. John's Review*, a formerly apolitical journal associated with St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, whose pages now feature occasional articles by conservative scholars. The next year, the institute increased its efforts, dispensing approximately \$5,000 each to fledgling conservative publications at Harvard, Yale, the University of Chicago and the Claremont Colleges in California.

Until the entrance of the I.E.A. into student publishing ventures, none of the major college papers, conservative or otherwise, had received foundation or corporate support, according to a study done at Northwestern University. (Some campus newspapers operate independently of their schools, raising money from advertising and sales; most rely on student fees or university stipends.) The I.E.A.'s appearance on campus has cleared the way for other foundations to sponsor campus journals, including the John M. Olin Foundation, the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts and several less well known trusts (Scovill, Kilpatrick, Pfizer). These benefactors appear to offer little by way of editorial guidance; their main purpose, according to former I.E.A. program officer Mark Greenberg, is to "start new papers and keep existing ones from being precarious." The only requirement for obtaining funds is that the paper not be liberal.

The origins of the new conservative student papers vary greatly. *The Gavel*, published by the Cleveland-Marshall College of Law, had been a liberal paper for more than a decade until its management fell to a group of energetic conservative students who completely changed its tone. Other papers, such as the Harvard *Salient*, have come about through the vigorous intervention of outside groups. A year ago, then-I.E.A. board member Christopher DeMuth, who is now an official at the Office of Management and Budget, urged graduate student Terry Quist to come to New York to meet institute members. "We were impressed with Terry and encouraged him to go back to Harvard and get things rolling," said Greenberg. Quist enlisted the aid of several conservative faculty members, among them Edward Banfield and Richard Pipes, and helped a small group of undergraduates draft a grant proposal. The result was *The Salient*, which published its first three issues last fall.

The Dartmouth Review traces its origins not to the growth of conservative sentiment on campus but to the difficulty of airing unpopular views in *The Dartmouth*, the student daily. After being removed from *The Dartmouth* as a consequence of his conservative views, Gregory Fossedal

appealed for help to Dartmouth professor and *National Review* editor Jeffrey Hart. In a half-hour on the telephone, Hart had raised enough money for Fossedal to start *The Dartmouth Review*. Chief among *The Review's* early patrons was alumnus George Champion, the retired chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, who had long made known his dissatisfaction with what he saw as Dartmouth's liberal tendencies. Within a week of receiving its sponsorship, the first issue of what is now the most controversial college newspaper hit the stands.

The Review has been something of a phenomenon in the annals of campus journalism. Its racy style, fluid prose and ribald humor wrested a large number of readers from its relatively pallid competitor; it attracted a following not so much because of its rightist politics but because, as one undergraduate said, "we wanted to see what they would do next." The paper sponsored a beauty pageant to select a Carnival Queen, honored Phyllis Schlafly and, on the day that many students fasted in support of OxFam, the world hunger relief organization, it picked up the tab for a champagne and lobster brunch to which the whole campus was invited. *The Review* may be the only campus paper whose judgment on matters of taste is more offensive to undergraduates than to alumni. An interview with a Ku Klux Klansman was illustrated with a picture of a black hanging by a noose from a tree. Other examples of *Review* humor: "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry," a quote from an anonymous student, and, "A hippie is someone who looks like Tarzan, walks like Jane and smells like Cheeta," a quote from President Reagan.

In a style reminiscent of CREEP, *Review* editors last spring obtained a confidential membership list and meeting notes of the Dartmouth Gay Student Alliance. They then printed the names of the club's officers. One of the students whose name was printed, an 18-year-old freshman, called the paper to disavow any connection with the group; *The Review* responded by publishing photostats of the stolen files, proving the student's affiliation. "We hated to do it but we did have our credibility to think about," said *Review* chairman Keeney Jones. The student has since taken a leave from school. The grandfather of another student, himself a Dartmouth alumnus, discovered his grandson was gay only when he received his copy of *The Review* in the mail. Undergraduates held a rally to protest against *The Review*; the editors responded by sponsoring a croquet tournament, which they attended in Gatsby-style attire.

Despite its tactics, *The Review* has become the puckish mascot of the New Right. Its progress has been cheered in the pages of *The National Review*—"Let the battle rage"—and President Reagan has sent the paper a letter of endorsement, which it uses to solicit subscriptions. Its board of advisers includes Representative Jack Kemp, syndicated columnist Patrick Buchanan and *National Review* publisher William Rusher. It has a comfortable \$100,000 annual budget, one third of which comes from advertising, one third from grants (I.E.A. and the John M. Olin Foundation have both given \$10,000) and one third from alumni, including Champion, who commented that in his day,

"we'd have thrown the gays off campus."

Not all conservative campus newspapers admire *The Review's* tactics, but many hope to duplicate its success. *The Review* inspired students at Princeton to start *The Madison Report*, and that in turn encouraged students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to launch their own conservative journal. *The Review* has also been active in disseminating funding information, including a list of fifty-three corporations and foundations interested in giving financial support to conservative campus papers. (The list named the Hoover Institution, the Adolph Coors Foundation, Atlantic Richfield and A.T.&T., among others.)

Whether or not they have foundation backing, the new conservative papers maintain their editorial independence and as a result represent a broad spectrum of conservative ideas. The Harvard *Salient* is fairly typical of the Ivy League papers in its political range. "If we had an enemies list, it would contain Brezhnev, Ted Kennedy, Arafat and F.D.R.," says student editor Michael Lendon. A heroes list would include Theodore Roosevelt, Alexander Haig, Reagan and Pope John Paul II ("for his efforts to stop the liberalizing drift in the Church"). Most of the papers have sharply anti-Soviet views and are vehemently opposed to affirmative action for gays, women or blacks. "Girl" is *de rigueur* for "woman" in some; in others, women's studies are characterized as "lesbian studies." The inevitable anti-affirmative action article is usually written by a black and the antiabortion one by a woman. (While there are women on the staffs of most of these publications, there may not be many blacks: of the forty students who attended the I.E.A. conference, two were women, not one was black.)

The journals range in style from the sophisticated to the very coarse. The less polished examples are usually the ones without corporate support, not because foundations have turned them down—the I.E.A. has yet to reject a grant proposal from a nonliberal student paper—but because prior to the I.E.A. conference, few editors knew it was possible even to apply for funding.

As with editors at most other undergraduate journals, student editors at the new conservative papers are unpaid, and except for the occasional typesetter or business manager, most papers are student-run. The *Yale Literary Magazine* (known as the *Lit*) is the one exception to this rule. For years a first-rate literary journal (it published the works of Archibald MacLeish, Robert Penn Warren, Sinclair Lewis, Rudyard Kipling and Stephen Vincent Benet, among others), the *Lit* was a student-operated venture which existed on a shoestring. In the late 1970s, when it ran out of money, it was bought for \$1 by Andrei Navrozov, a 25-year-old Yale graduate who is the son of a prolific and fiercely anti-Soviet émigré. Navrozov proceeded to fill the *Lit's* pages with the works of little-known Eastern European poets and interviews with people he regarded as leading intellectuals (i.e., George Gilder), but mostly it became the forum for his father's anti-Soviet tirades. Navrozov was overwhelmingly successful in raising funds for the *Lit*. With a yearly budget of \$250,000, its benefactors include Paul Mellon, the Scaife Family Charitable Trusts, the John M.

Olin Foundation, the Wilmot Wheeler Foundation and Pfizer Inc. Irving Kristol, William Simon, Frank Shakespeare, Robert Bork and George Will are on its advisory committee, and Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige sits on its board of patrons.

Former *Lit* editors Brendan Gill and John Hersey, who bemoan its political reincarnation, have joined others in questioning the propriety of letting the journal drift out of student hands, but Yale officials have been reluctant to act against the publication for fear of being called anti-right. While the *Lit* is unpopular at Yale—*The Yale Daily News* ran an unfavorable series on it—it has won a good deal of praise from the corporate world. "It is unique in our national intellectual life," said Reginald Jones, chairman of General Electric. Malcolm Brachman, owner of the Northwest Oil Co. of Texas, called it "a very worthwhile enterprise," and C. Davis Weyerhaeuser, chairman of Comerco, said that "it is refreshing to see something that has not bowed to the demand to be competitively priced." (*The Lit*, which sells for \$6 per issue, is raising its price to \$8.)

Conservative college newspapers are hardly a new phenomenon. Ten years ago, the *Badger-Herald* was started in reaction to the more radical *Daily Cardinal* at the University of Wisconsin. *The American Spectator* itself was the outgrowth of a student paper at Indiana University in the 1960s. Shifts in ideology are a natural part of university life. The only difference now is that the growth of conservative college papers is in part the result of the elaborate life-support system that conservative groups have set up for them. And awareness that such a system exists is spreading. New proposals for grants from students at the University of California at San Diego, Columbia and the University of



Michigan at Ann Arbor are now awaiting review at I.E.A. headquarters.

