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The I.E.A. Report

The Institute for Educational Affairs

Summer, 1981

No. 6

Educating Teachers

A significant number of America's teachers received a lesson this summer on the roots and nature of our national character, the "why" and "how" of teaching democratic values in the classroom, and the pressing need for citizenship education. The lesson came in the form of the summer issue of *American Educator* (circ. 600,000 or more) which is the professional journal of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. The issue, entitled "The Reawakening of America's Ideals," contains several articles written by past or present grantees of I.E.A., and a book review by I.E.A. Executive Director, **Philip N. Marcus**.

In "The Founders and our National Character," **John Agresto**, Project Director at the National Humanities Center in North Carolina, notes the American Founders' recognition of the importance of the individual in society, his liberty and self-interest, and the formation of his good character by private, non-political institutions. The Founders, Mr. Agresto writes, devised our form of government on the basis that "the self-concerned actions of free men would have to be moderated not by law or command but by the moral suasions of economic, familial, educational, and religious institutions. It was the power of these social forces that would help deflect the desire for gain from becoming mere avarice, prevent independence from becoming . . . the narrow love of self, and turn the love of individual liberty into a defense of the liberties of all one's fellows."

In exploring the roots of our national character, in order to understand the character of the American people today, Mr. Agresto contrasts the American polity with the ancient republics of Greece and Rome. The Founders, he argues, believed that a vast, commercial republic with many small, competing factions would provide the liberty and stability necessary for a free regime with *limited* government. In the end, he suggests, we can see that

many of our present problems stem from the very type of society the Founders were both compelled to create and wanted to create—a society founded on the primacy of the individual and not the community, on self-interest, not enforced virtue, on liberty, privacy, mobility, and the protection of rights. If we now feel the limitations of these principles, it is partly because we are the victims of our great success.

Mr. Agresto received a grant from the Institute in 1979 to research the contemporary relevance of the *Federalist Papers*.

Sanford Lakoff, a research fellow at the National Humanities Center—and also a grantee of I.E.A.—confronts the challenge of giving young people a good education in values while avoiding indoctrination. Mr. Lakoff, in "Schools and Democratic Values," points to the basic consensus on values among the American people: "... Compared to the ideological discord

Defending Capitalism—With New Ideas

"The New Defenders of Capitalism" is the title of a recent article which appeared in the *Harvard Business Review* (March-April, 1981), written by *Commentary* editor and author **Norman Podhoretz**. The article stresses the importance of ideas about capitalism to the future of economic and personal liberty, and is a valuable explanation of the basis for bringing the academic and business communities together through the efforts of private philanthropy.

In the article, Mr. Podhoretz describes the history of intellectual perspectives on capitalism and socialism—showing that the critics of capitalism traditionally have been the majority party in the world of ideas—and clearly demonstrates that today the most dynamic political thinkers in the West are also convincing *defenders* of the principles and practice of democratic capitalism. He names a number of these intellectuals (some of whom are on the Board of I.E.A., and others its friends) who are leading the philosophical debate: Irving Kristol, William E. Simon, Michael Novak, Peter L. Berger, Seymour Martin Lipset, William Barrett, Sidney Hook, and others.

Businessmen should pay great attention to this small, but growing, cadre of thinkers because, Mr. Podhoretz writes, "the very survival of private enterprise in the United States may depend on whether this newly sympathetic view of capitalism ultimately prevails in the world of ideas over the traditional hostility." The first step which businessmen must take to help their own—and the country's—cause is to reach an understanding of the force of ideas working *against* them. It is for this reason he reminds them that "socialism coexists more comfortably with tyranny and totalitarianism than with liberty and democracy. It does so," he writes, "... because the more control the state exercises over the means by which people make a living, the more power it has over their lives and the less room there is for individual freedom."

While the debate among intellectuals over economic efficiency and productivity has been won in principle by the advocates of capitalism, the debate still ensues over the issue of redistributing wealth by public action. Here, according to Mr. Podhoretz, the issue of equality in society comes alive, and the new defenders of capitalism are clear on their own point of view: "(E)ven in realizing the value of equality—the central value of the political culture of socialism—capitalism does a better job." Western society, he explains, does not promise to produce an equal standard of living for all, but does strive to guarantee equality of opportunity; it just so happens that in the distribution of wealth, the socialist countries fare worse than the capitalist.