At the same time, the foundations are looking for papers that have not yet made use of the network. Only 4.3 percent of the I.E.A. budget goes to conservative college journals, but members say it is not inconceivable that the board will soon triple that amount. Other foundations are considering similar plans.

Both newspapers and universities attempt, in theory, to limit the extent to which market forces determine what they print and what they teach. One does this in the name of freedom of the press; the other, in the name of academic freedom. The more outside groups infiltrate these two spheres, the less likely the survival of either freedom. □

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REDS, RADS, AND REASON

What happened to cause stories about the nation's colleges to disappear from the front pages of news magazines and the evening television news? This question led *U.S. News and World Report* (January 25, 1982) to run a cover story, "Marxism in U.S. Classrooms," reporting that "... this surge of radical study is taking place in an era of comparative campus calm. Most of today's undergraduates are more career-oriented than the baby boom generation that preceded them and less interested in social, economic and political issues."

The news in the story was... well, not much of a news story. It is obvious that some young radicals and youthful Marxists have grown up to be tenured professors. It is also obvious that today's students are more concerned with bettering themselves than with demanding that the world instantly gratify the wants of older radicals. The campuses are quiet because they have been made "irrelevant" to politics despite the urgings of some of their teachers. Still, the story's explanation of why yesterday's radicalism can't ignite today's students is perversely wrong—and that is the news.

Today the Marxist professor behind the college desk is likely to be facing classes of students who are increasingly thinking for themselves, and—here's the news that everyone is missing or incredulous about—their thinking is distinctively non-liberal. The more prestigious the school, the more likely it is that the student has just read an alternative newspaper or journal that is irreverent, provocative, and fiesty about debunking conventional liberalism, as well as their own college administrator's foibles and rules.

It simply won't do to pass off today's students as "apathetic, selfish, or conventional" or as disinterested in social, political, and economic issues, in the face of the stirrings on campus of feelings aroused by nuclear arms, El Salvador, Solidarity in Poland, and other such public issues. Though the "80s generation" has mastered the forms of 1960s-style social activism, it insists on putting its own new wine in those old bottles. If the reigning orthodoxy against which students rebel is radicalism, as well as mainstream liberalism, their methods and style evoke memories of the campus activists—but to a different end.

It is for this reason that I.E.A., as part of its Young Journalists Program, sponsored a Conference for Student Editors of alternative publications this winter.

continued next column

Responding to the invitation of the *American Spectator*, over fifty student editors representing about twenty college publications from across the nation attended the conference. They met with the staffs of I.E.A. and the *American Spectator*, and with veteran writers and journalists to learn from their knowledge and experience and to share their hopes for a new direction in thinking about public issues.

Many of the student publications represented at the conference exist due to "seed grants" from the Institute to help to pay initial production costs. Because these publications are independent from their student governments or college administrations, they must draw support from their own fellow students and alumni. Some of the journals are: *The Dartmouth Review*, *The Yale Political Monthly*, *The Salient* (Harvard), *Claremont Review of Books*, *Counterpoint* (University of Chicago), and *The Madison Report* (Princeton). These are in addition to the other publications that have received assistance from I.E.A. such as: *The Northwestern Review*, *The California Review* (University of California at San Diego), *The Morningside Review* (Columbia), and *The Harvard Journal on Law and Public Policy*. All of these publications present a diverse set of views, united chiefly around their common agreement that conventional academic liberalism is bankrupt, not to mention reactionary toward alternative opinions.

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HARVEST TIME

A number of books and articles on a wide range of topics have been published recently, or are forthcoming, by our grantees. Several of the projects will have an enduring effect on understanding the cultural and political foundations of American society, while others are sure to become major influences on future rethinking of the basis and workings of our public policies. It is therefore our pleasure to report on several projects that have come to fruition.

- Three of five articles planned by Professor Stanley Rothman of Smith College, on the personalities, predispositions, motivations, and ideologies of social leaders—particularly the media elite—have been published. The first, "Media and Business Elites" (*Public Opinion*, Oct/Nov., 1981 with Robert Lichter) is a comparison of the attitudes about public issues of these two important groups. The second article, a chapter in *Television Coverage of the Middle East* (Ablex, 1981: William C. Adams, ed.; pp. 40-53), examines television

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NEW GRANTS ANNOUNCED

I.E.A.'s Board of Directors approved 24 new grants at its quarterly meetings on October 23, 1981 and February 5, 1982. Below is a list of the most recent recipients and their projects:

- *The Salient* will publish as a bi-weekly student publication at Harvard University. The publication is a political and cultural review challenging the current campus orthodoxy, and is published by the Harvard-Radcliffe Conservative Club. (\$8,000)
- *The Dartmouth Review* will continue to publish as a weekly student newspaper at Dartmouth College. (\$5,000)
- *The Madison Report* will be published as a bi-weekly, alternative student newspaper at Princeton University. (\$6,000)
- *Counterpoint* magazine, a student journal of opinion at the University of Chicago, will publish two additional issues in Spring, 1982. (\$3,000)
- *Public Research, Syndicated*, a not-for-profit organization that circulates articles on public policy to smaller newspapers throughout the country, will hire an Editorial Intern to write articles on contemporary issues for syndication and edit submitted articles. (\$14,000)
- *The Journal of Contemporary Studies*, a public policy journal published by the Institute for Contemporary Studies in San Francisco, will hire an Editorial Intern to assist in all aspects of the journal's production, including generating new ideas for articles, commissioning and editing articles, and other necessary duties. (\$13,500)
- *The Yale Literary Review*, published since 1979 by the Yale Literary Society, will hire an Editorial Intern to help develop a special project of research on the media. The Intern will collect material for articles by following what is written in the press on literature, history, and art in the United States and abroad. (\$10,500)
- *The Chicago and Yale University Federalist Societies, The Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy, and the Stanford Foundation for Law and Economic Policy* will hold a three-day conference, "A Symposium on Federalism: Legal and Political Ramifications," at Yale Law School for law students from across the country. (\$14,754.67)
- *The Benjamin Franklin Society*, a student organization at the University of Pennsylvania, will hold a three-day conference for students and faculty to assess the Reagan Administration's policies on social issues, foreign policy, and the press. (\$512)
- *The New Coalition for Economic and Social Change*, an organization formed to promote economic growth and social change for black Americans with chapters in major American cities, will hold a two-day Leadership Conference to prepare policy papers, orient chapter chairmen, and hold seminars with its academic advisory board. (\$21,600)
- *Mr. Robert W. Kagan*, of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, will prepare an article on "The Camp David Accords: Past, Present, and Future," while serving as an intern at the Department of State. (\$2,500)
- *Mr. David O'Brien*, of the University of Virginia, will write a book critically analyzing existing due process requirements in governmental science policy formation, especially assessing the new problems for the courts' involvement in policy making on such issues as toxic chemical regulation, control of carcinogens, etc. (\$5,000)
- *Mr. John Walters*, of Boston College, will study the necessity of political moderation in modern societies for producing statesmanship. (\$2,500)
- *Professor George Carey*, of Georgetown University, will prepare for publication a book-length commentary on *The Federalist Papers*, the first analysis of the work to be published in one volume. (\$14,000)
- *Professor Christopher Wolfe*, of Marquette University, will write a book on the practice and scope of judicial review, demonstrating that the American Founders relied far less on the judiciary for the protection of individual liberties than does modern political thought and practice. (\$14,261)
- *Mr. Roger Michner*, of the University of Chicago, will complete a three-year project entitled, "Law and Social Relations," investigating the extent to which the law has been understood as necessary for the management of the economic and social spheres of American life. (\$16,033)
- *Dr. Allan C. Carlson*, of the Rockford Institute in Illinois, will write an article entitled, "Commonly-held Values and American Foreign Policy," to show that a coherent foreign policy requires a common belief in American principles. (\$2,200)
- *Mr. Sol Sanders*, editor at *Business Week*, will teach a seminar on "Reporting Foreign Affairs," at Tufts University, focussing on the distortions in the media of foreign policy reporting. (\$2,000)
- *Professor Philip Siegelman*, of San Francisco State University, will write a book assessing the effects of cultural and scientific exchange programs on civil and political rights in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. (\$21,380)
- *Professors James O'Leary, Richard Schultz, and Jeffrey Salmon*, of the Catholic University of America, will edit a book of original essays on international politics based on the classical principles of statecraft. (\$20,000)
- *Mr. Joshua Muravchik*, a writer living in Washington, D.C., will prepare a book-length study of "The Human Rights Policy of the Carter Administration," assessing the limits and accomplishments of the policy, and drawing out the lessons learned from a study of it. (\$20,000)
- *Mr. Doan van Toai*, of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, received a subvention for the translation from French into English of his widely-acclaimed book, *The Vietnamese Gulag*, to be published this summer. (\$6,000)
- *Ms. Nora Beloff*, a respected foreign correspondent, will write a book on Yugoslavian politics to critically assess its reliance, like Poland, upon Western capital for the stability of its government, and its partisan role among the "non-aligned" nations. (\$15,000)
- *Mr. Dawa Norbu*, of the University of California at Berkeley, will complete his study, "Marxism, Nationalism, and Revolution: An Inquiry into the Origins of the 'Third World' Ideology." (Supplemental: \$3,600)