While the new defenders of capitalism single out income inequality in socialist countries as evidence of the failure of socialism on its own terms, they do not believe that the ideal

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New Grants Announced

The Executive Committee of I.E.A.'s Board of Directors met in New York City on April 29, 1981, and approved nine new grants. This brings to a total of 93 the number of grants that after nine meetings have been approved by the Institute. Below is a list of the most recent recipients and their projects:

- *Counterpoint magazine*, a student publication at the University of Chicago—edited by Mr. John Podhoretz and Mr. Tod Lindberg—will continue to be published in the course of the next academic year as a forum for responsible student debate. (\$5,000)

- *Professor Joseph Bishop* of Yale University Law School will write a book, entitled *The Fallacies of the Left*, that will, from an historical perspective, address such matters as the character of leftist intellectual anti-Americanism, modern concepts of rights and duties, the constellation of "issues" now surrounding human sexuality, and terrorism. (\$10,000)

- *Mr. Gil Sewall*, education editor at *Newsweek* magazine, will write a book on "Basic Education: Its Past, Present, and Future." The work will evaluate the impact of the present liberal orthodoxies on educational achievement, analyze the validity of the critique of American education made by school reformers of the 1960s, and explore egalitarian social trends which have affected education in the United States. (\$6,000)

- *Professor Gary McDowell* of Dickinson College will write a book entitled *Constitutional Restraints to Judicial Activism* while a visiting fellow at Harvard Law School. The work will examine appropriate responses to the "sociological jurisprudence" currently holding sway over the American judiciary: a jurisprudence that has led to excessive court decrees applied nationally. Professor McDowell will contrast this judicial activism with jurisprudence derived from a proper understanding of the separation of powers in the Constitution. (\$17,800)

- *Professor James Piereson* of the University of Pennsylvania will write a book about the debate over American political parties and the contemporary relevance of the issues involved in it. He will investigate the point of view held by the American Founders on the party system and apply that point of view to such issues as intra-party representation, federalism and the party system, and the role of parties in maintaining democracy. (\$15,500)

- *Mr. Stephen Miller*, a free-lance writer, will write a book examining the historic debate about the morality of commerce. A study of this debate—whether commerce undermined or stabilized societies devoted to liberty in the past—will clarify many of the issues concerning capitalist society and alternative systems today. (\$20,000)

- *Professor Timothy Smith* of The Johns Hopkins University will complete a book on evangelical religion in America by preparing a study of black Baptists and Methodists, evangelical groups who remain uninfluenced by modernist trends, and of the black Pentacostals who identify their religion with attain-

ment of social goals. The book as a whole will confront the pejorative misconceptions surrounding the term "fundamentalist." (\$8,000)

- *Professor Marvin Meyers* of Brandeis University will expand his highly-regarded work on the American Founders during a sabbatical year at the National Humanities Center. Professor Meyers will study the works of James Madison and John Adams in order to compare their views with those of the "Jacksonians," their immediate successors. (\$15,000)

- *Mr. Arch Puddington* of the League for Industrial Democracy will plan a quarterly publication on the oppression of working people in the Soviet bloc. The publication will analyze the problems confronting the Soviet Union as an imperialist power, and the plight of its citizens. (\$4,500)

I.E.A. Board Member Nominated

I.E.A. Board member **Christopher C. DeMuth** has been called by President Reagan to serve in the White House working on de-regulation of commerce and society. Mr. DeMuth, who is currently a Lecturer in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, will become Administrator of Information and Regulatory Affairs at the Office of Management and Budget, and Executive Director of the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief.

Mr. DeMuth is the author of *Regulatory Casts and the Regulatory Budget*, published in 1979 by the Harvard Faculty Project on Regulation, of which he is Director.

Business Magazine Critiqued

Steven Lagerfeld, a Washington, D.C. writer and editor, is the author of "An Anti-Business Business Magazine," which appeared in the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review* (Summer 1981). The article, exposing the views presented in the editorial sections of *Business Week* magazine, was researched and written under a grant from I.E.A.

Mr. Lagerfeld surveyed several years of back issues of the magazine, and begins his analysis with an overview:

Where objective reporting shades over into editorializing, whether in the news sections, book reviews, or commentaries, *Business Week* takes on a very unbusinesslike character. It is hostile to the market, oblivious to communism and other threats to freedom, and unfriendly to the spirit of a free society. These traits emerge not so much in the explicit positions the magazine takes... but through its implicit polemicizing for a package of values, standards, and outlooks inimical to American society. *Business Week* has brought the "adversary culture" to the business world.

Business Week seems to have fallen victim to the doubtful theory of Lestor Thurow's "zero-sum society," according to Mr. Lagerfeld. He cites, for instance, the magazine's treatment

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

Despite the election of Ronald Reagan and a new conservative majority in the U.S. Congress, the issue widely debated in the intellectual world is whether a "new majority"—of cultural and political values—now exists in American society. This issue is of great interest to private philanthropy due to the need to judge among applicants and to the effect on private giving of intellectual, cultural, and political trends. For these reasons, I.E.A.'s **Foundation Officers Forum** convened recently to consider the values of American cultural and political society.

Held in Philadelphia in May, preceding the annual meeting of the Council on Foundations, the Forum addressed the issue of "The Future of American Culture," with commentary from **Burton Pines**, a senior writer and an Associate Editor at *Time* magazine (currently completing his book, *Back from the Brink*, with I.E.A. support); **Penn Kemble**, a TV writer and producer working on the Ben Wattenberg PBS series; **Professor Allan C. Carlson**, an historian-sociologist and Assistant to the President of the Rockford Institute in Illinois; and **Richard M. Scammon**, a noted expert on voting behavior and demographics, and Director of the Elections Research Center in Washington, D.C.

In answer to the specific question—whether there is, in fact, a *new* majority in America—Mr. Pines, Mr. Kemble, and Professor Carlson agreed that, for different reasons, a new majority now exists, based more on a common rejection of recent reforms, however, than on the general adoption of new cultural values. Mr. Scammon disagreed, contending that the national cultural majority has never really changed, but that finally it had a political spokesman. While a new, more conservative political coalition has come to power, there is in fact no *new* changes in the majority's cultural norms or attitudes.

Mr. Pines opened the discussion by identifying some of the cultural developments that the new majority seeks to reverse. In the area of education policy, for instance, open classrooms, "relevance" in curriculum, and a general lack of emphasis on discipline and course requirements, all have contributed to declines in SAT scores, literacy, and scientific and mathematical skills. The new majority, therefore, has come to reject the liberalization rooted in the 1960s reform movements.

"Implicit in this rejection is a cry for more structure, more discipline, and more authority," Mr. Pines said. "It accepts, as a working assumption, that the teacher knows more than seventh graders—something which wasn't necessarily

A New Majority?

an assumption in the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, there is a recognition of a need for authority and for accountability—accountability from teachers and from students." This trend back to basics in education, he said, is a sure sign of the emergence of a new cultural majority.

Another sign, he said, is the dramatic shift in church membership away from mainline Protestant churches and to evangelical movements. The new majority is disenchanted with "trendiness" in church services, including editorializing on social issues—rather than sermonizing on questions of Scripture—and a fear of offending church-goers by talking about sinful activities. According to Mr. Pines, "the message from this kind of mainline theology certainly has been: 'Finding God is easy.' But, as in education," he said, "as with views towards the economy, as in security matters, this theology just wasn't working. The faithful, apparently, were leaving their services feeling hollow, feeling spiritually empty." Mr. Pines concluded that when it comes to social, religious, educational, even foreign policy issues, the new majority believes that the traditional values and institutions of our culture still provide the best guides to action.

While Mr. Pines sees a resurgence of traditional values among the new majority in American society, Mr. Kemble argued that there has been a new recognition by the media of majority values: "My own sense is that there has not been so great a revolution in American values, but instead a great revolution in the media's description of the country... based on the political shift that took place in the last election." Mr. Kemble reminded the audience that "American liberalism has been almost oblivious to the conditions that enable our economy to produce its considerable abundance. It has neglected," he said, "those who still have to be described as 'the workers'" as well as the role of business.