At the conference, the young writers, editors, and publishers participated in panel discussions on topics ranging from the nuts and bolts of publishing, to the business of running a publication, to quality and style in journalism. The panelists, all of whom offered warm encouragement to the students, included such journalists as Washington writer and editor Tom Bethell, *American Spectator* publisher Ronald Burr, *Harper's* Associate Editor Erich Eichman, writers Roger Kaplan, Leslie Lenkowsky, and William Kristol, *Wall Street Journal* editorialist Adam Meyerson, as well as the staff of the *American Spectator*. The conference was addressed by *Spectator* founder and national columnist R. Emmett Tyrell, Jr. The high point of the program was the discussion of the future of conservative journalism.

On hand at a reception following the conference were many of the national writers and editors who have been the inspiration for these new activists such as Midge Decter, Irving Kristol, William Rusher, and Joseph Sobran. As William Rusher reported on his radio broadcast that week, "after all those years of student bondage to the clichés of liberalism and the fallacies of socialism, the intellectuals of the current college generation are insisting on thinking for themselves. Give

them twenty years to establish themselves in the intellectual leadership of this country, and you will see changes in American public opinion that haven't yet even been dreamed of."

While the *U.S. News and World Report* is to be commended for informing its readers about the extent to which radical, leftist scholars hold positions on campus, the editors missed the story about what views of society students increasingly hold. In the process, furthermore, the impression was given that college students are apathetic and self-interested—ripe for what one radical professor referred to as "bring(ing) about fundamental changes through rigorous scholarship."

In truth, college students are as hungry today as ever before for intellectual leadership and rigorous examination of contemporary issues—a hunger mistaken for mere apathy under the thrall of conventional liberal stereotypes of college activists. Today's students are determined to consider sensibly the role that traditional values and institutions can play in society, and especially in their own lives, which makes them the enduring challenge to radicalism on campus. As such, they have increasingly become the collective target for the left of scorn, abuse, and slander—their first lesson in the "war of ideas" in which the nation's media are involved.

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coverage of Israel. The third is an article entitled, "Jewish Ethnicity and Radical Culture: A Social Psychological Study of Political Activists," in *Political Psychology* (Spring/Summer, 1982, with Robert Lichter). Research support for Professor Rothman was one of I.E.A.'s first grants in 1979.

- **Dr. Robert J. Shapiro** is the author of a timely article which appeared in the Winter, 1982 issue of *The Public Interest* magazine on the work—and the future—of the Federal Reserve. The article, "Politics and the Federal Reserve," results from Dr. Shapiro's work at the National Bureau of Economic Research, which will also result soon in a book, *The Politics of the Money Supply*.

- *The Politics of Welfare*, just released by Abt Books, is the definitive study of what is wrong in this vexing area of public policy. The book was written by **Dr. Blanche Bernstein**, Director of the Social Policy Research Institute at the New School for Social Research, and former Administrator of the New York City Human Resources Administration. Another result of her research is an article entitled, "Shouldn't Low-Income Fathers Support Their Children?" which appeared in the Winter, 1982 issue of *The Public Interest* magazine.

- *Back to Basics* (William Morrow and Company, Inc.) is the title of the recently released book by **Burton Pines**, former senior writer at *Time* magazine. Mr. Pines' book is the result of his research into the "resurgence of traditional values" throughout our social institutions. The book analyzes the public outcry against deterioration in public education, secularism in the churches, moral permissiveness, as well as the ef-

fort by business in America to "fight back" against the biased and distorted media coverage of business activity.

- The growing debate in recent years over the alleged need for radical changes in our basic political institutions and philosophy has ignored the fundamental, searching debate paid to these very same issues at the founding of the American Constitution. As the result of a grant from I.E.A. in 1980, however, a seven-volume anthology of the writings of the Anti-federalists, the first and sternest critics of our society, compiled, with a one-volume commentary, by the late **Professor Herbert J. Storing**, now has been published by the University of Chicago Press. Professor Storing is widely recognized as having been, before his untimely death in 1978, a master teacher and scholar of political theory and constitutional law. These volumes comprise an invaluable contribution to the history of American political thought, and are Professor Storing's legacy of pre-eminent scholarship. His editorial work on the Anti-federalist collection, entitled *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, as well as his insightful commentary, *What the Anti-federalists Were For*, have been praised by political scholars and historians across the nation.

- **Robert W. Kagan** is the author of "A Relic of the New Age: The National Education Association," which appeared in the February, 1982 issue of *The American Spectator* magazine. The article critically examines, with documentation, the politics of the NEA leadership that has embraced political and social values at odds with those of most of the teaching profession and the NEA's membership. Research for the article was supported with a grant from the Institute in 1981. Mr. Kagan, the founder of the *Yale Political Monthly*, an alternative student journal at Yale University, is currently a graduate student and a promising young writer.

- In education, **Professor Susan Resnick Parr** has published her guidebook for English instructors which emphasizes teaching the traditional morality found in American literature. The guidebook is published by Columbia Teacher's College Press.

The I.E.A. Report is published quarterly by the Institute for Educational Affairs and is distributed free of charge.

The Report is intended to provide a useful service to corporate and private philanthropy. Readers are encouraged to write with ideas and suggestions as to how it might better serve them.

Philip N. Marcus, Executive Director; Art Kaufman, Editor

In view of the changes proposed by the Reagan Administration and Congress, to reform the government's approach to economic, social-welfare, and cultural policy, this year's three meetings of the Institute's Foundation Officers Forum have been devoted to a look at "The Future of Private Philanthropy." The Institute, through the Forum meetings, has sought to help the nation's philanthropic community develop new and innovative ideas for their giving efforts. Because of new emphasis being placed on the role of voluntarism must play in helping to improve the condition of the nation's poor and disadvantaged—and on the special ability of the private sector to encourage and support the arts and sciences—new thinking is needed about philanthropic goals and guidelines.

Demands frequently are being heard that funds from private sources—especially from large corporate giving programs—supplant directly and as fully as possible the panoply of social-welfare and other programs in the arts and humanities now limited by federal budget restrictions. Encouraging new thinking about the role of private philanthropy in our society, however, should not be confused with demanding that it is incumbent upon wealth-makers to "fill the gap" left by reductions in federal outlays, without regard to the worthiness of the programs previously funded. There is, in fact, little reason to think that private philanthropy will, or should, make up the loss of federal funds and little has yet been done to understand the new facts of life for the non-profit world.

To explore these new considerations and circumstances, the meetings of the Forum this year addressed three aspects of private philanthropy: "The New Expectations of Philanthropy," "The Future of Voluntarism," and the "New Initiatives in Philanthropy."

The New Expectations

The first Forum meeting, held on October 19, 1981, was addressed by **Mr. Mark Blitz**, Assistant Director of ACTION, the federal government's major volunteer agency, and by **Professor Aaron Wildavsky** of the University of California at Berkeley and former President of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Mr. Blitz recounted the origins of the idea of philanthropy, remarking that "in giving, just as in all our other activities, we tend to express prevailing opinions about what is right and what is proper and what is noble."

Accordingly, Mr. Blitz outlined four important elements of a good philan-

thropic program: (1) That support of the arts, sciences, and analyses of public issues is at least as important as support for social-welfare programs; (2) That the new aim of private philanthropy should not be an attempt to replace federal budget reductions (because much of what government has been funding ought not to be funded); (3) That foundations ought to encourage programs that aim at *authentic* self-help and self-reliance; and (4) That corporations and foundations, in their giving programs, should never forget the conditions that make their own existence possible.

Professor Wildavsky, reflecting on the history of the foundation world in America, explained what he called his "first law of foundations": "The smaller the size of foundations in regard to the total economy, and the larger their size in regard to government, the more influential and important they are."

In the 1920s, Professor Wildavsky pointed out, foundations were "small in regard to the size of the economy, which meant that they lacked visibility. Nobody hated them. But they were very large in regard to the social purposes of government." They were also very influential because, in part, they were concerned almost entirely with market, not government, failures, and, in part, because "government, while it needed foundations a great deal, was much too small to harass them."