Mr. Kemble called upon the "new conservatism" to take advantage of the current openness in society which, he said, "might lead to the development of a widely shared and lasting appreciation for the role of the private sector in a modern and humane society. Such a new consensus would enable Americans to speak with a strong voice in the great international debate over statist socialism versus the open economy."

Professor Carlson returned to the theme of values underlying the new cul-

tural majority. In order to understand the cultural basis of the new majority, he said, it is necessary to identify the values of the historic bourgeoisie, for these values all "reappear virtually unchanged in the world view and political program of the new conservative coalition."

The primary motif for the new cultural coalition, he said, is recognition of the nuclear family as "an emotional haven, a symbol of personal responsibility, and the bedrock of the modern social order." He cited the characteristics that always have been central to a healthy social structure, including the "primacy of conjugal family attachments," "the expectation of children," and "the acceptance of a sex-determined division of labor within the family tied to economic security for women and children."

These values, Professor Carlson said, "inherited from the nineteenth century and, until recent decades, deeply ingrained in our national customs, traditions, laws, and culture, are the same family values defended today by the New Right. They are viewed by the movement as natural, normal, and necessary for the survival of our free society."

Mr. Scammon related a different perspective: "Somebody once said that politics was the science of who got what, where, when, why, and how," he chided; "it is rarely the politics of moral judgments. In the present," he said, "it is not the politics of a new majority. The majorities really never change. The majority was always there. Our attention span changed a little. The red light on the television camera went after the protesters and the dissidents, but the great mass of people never really changed very much at all. They haven't changed now, with Mr. Reagan in the White House."

Mr. Scammon did recognize the potential effects of two major technological developments on the nation: satellite-cable TV and the microchip. Both of these, he said, have contributed greatly to the possibility of what he called the "third option": "The first option in American life was moving off the farm into the city. The second option was moving out of the cities into the suburbs. And the third option, which will affect political work as well, is the possibility of moving out of the suburbs into small cities."

"The opportunities in the 1980s and 1990s for the build-up of this kind of American life is very real," he continued. "And if you can build this kind of economic life, you're going to build a new kind of political life, which will tend to be measurably more conservative than that of the big cities."

that often separates people in other countries into warring camps, controversies among Americans tend to be contained within a more encompassing and unifying commitment to the democratic process."

Given this consensus, why should inculcating democratic values be a significant part of students' education? Mr. Lakoff suggests three reasons: the powerful force of the media (which replace political and patriotic heroes with celebrities from the entertainment world), the loss of confidence in the political institutions of the country among adults, and the rise of moral relativism. In light of this, he outlines the direction an education in democratic values ought to take to *educate*, not *indoctrinate*:

... Good teaching must begin with the same deeply felt vocation that led Socrates to seek to open the minds of the young to a richer reality than they could possibly appreciate from their own experience. It must proceed with respect for their independence of mind. . . . It must aim to give them the tools for reading and expression with which they can appease their curiosity and deepen their understanding long after they have completed their schooling. It must introduce them to the most serious moral issues by explaining what is meant by such values as integrity, courage, responsibility, and compassion, and by such democratic beliefs as those guaranteeing individual rights, self-government, and due process of law.

Philip Marcus reviewed two books on citizenship education: *Education and the Democratic Ideal* by Steven M. Cahn and *The Revival of Civic Learning* by R. Freeman Butts.

In the review, entitled "Educating the Young for Citizenship," Dr. Marcus writes: "What the books have in common is a faith, demonstrated in patient detail, that the values and practices that caused our past successes remain the best guides for our future well-being." And, students must be taught basic citizenship values to make the rest of their education worthwhile:

Can students today be taught Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* unless they already know that assassination is evil? How can students understand the tragedy of Melville's *Billy Budd* unless they possess a sense of justice? Neither liberal education nor decent politics—especially democratic politics—exists without a foundation in moral and political principles. Yet, there is a reluctance (today) to see how far relativism has changed the intrinsic nature of education.

Dr. Marcus concludes: "Unless there is sound reason to believe that civic virtue and individual excellence will exist and will gain public recognition, there is no sure defense for education and public schools—or the preservation of society itself."

The issue of *American Educator* also includes articles by several other prominent observers of education: **Edwin J. Delattre** (President of St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland), **Edward A. Wynne** (Editor of *Character* magazine and professor of education at the University of Illinois), **Peter Mitchell** (Director of the AFT international education project), and **Jay Sommer** (National Teacher of the Year). In all, the issue is a ringing statement on the need to re-invigorate American education with traditional values and civic learning. The editors and writers are to be congratulated.

society is one in which inequalities are reduced to a minimum. "On the contrary," Mr. Podhoretz writes,

they all take the position that, while a market system cannot function properly without equality of opportunity, neither can it function without inequality of result.

Rewards for innovation and productivity must be freely available in a free society, and, consequently, distribution of wealth will be unequal.

The new defenders of capitalism, many of whom were, at one time, supporters of a variety of socialism, are still "a minority within the intellectual community, (but) they are also in the ascendent," according to Mr. Podhoretz. "Their writings exhibit energy, freshness, and dynamism—qualities notably absent from the work of socialist intellectuals. . . who have become more and more strident in tone as their arguments have grown less and less persuasive in substance.

We can therefore expect that the influence of the new defenders of capitalism, already considerable, will continue to spread within the intellectual community. But will it make itself felt outside the intellectual community? More specifically, can it make itself felt in the business world?

Answering this last question, of course, points to the role that private philanthropy can play in bringing new—but, in a sense, very old—ideas to bear on the long-term well-being of free institutions. As Mr. Podhoretz writes in his conclusion:

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. This is why the contemporary variants of such ideas meet with so little resistance in the minds of businessmen themselves.

But this is also why today's ideas about capitalism—that it is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition of freedom; that it is both a necessary and a sufficient condition of wealth; and that it provides a better chance than any known alternative for the most widespread sharing in the wealth it produces—might have as their most consequential result the conversion of businessmen to an active belief in the legitimacy and the social value of what they do.

At the very least, the resurgence of this belief could lead to greater cooperation by businessmen with the new intellectual defenders of capitalism, who have thus far proceeded with remarkably little help from the business community in struggling against. . . 'a creed hostile to its very existence.'

Clippings

An article on I.E.A. appeared in *The Financial Post* of Canada (August 29, 1981). The article, by Arnold Beichman, was entitled "Countering the Adversary Culture."

Mention was also made of the Institute's work in *Fortune* magazine (September 21, 1981; page 129) in an article on philanthropy entitled "The Unsentimental Corporate Giver."

of oil company profits as an example of applying such a theory to economic reality:

In an article on "the implications of oil company profits" (August 18, 1980), it (*Business Week*) looked at the "mind numbing" growth of the industry's profits. "What seems to be happening is something like a zero-sum game in which the process that brings wealth to the oil companies takes it away from other sectors of the economy." This "maldistribution," *Business Week* worried, might have all kinds of dire effects, including higher inflation, reduced efficiency, and generally slower economic growth as the oil companies sopped up much of the capital available for investment. Predictably, the oil companies' bonanza is now over, and *Business Week* and the rest of the media can no longer blame them for the economy's ills.

In the area of economic theory, Mr. Lagerfeld points out, *Business Week* responded to the ascent of the supply-side school in a way surprising for a business magazine:

Markets, corporations, capitalism—anyone with such little faith in these things could scarcely be expected to exult over supply-side economics. As it did with so many of the other ideas that have won wide support among the public—and in the brow-beaten business community—*Business Week* opposed supply-side economics to the bitter end.

Moreover, reports Mr. Lagerfeld, *Business Week* has treated the ideas and advocates of conservatism—especially neoconservatism—with the scorn and vilification of a "new left" publication. In economic theory, economic policy, general policy questions, and even in the area of foreign policy, the critics of capitalism have received careful attention and treatment by *Business Week*, while those who have joined in a moral defense of capitalism are either ignored or attacked, often *ad hominem*. He concludes:

Business Week has been performing a tremendous disservice to its readers in undermining and attacking the very ideas and values that give their work meaning and moral status. But its moral blindness—its failure to subject the foes of the free society to the same kind of withering scrutiny it turns on its friends—is a deeper and more troubling flaw. *Business Week* has a legacy of intellectual bankruptcy that a few post-election gestures alone cannot possibly redeem.