Since the 1970s, the situation has become reversed. Now, according to Professor Wildavsky, "foundations are tiny in regard to the resources of government, and they realize it's infeasible for them to take over what the government is doing. So they seek activities that the government is not undertaking," and claim success in those programs when they are taken over by government.

Recognizing this transformation in the nature, relative size, and objectives of foundations, he recommended a new role for foundations in contemporary society: "I think there's an appropriate role for the large knowledgeable foundations as 'boundary riders' between the public and private sectors. . . . If foundations were to take on the role as boundary riders, their interest would be in the principles that underlie governmental and private economic activities, in how to improve the principles and practices of both, and especially in the distinction and relative distance between the two."

Professor Wildavsky concluded by warning that "if foundations want to make an impact in the world, they cannot do this by decreasing the size of the private sector and increasing the size of

the public sector because this creates an intolerable strain, until the rationale of foundations is lost and they become mere appendages of the government. It would be the same if they were to collapse back into their native corporations; we would not see them."

The Future of Voluntarism

The second meeting of the Forum, held on January 8, 1982, continued the analysis of issues confronting the private philanthropic community. The direction of both public and private programs were examined at the meeting which featured **Mr. Stuart Butler**, Policy Analyst at The Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C.; **Mr. Tom Pauken**, Director of ACTION; **Mr. Robert Woodson**, Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and President of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise; and **Ms. Brigitte Berger**, Professor of Sociology at Wellesley College in Massachusetts.

Mr. Butler began the meeting by pointing out the mythological bases of critiques made of the Reagan Administration's policies to encourage greater voluntarism. Having studied the role that voluntarism plays in the United States, Mr. Butler debunked the argument often made that changes in the tax code would cause a precipitous drop in philanthropic contributions. "This idea," Mr. Butler said, "that somehow these alterations in the tax code are the sole factor in people's decisions as to what to give and where to give is clearly misplaced if you look at any of the literature dealing with the history of philanthropy in America. People give to organizations because they feel that there is a need. The reason that funding to certain kinds of activities has fallen in recent years is that people have witnessed another organization—government—moving into the field and doing the job instead."

Mr. Butler surveyed the various areas of private philanthropy, and remarked that he was encouraged by the great role churches will be able to play in providing individuals with relief services.

As for corporations, Mr. Butler said, "it makes good sense now, as it has throughout American economic history, for corporations and businesses to take an interest in the conditions and welfare of their immediate neighborhoods. The kinds of public-private partnerships that were traditional in America in the 18th and 19th centuries generally involved that kind of self-interest approach by corporations."

Mr. Butler warned, however, that cor-

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porations should not feel that they are somehow to blame for the so-called "gap" regarding the loss of federal funds for certain social-welfare programs. "That kind of pressure," he said, "ought to be ignored by the corporate world. The obligation to help one's neighbors is an individual thing. It is individuals—including shareholders in companies—who should respond to this obligation, and not 'paper individuals' such as corporations."

Following upon Mr. Butler's comments, Mr. Pauken provided some startling examples of the misdirection of federal grant programs in the past. One case in point was the largest grant made by the federal government's VISTA program under the previous administration where funds were provided to what he described as an activist organization advocating civil attacks on the "corporate enemy" and the American economic system.

Mr. Pauken provided some illustrative reasons for returning to a more traditional understanding of the role government should play concerning voluntarism, and he described the kinds of things being done at ACTION. He specifically cited the accomplishments of such programs as Foster Grandparents, Senior Companions, and the newly-created Vietnam Veterans Leadership Program.

Mr. Pauken summarized the new approach to voluntarism by saying, "I think what we need in this society is what I call 'social entrepreneurs'. When we talk about business and the free enterprise system, we use the term entrepreneur to describe individual businessmen who, with a combination of ideas, organization, effort, and financial resources, start up something that becomes a successful business. In an analogous sense, there is something special about individuals who have a vision of helping meet human or social needs in our society and who have, on their own, put together something remarkable."

Regarding the ACTION agency—and the Reagan Administration's programs generally—Mr. Pauken said, "We're trying to get away from the old way of doing business, which is to set up a federal program and a federal bureaucracy to compete, if you will, with ongoing efforts in the private nonprofit sector, and we are discouraging, if you will, the grantsmanship game whereby people who are great at writing proposals or who have connections in Washington, but do not have a very good track record at delivering social service programs to people in need, wind up getting the federal dollars."

Robert Woodson, President of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, described several glaring examples of how government regulation and misplaced incentives often serve to undermine private-sector solutions to social problems. The cases he cited—in foster care for children, day care centers, and nursing homes—all could be corrected if the public understood the extent to which government has gotten in the way of effective solutions.

For instance, Mr. Woodson remarked, there are roughly 600,000 youngsters who are cared for in the foster care system in the United States, which was originally designed to operate as a temporary shelter. "Twenty years ago, and before that," he said, "many of the church-related organizations used to run this system with very little public support. But since public support has increased and the system has become more professionalized, we see that now there's a whole policy structure that provides incentives for maintaining these kids away from their homes at a tremendous cost to the American public. Two billion dollars is spent annually on kids being cared for away from their homes with all kinds of destructive effects on the children."

In like manner, federal and state regulations have created great obstacles to those who have established day care enterprises; the regulations have tended to discourage, if not forbid, the establishment of day care centers in residential areas where they are needed most, he said.

To correct this situation, Mr. Woodson advocated a better understanding of how private, small entrepreneurs can establish local enterprises to meet social needs. "Many of the groups that we have studied," he said, "that are the social entrepreneurs, that have successfully addressed problems in foster care, youth crime, and what have you, are now understanding that they must engage in enterprise development. So, throughout the country, among grass roots organizations, they are interested in knowing how they can enter into a business of some kind to generate the income that will then support the social services."

Mr. Woodson concluded: "I think the inventiveness is there in the private sector. We have got to come together and talk about how we begin to design strategies that empower individuals in low income communities through the institutions that they turn to. We have got to bring about a different kind of marriage, where the private sector, corporations, foundations, and neighborhood people are working together, and then define

what the state's role is, instead of having it the other way around, where the state determines what your relationships are with other people."

Professor Brigitte Berger provided an overview of the problems associated with the great expansion and perversion of government assistant programs in the last two decades. Professor Berger addressed two sets of questions, the first having to do with the great resistance towards a new, voluntaristic approach to solving social problems; the second having to do with the lessons we all ought to have learned from past policies.

Commenting on the creation and perpetuation of "social issues" that the government has spent tremendous sums of money on to manage, Professor Berger said, "those who should and often do know better keep artificially alive social issues that really are no longer social issues and, perhaps, should not have become social issues in the first place."

Further, she said, "the very intensity of the confusion created in this manner has helped—in my mind—to obfuscate social perceptions. Were it not for the growing resistance in large segments of the population, the nation would be condemned to labor under social policies that do not work and that often do more harm than good. For ever more Americans, . . . the most pressing social issues . . . have to do with the loss of autonomy of individuals, families, and entire social groupings; they have to do with the astounding expansion of the discretionary power of professional complexes and with the delivery of whole population groups into tutelage and dependency."

Professor Berger then described the lessons to be learned from past mistakes: (1) that we must not politicize issues that cannot be dealt with politically; (2) that we must understand the self-interested motives of "professional empires" upon determining the perception and formulation of social issues; (3) that policies often tend to flow from the efforts of some to make changes in the life-style of individuals into national "social" problems; and (4) that policies often tend to flow from a general distrust of the peculiar lifestyles and practices of different people.

New Initiatives

Having explored and documented the problems engendered by the expansion of government social-welfare programs, and having indicated the kinds of things being done—or that can be done—to effectively reform government programs, the third meeting of the Forum on May

7, 1982 turned to the new initiatives that have been developed, or that are possible, in the private sector.

This meeting of the Forum featured **Mr. Irving Kristol**, Vice Chairman of I.E.A. and Co-Editor of *The Public Interest* magazine; **Mr. Michael Joyce**, Executive Director of The John M. Olin Foundation, and a member of the Presidential Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives; **Dr. Henry Lucas**, Chairman of the Board of Directors of The New Coalition for Economic and Social Change and also a member of the Presidential Task Force; and the **Honorable Clarence M. Pendleton**, Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the President and Chief Executive Officer of The New Coalition.

The New Coalition for Economic and Social Change, with which Mr. Pendleton and Dr. Lucas are affiliated, is a new, nonprofit, bipartisan organization with headquarters in San Francisco, "dedicated to advancing the social and economic interests of black Americans." The New Coalition has chapters in major American cities, and seeks to promote real economic growth for all Americans to achieve those goals it advances for black Americans.

Because, to a great degree, the New Coalition typifies the approach to social and economic problems previously discussed and encouraged at Forum meetings—and because they are fast becoming widely recognized as leaders of the black community—Dr. Lucas and Mr. Pendleton were invited to explain the thinking behind the organization's goals and purposes.

Dr. Lucas began by warning of the tendency of those in the media and in other influential centers to condemn as racist and as lacking credibility those who seek alternative, private-sector solutions to domestic problems. "To what extent we will have an honest debate, an honest discussion about making these types of changes, I have big questions," Dr. Lucas said. "In my own mind, I am very fearful of the ability of a society to smother a few people who wish to stray from the flock and be creative and be different. But if there was ever a time to be creative and different, it is certainly now."

Dr. Lucas stressed the importance of not viewing the reduction of government resources and programs as necessarily catastrophic, but, rather, as an opportunity for examining previous policies and re-invigorating the capacity of those in the private sector to address pressing problems.

Mr. Pendleton discussed the purposes of the New Coalition with a view to distinguishing it from organizations that

have pressed for government programs in the past. "I think, from the standpoint of the New Coalition," Mr. Pendleton said, "what we are talking about is a bipartisan group of individuals who are concerned that the black community in this country has really not benefited from social programs since 1865." Further, he viewed fighting the traditional civil rights organizations as simply "talking about an additional, not an alternative, agenda to get independence and freedom," and Mr. Pendleton emphasized that the New Coalition would like to "cause services to be delivered by impacting public policy, primarily in local governments, and becoming involved in those kinds of activities to change the way the system perceives blacks and the way that blacks perceive themselves."

Misters Irving Kristol and Michael Joyce discussed more generally what is meant by the term "private initiatives in philanthropy." Mr. Kristol began by questioning the accuracy of the term "philanthropy" when describing professional grant making and service delivery. "Philanthropy," he said, "is love of one's fellow men, and the giving of one's own money out of love for one's fellow men or out of a desire to gain points in Heaven. Since institutions do not have fellow men," he continued, "and institutions do not have souls, I do not think there is any such thing as institutional philanthropy. . . . People who get paid for giving away money are not engaged in philanthropy. They are not giving away their own money; they are giving away other people's money."

Mr. Kristol also expressed concern over the confusion between classifications of public- and private-sector activity. "We do, in this society, have two sectors: the private sector and the public sector," he said. "We also have a group of organizations which call themselves the nonprofit sector. I don't like that phrase. I believe you are either in the public sector or in the private sector. Sometimes you have a choice to make, an ideological choice, whether you want to be a part of the public sector or the private sector," he said.

Regarding corporate and foundation giving, Mr. Kristol asserted that it is all, by necessity, a form of participation in public affairs. "As a form of participation in public affairs, it is self-interested in either a basic institutional, economic sense, or in an ideological sense, furthering some vision of what a good society is—a *controversial* vision of what a good society is."

Mr. Joyce, a member of the Presidential Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives, sought to clarify the administra-

tion's understanding of private initiatives and what the governmental role ought to be in fostering an atmosphere conducive to the development of such initiatives.

"Perhaps the crucial question for the discussion of private initiatives concerns our capacity to govern ourselves," Mr. Joyce remarked. "Real self-government depends upon a healthy spirit of voluntarism and private initiative, rather than upon the complete reliance on government. People," he said, "gradually lose their capacity to act on their own behalf when they know that government stands ready to intervene at the first sign of stress. Over time, constant government intervention creates a sense of passivity in those toward whom it is directed."

Since many have remarked about President Reagan's reference to a public-private partnership concerning the Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives, Mr. Joyce sought to elucidate what that partnership ought to be and what it ought not to be. "The public-private partnership of which the President spoke in September, 1981 seems to me *not* to mean that the private sector should fill dollar-for-dollar the gap created by the administration's actions to slow federal spending. The private sector exists precisely to allow interests of diverse perspectives to compete in order to promote the general welfare and solve problems," he said.

"Having said what the President's partnership is not, let me say what I think it is," Mr. Joyce went on. "In its highest sense, (the President's) conception may be understood as a way of restoring the view of citizenship that has been eroded over the years. Thus, we understand this idea too narrowly when we become overly absorbed with the various technical questions about how partnerships might be implemented, who will be the partners, how much the benefits will cost, and so forth. Before partnerships exist," Mr. Joyce said, "there must be common purposes."

The series of Foundation Officers Forum meetings, devoted to "The Future of Private Philanthropy," returned then to the original considerations of what ought to be the goals and guidelines of new private-sector activities, not with a view to how government spending reductions will be made up by private sources of wealth, but with a view to recognizing the responsibilities of private sources to support projects and institutions that effectively address real problems and that enhance general productivity and welfare.

The full proceedings of the Forum meetings will be available soon as Occasional Papers.

Intellectual Capital

"You know you never defeated us on the battlefield," said the American colonel.

The North Vietnamese colonel pondered this remark a moment. "That may be so," he replied, "but it is also irrelevant."

Conversation in Hanoi, April 1975 as quoted in *On Strategy: The Vietnam War in Context* by Col. Harry G. Summers, Jr. (Presidio Press, Novato, CA).

Because the legacy of the Vietnam War is, in part, a near paralysis in the exercise of American foreign policy and political will, and, in part, now having to count the Vietnamese people among the most oppressed in the world, we highly recommend for your reading **Norman Podhoretz's** latest book, *Why We Were in Vietnam* (Simon and Schuster, New York: \$13.50).

Podhoretz, Editor of *Commentary* magazine, has effectively re-opened the debate about the morality of America's effort to contain the spread of communism in Southeast Asia—and, indeed, around the world—by assisting South Vietnam in its war against the invading North Vietnamese.

As the conversation cited above reveals, the war in Vietnam—and especially America's participation in it—was a war to be won not only on the battlefield, but also in the minds of Americans; it was a war not only of guns, but of ideas—of political will. It is for this reason that, like the North Vietnamese bearing arms against the South, anti-war demonstrators knew that their objective must be, in large part, to discredit the American effort, to establish their argument on the moral high ground.

Seven years after the end of American involvement in Vietnam, the public's view of the war is still slanted by that moral condemnation. It is for this reason that Podhoretz has chosen to re-address the moral issue of American involvement. His book serves two purposes: It examines the evidence concerning the crucial decisions behind our involvement in Indochina, and it critically analyzes the arguments of anti-war activists and intellectuals about the objectives, and especially about the morality, of U.S. policy in Vietnam, the premises of which Podhoretz himself had

then, in part, shared.

In his book, Podhoretz goes a long way in demonstrating that our policy makers often misjudged the situation in Vietnam, and successively chose to do too little, too late, and in the wrong way. They attempted, in a piecemeal effort to, first, achieve victory over the communist-led armies, and then to at least allow the creation of stability necessary to preserve, politically and militarily, the Republic of Vietnam in the south. In his view, decisions made by three succeeding Presidents produced policies that sought victory in a protracted war on the political, military, and strategic cheap. As we now know, those policies could not have worked and did not work.

In view of this, however, Podhoretz makes equally clear that our original—and even continuing—involvement in Vietnam stemmed from the same goals and hopes that awakened Americans as a result of the "Munich experience" some three decades before, when appeasement of Hitler hastened, and worsened, the prospects of war. Unfortunately, as Podhoretz implores us to recognize, a newer generation, as a result of the "Vietnam experience," does not now understand the consequences of appeasing totalitarian forces in the world rather than confronting them in a multiplicity of ways, including the use of force.

Why We Were in Vietnam has stimulated great discussion about America's responsibility to confront aggression and the expansion of totalitarian rule. It is a book that will serve well not only in facing up to the veteran critics of U.S. policy abroad, but in introducing all of us once again to our collective responsibilities as members of the free world.

THIS WORLD

The Summer, 1982 issue of *This World*, the Institute's journal on religion and modern culture, has been published and now is available. This issue presents the results of a National Survey of Theologians that was conducted by the Roper Center at the University of Connecticut under commission by I.E.A.

In addition to presenting the questions and responses of the survey, the current issue of *This World* also features an interpretative, summary essay by Everett Carll Ladd (the noted public opinion analyst who supervised the survey) and G. Donald Ferree, Jr. (Associate Director of the Roper Center). Additional comments on the survey are provided by Richard Neuhaus and Michael Novak.

Other articles in the second issue of *This World* include:

"Disarmament and the Catholic Bishops,"
by Robert L. Spaeth

"Reinhold Niebuhr's Case Against Pacifism,"
by Jacob van Rossum

"Toward a New Concordat?,"
by Nathan Glazer

"Humanism and Capitalism: Deutschland,
England, and Us," by Bernard Murchland

"Another Look: The Victorian *Angst*,"
by Gertrude Himmelfarb

This World also includes book reviews and other notes. Subscriptions are available at \$16.00 for five issues from *This World*, Suite 1629, 310 Madison Ave., N.Y., NY 10017.