Defining Voting Rights

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, which will expire August, 1982, is the cause of much heated debate over what provisions, if any, ought to be extended or changed. In light of the passions generated by the debate, a welcome contribution of reason is an editorial by I.E.A. grantee, Dr. Abigail M. Thernstrom, "Voting Rights: To What Are Minorities Entitled?" (*Washington Post*, August 4, 1981).

The article, drawn from her original research, reviews the various interpretations of what the Act originally was to accomplish. At issue is the necessity of defining "electoral discrimination" properly, and those questions central to the debate.

Dr. Thernstrom's research shows that while the impact of the Voting Rights Act increased the registration of black voters, there has been no recognition of the extent to which the law has been put to new uses its framers never intended. The law, she contends, has been transformed from one which sought to as-

Intellectual Capital

The impact of a great teacher on a student's character and education can scarcely be exaggerated. All of us recall at least one good teacher that we encountered as students who not only influenced our thinking but also shaped our aspirations about the higher things in life. Some of us can even claim the good fortune of having learned from a great teacher. While a generation's intellectual contributions to posterity begin in, and are fashioned by, the dedication and competence of a few great teachers, little is ever written about the qualities and character of academic masters.

It is for this reason that great rewards are gained in reading *Masters: Portraits of Great Teachers*, edited by Joseph Epstein (Basic Books, 1981; \$14.95).

This book is a collection of essays about great teachers in various disciplines written by former students. The essays originally appeared in *The American Scholar*, of which Mr. Epstein is editor, and the authors are themselves well-known at least in the academy for their intellectual achievements. A virtue of this collection is that each author explores, in part, the ways in which he himself was influenced by his teacher—a revealing and penetrating exercise. The essays are at once biographical and autobiographical; they point to the qualities of the student and the teacher.

Among the 16 essays are: "Christian Gauss," by Edmund Wilson; "Morris R. Cohen," by Sidney Hook; "Frederick J. Teggart," by Robert Nisbet; "Hannah Arendt," by Peter Stern and Jean Yarbrough; "C.S. Lewis," by John Wain; and "Leo Strauss," by Werner J. Dannhauser.

Each essay tells much about the subject that was taught, about the author himself, and especially about the great teacher who, as Mr. Epstein notes in his Introduction, is like a performing artist: "Not only must the teacher get up his subject, but he must get it across. . . . What all the great teachers appear to have in common is love of their subject, an obvious satisfaction in arousing this love in their students, and an ability to convince them that what they are being taught is deadly serious."

In sum, these essays are as important for what they teach us to expect of ordinary teachers as for what they teach us about excellent teachers.

sure the right to register to vote, to one which seeks to maximize the electoral effectiveness of minority groups.

In view of this possible distortion of our politics, Dr. Thernstrom draws attention to the important questions concerning "electoral discrimination": "We talk of the 'dilution' of the minority vote," she writes, "but in fact we don't know what a 'full' vote is." Then she asks: "To what, precisely, are minorities entitled? . . . Is an integrated political process the aim (of the Act)—a process in which minorities have electoral opportunities equal to those of whites, but are guaranteed no particular results? Or is the goal (minority) political power with (legislative) seats in proportion to the minority population?"

According to Dr. Thernstrom, who is writing a book on minority voting rights, these basic questions must be addressed objectively and thoroughly before concluding whether measures of the Act, involving intervention by the Justice Department into local electoral affairs, should be extended, modified, or left to expire next year. As in most other areas of public policy, the proper answers can only be gained by first properly defining the questions.

The Exchange

Among recent, important developments is a nonprofit, bipartisan organization, "dedicated to advancing the social and economic interests of black Americans," newly formed in San Francisco under the leadership of Dr. Henry Lucas, Jr.