The Exchange

Through litigation, agency monitoring, special studies, and testimony before agencies and Congress, the **Capital Legal Foundation**, founded in 1979 by its president, Dan M. Burt, has become one of the most newsworthy public interest law firms actively scrutinizing and contesting illegal and otherwise questionable actions by federal courts and regulatory bodies.

Describing itself as "a public interest law firm concerned with a fair, free market approach to federal regulation," Capital has taken on some of the toughest and possibly most significant legal fights in many years concerning the regulation of economic activity.

In addition to the many court cases and legal studies the Capital Legal Foundation has undertaken, it has prepared a study (published this spring by Regnery-Gateway), *Abuse of Trust: A Report on the Nader Network*, which comprehensively documents violations of regulations by the contemporary champion of regulation, to which Ralph Nader replies that *some* regulations do not merit obedience due to their cost, burdens, and questionable legality.

Most notably, perhaps, Capital has led the fight to change the venue law so that suits, especially in environmental litigation, must be conducted in courts with jurisdiction over the persons affected by the litigation. Capital's research showed that environmental litigation in Washington, D.C. federal courts were heavily biased in favor of the environmentalists, and the environmentalists' actions appeared to be, in many cases, instituted solely to delay or obstruct.

Most recently, Capital has challenged the right of the U.S. Census Bureau to compete with a private company in the supply of statistical information to the public based on Census Bureau data. This well may be the first case to raise the question, when may the federal government legally compete with private business?

The Capital Legal Foundation has no operating endowment, and the firm, which consists of four full-time lawyers and supporting staff, sustains itself on public contributions. For further information, contact Mr. Dan M. Burt, President, Capital Legal Foundation, 700 E Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. (202-546-5533).

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MAJOR I.E.A. INITIATIVES UNDERWAY

With the introduction of a new design for *The I.E.A. Report*, the Institute takes the opportunity to announce three major projects that it has initiated after many months of research and planning: a **Seminar on Modern Capitalism**, the publication of a new journal called **This World**, and a **National Survey of Theologians**.

The three projects, described at length in the following pages, substantiate the hopes of the Institute that our society's basic cultural values can be understood and nurtured by applying serious, first-rate scholarship to important and controversial issues.

Seminar on Modern Capitalism

In the last issue of *The I.E.A. Report*, we reported on an important article by Norman Podhoretz, "The New Defenders of Capitalism" (*Harvard Business Review*, March-April 1981), in which the author describes the thinkers and writers who are engaged in the debate about the theoretical and moral basis of capitalism, and the crucial effect of ideas about capitalism on the future of economic and personal liberty.

With a similar objective in mind, the Institute announces a three-year **Seminar on Modern Capitalism** which will bring together leading scholars to study what is distinctive and desirable in our economic and political system. Because, as Mr. Podhoretz wrote, "an indifference to ideas means in practice that one inevitably becomes the slave of yesterday's ideas . . . and by now, yesterday's ideas about capitalism are hostile to a system that they represent as structurally unsound, morally unjust and spiritually conducive to a crass quality of life," the Institute feels compelled to support a fresh, honest, and objective re-examination of Western capitalist society.

Under the direction of noted scholar and writer **Peter L. Berger** of Boston University, several general topics will be studied, such as the uniqueness of modern capitalism, the consequences of the transformation of material life caused by capitalist development, the complex relationship between capitalism and democracy, the character of culture in capitalist societies, and the sources of challenges to democratic capitalism. Finally, throughout the studies an ethical assessment of capitalism will be the most important theme.

continued next column

The Seminar will provide, in this way, an enduring scholarly advance, analyzing the inter-relationships among culture, politics, and economics in capitalist society. The inter-disciplinary approach of the studies will illuminate the principles and way of life inherent in democratic capitalism.

Though studies of capitalist society are abundant, nearly all of them assume a critical stance derived from utopian, radical assumptions. While they convey the rhetoric of political confrontation, they often lack the rigor of philosophic, scholarly inquiry. At best, such studies are social scientific examinations of modern, Western culture that deliberately avoid basic value questions.

Unfortunately, most defenses of modern capitalist society are little better. Though they espouse a traditional view—and their policy recommendations, for instance, are informed by that view—in their simplicity they often fail to explain the intricate dynamics of the capitalist system and the role of cultural institutions in promoting human liberty and equality.

The I.E.A. Seminar will begin with papers prepared by the participants for exchange and comment, and will culminate with publication of three annual volumes of essays in three distinct areas: (1) "Capitalism and Equality in America," (2) "The Prospects for Capitalism in the Third World," and (3) "Capitalism and Socialism: A Comparative View."

Specifically, the first year of the Seminar will begin by assessing how modern capitalism has provided for basic needs and enriched the quality of human life. As part of such an assessment, participants will undertake to discern historic patterns of income distribution and the significance of disparities in wealth. The effects of the absence of class and caste distinctions in American society also will be studied.

Other participants in the Seminar will provide an anthropological view of America; a normative examination of major American corporations; a look at traditional versus contemporary views of equality; and investigations of how American ideals are conveyed in literature, and of the critiques made of capitalism from the left, right, and center.

Following are the first year's participants and their topics:

Samuel McCracken, Assistant to the President, Boston University—"Material Conditions of Life Under Capitalism"

continued on page 3

NEW GRANTS ANNOUNCED

The Executive Committee of I.E.A.'s Board of Directors met in New York City on July 10, 1981, and approved 18 new grants. This brings to a total of 111 the number of grants that have been approved after ten meetings. Below is a list of the recipients and their projects:

- *The Institute for Educational Affairs* will conduct a three-year *Seminar on Modern Capitalism* under the direction of noted scholar, Professor Peter Berger of Boston University. (See article on I.E.A. initiatives, Page 1) (\$124,488)
- *The Institute for Educational Affairs* will begin publication of a new journal on religion, economics, and culture, the first issue of which will appear this winter. *This World* will publish, four times per year, scholarly articles of particular interest to theologians, clerics, and all others concerned with values and public issues. (See article, Page 3) (\$125,000)
- *The Institute for Educational Affairs* will commission a *National Survey of Theologians* to be conducted by the Institute for Social Inquiry, the University of Connecticut, under the direction of noted public opinion analyst Everett Carl Ladd. (See article, Page 3) (up to \$60,000)
- *The Alternative Educational Foundation, Inc.*, publishers of the *American Spectator* magazine, will hold a day-long conference for student editors of college publications to improve writing, editorial, and managerial skills. (\$9,200)
- *The Harvard Journal on Law and Public Policy*, a student publication at Harvard Law School, will publish articles on legal issues based on the traditional understanding of jurisprudence. The journal, staffed by law school students, will provide an opportunity for developing writing skills and legal reasoning while advancing an understanding of the intellectual force of law in society. (\$6,000)
- *The Claremont Review of Books* will publish as a quarterly journal concentrating on literature, politics, and the arts, and will be staffed by students at the Claremont Colleges in California. (\$6,500)
- The *American Spectator* magazine will provide for a journalism internship for the coming year. (\$10,000)
- *Professor David Riesman* of Harvard University will prepare a study of educational leadership, entitled "Case Studies of Effective and Principled College and University Presidents," which will examine the process by which university and college presidents are selected. (\$15,000)
- *Professor Gerald Gunderson* of Trinity College, Connecticut, will write a book, *A History of Economic Growth*, documenting from the history of major North Atlantic economies the benefits of economic growth. Major themes in the book will include how markets foster innovation, the creation of new economic resources and expansion of human choice, and the process of adoption and diffusion of new technology. (\$15,000)
- *Professor Karl Jackson* of the University of California, Berkeley, will document the extent of political repression in

Vietnam. By collecting and analyzing a representative sample of interviews with Vietnamese refugees, Professor Jackson hopes to achieve an accurate estimate of the size and working of the Vietnamese "gulag." (\$7,500)

- *The Honorable Edward M. Korry*, a fellow at the Harvard Center for International Affairs and former Ambassador to Chile, will write a book, *The Fall of Salvador Allende*, documenting the U.S. role in Chile during the tenure of Salvador Allende and critically re-examining the charges of American responsibility for the downfall of the Allende government. (\$12,000)
- *Professor Myron Rush* of Cornell University will write a book, *The Soviet Political Process*, critically examining the currently fashionable "interest group" theory of Soviet politics. The study will determine how the Party's political needs shape Soviet actions. (\$20,500)
- *Peter Braestrup*, Editor of the *Woodrow Wilson Quarterly*, will revise his important book, *The Big Story*, which documents the effect of media coverage in transforming the battle of Tet, during the Vietnam War, from an American victory into a defeat in public opinion at home. The grant will permit the abridgment and re-publication of the study by the Yale University Press. (up to \$10,500)
- *Professors Ralph Lerner and Leon Kass* of the University of Chicago will continue to conduct their course "Human Being and Citizen" for undergraduate students. The grant continues the program at the University to introduce students to the fundamental principles of the American tradition. (\$22,031)
- *Dr. Robert Shapiro*, a Research Fellow at the National Bureau of Economic Research in Cambridge, Massachusetts, will expand his study of the political character of the money supply by taking into account the Federal Reserve Board actions of the 1970s. (Supplemental; \$2,940)
- *Professor Lawrence Meade*, New York University, will hire an assistant to help compile the research results of interviews with welfare professionals as part of his study of the effects case-worker expectations about employment have on welfare clients. (Supplemental; \$3,100)
- *Professor Harvey Klehr* of Emory University will complete his book, *A History of the American Communist Party*, reviewing the 1930-1945 period in which the Communist Party emerged as a tangible political force in America. (Supplemental; \$7,000)
- *Dr. Blanche Bernstein*, the New School for Social Research, will revise and complete her book, *The Politics of Welfare: The New York City Experience*, devoted to a general analysis of how welfare programs have developed in the United States, how they have gone astray, and the reform efforts to be made to achieve the humanitarian goals of welfare. (Supplemental; \$7,440)

The I.E.A. Report is published quarterly by the Institute for Educational Affairs and is distributed free of charge.

The Report is intended to provide a useful service to corporate and private philanthropy. Readers are encouraged to write with ideas and suggestions as to how it might better serve them.

Philip N. Marcus, Executive Director; Art Kaufman, Editor

Public Service Announcement

Two I.E.A. Board members have been nominated by President Reagan for positions of public service.

Robert H. Bork has been nominated to serve as a judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

William J. Bennett has been nominated to serve as the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Edgar Browning, Department of Economics, University of Virginia—"Contemporary Patterns of Income Distribution"

Jeffrey Williamson, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin—"Historic Patterns of Income Distribution"

Walter Conner, Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State—"Social Mobility"

Richard Neuhaus, Author and Lecturer, New York City—"Everyday Egalitarianism"

Laura Nash and **Alan Kantrow**, School of Business Administration, Harvard University—"The Role of the Corporation"

William Kristol, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania—"The Founders' Understanding of Equality and Contemporary Egalitarianism"

Marc Plattner, Advisor on Economic and Social Affairs, U.S. Mission to the United Nations—"The New Egalitarianism"

Stephen Miller, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute—"Equality and Literature"

Delba Winthrop, Independent Scholar, Cambridge, Massachusetts—"Critiques of Capitalism"

Peter L. Berger, Department of Sociology, Boston University—"The Future of Democratic Capitalism"

The three volumes resulting from the Seminar process will be edited by Professor Berger and Philip N. Marcus, Executive Director of I.E.A., and will be published by a major university publishing company. **The Seminar on Modern Capitalism** is made possible by a grant from the SmithKline Corporation.

This World

To judge by recent media accounts of religious activity in America, one would conclude that the important, traditional role of the church and synagogue in American life—as guardian of our spiritual needs—is seriously diminished.

Many religious leaders have become interested and active in various social reform movements, attending less to the conventional religious forms. On issues ranging from income redistribution, to the development of nuclear power, to corporate foreign investment policy, the employment of religious moral authority by church activists, in the service of secular ideology on both sides of the political spectrum, threatens a visible politicization of religion.

Central to this development is the understanding, or misunderstanding, of principles of economics and politics among clergy and theologians, since their concerns increasingly are for the reform or preservation of our social, cultural, and economic institutions. In light of the intellectual rigor with which many church leaders attend to scriptural and ecclesiastical matters, it is unfortunate that many are ill-informed and lacking in critical apparatus in the fields of economics and politics.

To help develop a better understanding in such matters, and to provide a forum in which the issues that confront our society can be reasonably debated, the Institute for Educational Affairs, in association with the American Enterprise Institute, is publishing a new journal entitled, *This World*.

Beginning with the publication of the first issue this winter, the journal, under the tutelage of Editorial Board members **Michael Novak** and **Seymour Siegel**, will focus on issues of economics, politics, and culture within the context of theo-

logical scholarship and religious teaching. *This World* will benefit greatly from the editorial expertise of Editor **Michael Scully**.

As described in the editors' introduction to the first issue, the aim of the journal is "to help all of us to be a little clearer about the real-world effects of moral and religious thinking—preferably not, as so often happens, a generation or so too late."

Though the publication of *This World* aims at encouraging serious scholarly work connecting theology and economics, the pages of the journal also will be devoted to discussing other important aspects of modern social and cultural life. In the words of the editors, of special interest will be "matters of what we might call the political and cultural 'ethos.' For all of us are, to some extent, both the products and the shapers of a particular time and place. Therefore it matters to us whether the political philosopher enlightens or confuses, whether the politician guards or threatens, whether poets and painters speak to the soul or merely to each other."

This World will be expertly guided by its Editorial Advisory Board consisting of the following distinguished scholars and theologians: **Peter Berger**, **Walter Berns**, **James Finn**, **Suzanne Garment**, **Carl Henry**, **Gertrude Himmelfarb**, **Robert A. Nisbet**, **Paul Ramsey**, **Ellis Sandoz**, **Paul Seabury**, **Max L. Stackhouse**, and **George F. Will**.

The first issue features a special introductory section, "Religious Teachings on Economics," that includes the following titles and authors:

- "Catholocism and the American Experience," by James V. Schall
- "The Economic Thought of the World Council of Churches," by Thomas Sieger Derr
- "Toward a Theology of the American Economy," by Joseph Gremillion
- "Capitalism and the Christian Left," by Edward S. Greenberg
- "Ecclesiastical Economics Is Envy Exalted," by P.T. Bauer
- "A Jewish View of Social Justice," by Seymour Siegel

Other articles in the first issue include:

- "Culture: Thoughts on the Drought," by Samuel Lipman
- "Tocqueville and the Religious Revival," by Christopher Wolfe
- "Examining the Religious Lobbies," by Paul J. Weber
- "Democracy and the World's Religions," by Max L. Stackhouse
- "The Diapered Economist," by Jude Wanniski

This World also will publish book reviews and briefs on current reading. Subscription information is available from the Institute.

A National Survey of Theologians

Issues related to religion, or drawn to public attention by religious leaders, have assumed increasing visibility in American political life. Such issues as prayer in public schools, tax credits for attendance at religious schools, and abortion are debated in Congress; religious leaders and organizations are active participants in the current controversies about America's role in Latin America, nuclear arms reduction, and the content of television programming.

Despite this visibility, no systematic data currently is available on the attitudes of faculty members of seminaries and university departments of religion, a group of central importance in shaping clerical opinion on political, social, and economic matters. What this faculty teaches today significantly will affect the thinking and activity of tomorrow's ministry and professors of religion.

We know that some men of the cloth speak out forcefully on many national issues. What is unknown is the extent to which such spokesmen represent current thinking in religious seminaries and departments of religion.

To gather this information, the Institute for Educational Affairs has commissioned a comprehensive survey of theological faculties in the United States. The survey is being conducted by the Institute for Social Inquiry at the University of Connecticut under the direction of **Everett Carl Ladd**, one of the nation's foremost analysts of public opinion.

The topics covered by the survey fall into four areas. The first is demographic, allowing for the classification of respondents with respect to background, income, age, and the like. The second area is general social and political issues. The survey will register responses regarding such topics as party affiliation, the proper role of government in society, income

distribution, national defense, and U.S. foreign policy.

The third area of the survey concerns attitudes towards the relationship between religion and politics. Specific issues include church/state relations, state regulation of individual morals, and religious values as they bear upon public policy.

Finally, the questionnaire addresses explicitly theological issues, such as church doctrine and teachings, the results of which can be compared with responses given in the first three areas of the survey, as well as with the religious views expressed by members of church congregations.

The overall results of the survey will be useful in an even wider comparative context. The responses can be compared with other surveys of university faculties in different disciplines, and with other specific population groups to increase our understanding of the attitudes of our nation's elites.

In addition, the survey will serve as the basis for a number of articles interpreting the data provided and relating it to the results of other innovative research. *This World* (discussed on page 3) provides a promising forum for such work. Together they provide a significant initiative in understanding and communicating new thinking and observations on the role of religion in our society in the 1980s.

I.E.A. Forum Papers Published

The first three **Occasional Papers** of the Foundation Officers Forum have been published by I.E.A. and are available from the Institute. The Papers contain essays adapted by the authors from their presentations at Forum meetings. They have been mailed to thousands of individuals in business, philanthropy, and foundation work.

Following are descriptions of the three Occasional Papers:

Economics and Economic Education

Three prominent and expert observers of economic education and the Reagan Administration's new economic policy initiatives raise important questions regarding the goals and methods of economic education programs. Reflecting on the quality and scope of the now numerous efforts to "universalize" economic education, the authors present their views on the theoretical and practical changes taking hold in economic policy, and on the prospects and limitations of teaching economics to schoolchildren, journalists, shareholders, employees, and the public at large.

Contents:

- "What's New in Economics?" by **Alan Reynolds**
- "Economic Education: Teaching More but Learning Less?" by **Leslie Lenkowsky**
- "Economic Education: What Students Should Know" by **Irving Kristol**

Perspectives on Public Interest Law

Self-styled "conservative" public interest law organizations have emerged recently to challenge the assumptions and goals of their liberal counterparts who have prompted much of the contemporary activism of the American judiciary—entering into the "political thickets" avoided by earlier courts. In this Occasional Paper the authors direct their attention to some crucial questions concerning public interest law: What has been the effect of public interest law

on judicial self-restraint? What role can public interest law firms play in providing outlets for idealistic young lawyers? What role, in general, should courts play in our society?

Drawing on their wide-ranging experience in litigation, education, and public policy analysis, the authors elaborate on the often unintended and unexpected consequences of the public interest law movement.

Contents:

- "In Defense of Public Interest Law" by **Michael J. Horowitz**
- "What's Wrong with Public Interest Law?" by **Professor Ralph Winter**
- "Public Interest Law vs. Judicial Self-Restraint" by **Hon. Laurence H. Silberman**
- "Public Interest Law: An Overview" by **Irving Kristol**

The Future of American Culture

The election of Ronald Reagan and a conservative Congress has sparked speculation on whether a "new majority," cultural and political, has emerged in American society. The essays contained in this Occasional Paper, reflecting the views of a writer, journalist, historian, and political scientist, are timely and provocative evaluations of cultural, political, and intellectual trends in our society. The effects of private philanthropy on cultural programs and institutions are significant in many ways, and the extent of recent changes in opinions about American culture cannot be ignored in foundation work and elsewhere. These essays help to illuminate those changes.

Contents:

- "The Resurgence of Traditional Values" by **Burton Pines**
- "A Call for a New Political Consensus" by **Penn Kemble**
- "The New Right: Salvaging Middle-Class Values" by **Allan C. Carlson**
- "The Real (Old) Majority Revisited" by **Richard M. Scammon**

WORKING GROUP ON GIVING FORMED

The Institute has formed a **Philanthropic Issues Working Group** to help broaden and deepen the on-going debate about the public expectations of the role of private philanthropy in society. The issue is made more pertinent by the creation of the White House Task Force on Private Initiatives, and by reactions to the new economic and social policies of the Reagan Administration.

The federal government role is changing, due to the President's tax and budgetary policies, toward a policy of rejuvenating the tradition of self-help and private, voluntary assistance in many areas of social and welfare policy. Yet, the first public responses to the proposed changes have been emotional accusations about the immediate impact of reducing federal support for social-welfare programs, and great anxiety about finding new sources of private funds to compensate.

Many activist groups are reluctant to take seriously the call for new increased private sector activity. They propose, instead, a new movement to take stock of the resources of the corporate world, with a view to filling the apparent "gap" left by reductions in federal programs. Much media attention is paid to the claim of those who supposedly represent a "third sector," above and part from the public and private, that private money must replace tax money, because private funds are "really" public money, and should be allocated to the existing programs. Many in the foundation world assume that there are few alternative views.

So far, in attempting to uncover new private sources of wealth, and in devising ways that such wealth can be appropriated to preferred projects, no serious evaluation has been undertaken of the programs and the methods of existing organizations. What is needed now is consideration of new, innovative ways to approach social and economic problems that go beyond the mere institutionalization of dependency.

The formation of the President's Task Force may be the first step toward achieving such an objective. Knowing that representatives of the "progressive" movement among foundation officials are keeping a wary and interested eye on the activities of the Task Force, the Institute feels compelled to join the debate.

The simplistic formulation—that what government does not provide, private sources of wealth should—merely assumes that the programs previously funded by the government are sacrosanct. Too little consideration has been given to other means of helping poor and disadvantaged people gain the benefits of our economy and society. Of great importance is dispelling the notion that privately-funded programs should somehow "augment government programs," or follow what appear to be the dictates of fashion in philanthropy.

As an effort to introduce new thinking about philanthropy, the I.E.A. Foundation Officers Forum has been meeting in the last several years to discuss timely and important issues. An extension of this effort is the formation of the **Philanthropic Issues Working Group** whose purpose is to encourage the highest possible level of discussion on matters related to private philanthropy and voluntarism, especially when such discussion is related to public policy. Moreover, the aim of the Group is to enrich and clarify understanding—within corporations, foundations, the media, and the government—about the cultural, intellectual, social, political, and economic context within which philanthropy occurs.

Intellectual Capital

Chief among the disputes concerning the means to achieving economic prosperity is whether unfettered operation of the marketplace or the administration of wide-ranging welfare programs serves best to improve the lot of America's poor. Of crucial importance in such a debate is understanding the facts about markets and minority populations (both wealthy and poor), and clarifying the concepts with which analysis—especially economic analysis—can be applied to the facts.

Great improvement in such understanding and clarification has been accomplished in the pioneering scholarship of economist **Thomas Sowell**, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, in his latest book, *Markets and Minorities* (Basic Books, New York: \$13.50), sponsored by the International Center for Economic Policy Studies.

Vigorously confronting the myths about minorities and the American economy—myths perpetuated by past failure to systematically explore the empirical evidence on economic mobility of immigrant and other minority groups—Sowell outlines the method with which one can measure and understand the effects on discrimination of both market forces and government regulation of the economy.

Mr. Sowell declares in his introduction that "the aim of this book is not to assert or defend particular conclusions but to demonstrate the application of an analytical process." The results of just introducing such a rigorous analysis become apparent as Sowell takes the reader on a fascinating scientific journey through the workings of the job market, housing market, even the antebellum slave market, to establish that, contrary to popular thinking, the economic costs of discrimination may have more to do with its deterrence than government programs that can, at times, exacerbate it.

Amidst the vitriolic charges and counter-charges that government is not doing enough, or is doing too much, to "help America's minorities" through social-welfare programs and judicial mandates on affirmative action, Sowell's *Markets and Minorities*, together with his earlier works, *Knowledge and Decisions* and *Ethnic America*, help instill a sense of responsible scholarship and inquiry among those who engage in the debate.

Of immediate importance, in light of the purposes of the President's Task Force, is demonstrating how voluntary programs can become more purposeful and effective than the public programs they replace. To go farther than government programs, in part by applying "cost-benefit" and other means of evaluation used successfully in private investment, is an important challenge—certainly more difficult, yet far more promising, than simply transferring the onus of funding existing programs from the government to the business world.

Director of the Institute's Working Group is Mr. William Russell, formerly Director of Contributions, Norton and Company. An Advisory Committee, consisting of leaders from the business and philanthropic communities, is in development.

Additional information on the **Philanthropic Issues Working Group** is available from the Institute, and reports on its progress will appear periodically in these pages.

The Exchange

Believing that "the struggle for freedom may, in the end, be won or lost not on battlefields but in books, newspapers, broadcasts, and classrooms," four hundred writers, artists, editors, scientists, trade unionists, teachers, and publishers from around the world have come together to form **The Committee for the Free World**. Their purpose is to help to "alter the climate of confusion and complacency, apathy and self-denigration" that play "so decisive a role in weakening the Western will to resist totalitarian threats."

Led by its honorary International Chairman, **Raymond Aron**, its European Chairman, **Leopold Labedz**, its Executive Director, **Midge Dector**, and its Board of Directors which includes, among others, **Saul Bellow**, **Hilton Kramer**, **Irving Kristol**, **Melvin Lasky**, **Tom Stoppard**, and **George F. Will**, the members of the Committee have publicly accepted the responsibility of intellectuals for the character of ideas that influence public behavior. In a signed statement of purpose, the Committee has pledged to conduct a vigorous bat-

tle in the cultural arena against the false, but fashionable, contentions of a large faction in the mass media, in institutions of higher learning, and among intellectuals generally. These include the beliefs that political systems of the West are founded on oppression of their own people, that the freedom they claim to offer is a sham, and that the prosperity they achieve depends upon exploitation of the "third world."

The Committee's activities include conferences, writings, publications, a speakers bureau, and campus activities—all part of a general effort to cultivate a sympathetic and supportive community. It has begun publishing a monthly newsletter, *Contentions*, which presents incisive analysis of pressing issues in the intellectual and cultural world and documents the support by major foundations of "counter-culture" and so-called "progressive" organizations and projects.

Information about **The Committee for the Free World** is available from the Institute's Clearinghouse.

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