The New Coalition for Economic and Social Change believes, in Dr. Lucas' words, that "all too often well-intentioned social welfare programs have created a self-perpetuating cycle of poverty and dependence, and one generation after another is dictated to by government bureaucrats. . . . An ill-considered generosity which ultimately harms people, these social welfare programs constitute neither progress nor advancement. This is waste. . . a waste the nation can ill afford."

As an alternative, the New Coalition seeks to promote and take advantage of real economic growth for *all* Americans in realizing real economic growth and social change for black Americans. It hopes to inspire leadership, independence, diversity, and pluralism within the black community across the nation.

Included on the organization's Board of Directors are: **A. Lawrence Chickering** of the Institute for Contemporary Studies, **Professor Nathan Glazer** of Harvard University, musician **Lionel Hampton**, and the **Hon. Laurence H. Silberman**. Among its founders are **Professors Thomas Sowell** and **Walter Williams**.

The organization, which will be a national membership organization with local chapters in all major cities, intends to provide a permanent forum on the local and national levels for new ideas and diverse views. The New Coalition, as part of its work, will develop, publish, and disseminate articles and public policy studies, sponsor seminars and conferences, and thereby "galvanize the growing constituency committed to real economic and social growth for black Americans."

Additional information on The New Coalition for Economic and Social Change is available through the I.E.A. Clearinghouse.

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Based on information supplied, and assuming your operations will be as stated in your application for recognition of exemption, we have determined you are exempt from Federal income tax under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

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Accordingly, you will be treated as a publicly supported organization, and not as a private foundation, during an advance ruling period. This advance ruling period begins on the date of your inception and ends on the date shown above.

Within 90 days after the end of your advance ruling period, you must submit to us information needed to determine whether you have met the requirements of the applicable support test during the advance ruling period. If you establish that you have been a publicly supported organization, you will be classified as a section 509(a)(1) or 509(a)(2) organization as long as you continue to meet the requirements of the applicable support test. If you do not meet the public support requirements during the advance ruling period, you will be classified as a private foundation for future periods. Also, if you are classified as a private foundation, you will be treated as a private foundation from the date of your inception for purposes of sections 507(d) and 4940.

Grantors and donors may rely on the determination that you are not a private foundation until 90 days after the end of your advance ruling period. If you submit the required information within the 90 days, grantors and donors may continue to rely on the advance determination until the Service makes a final determination of your foundation status. However, if notice that you will no longer be treated as a section *** organization is published in the Internal Revenue Bulletin, grantors and donors may not rely on this determination after the date of such publication. Also, a grantor or donor may not rely on this determination if he or she was in part responsible for, or was aware of, the act or failure to act that resulted in your loss of section *** status, or acquired knowledge that the Internal Revenue Service had given notice that you would be removed from classification as a section *** organization.

***170(b)(1)(A)(vi) and 509(a)(1)

District Director, Manhattan District

(over) See Attachment

Letter 1045(DO) (6-77)

If your sources of support, or your purposes, character, or method of operation change, please let us know so we can consider the effect of the change on your exempt status and foundation status. Also, you should inform us of all changes in your name or address.

Generally, you are not liable for social security (FICA) taxes unless you file a waiver of exemption certificate as provided in the Federal Insurance Contributions Act. If you have paid FICA taxes without filing the waiver, you should call us. You are not liable for the tax imposed under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act (FUTA).

Organizations that are not private foundations are not subject to the excise taxes under Chapter 42 of the Code. However, you are not automatically exempt from other Federal excise taxes. If you have any questions about excise, employment, or other Federal taxes, please let us know.

Donors may deduct contributions to you as provided in section 170 of the Code. Bequests, legacies, devises, transfers, or gifts to you or for your use are deductible for Federal estate and gift tax purposes if they meet the applicable provisions of sections 2055, 2106, and 2522 of the Code.

You are required to file Form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, only if your gross receipts each year are normally more than \$10,000. If a return is required, it must be filed by the 15th day of the fifth month after the end of your annual accounting period. The law imposes a penalty of \$10 a day, up to a maximum of \$5,000, when a return is filed late, unless there is reasonable cause for the delay.

You are not required to file Federal income tax returns unless you are subject to the tax on unrelated business income under section 511 of the Code. If you are subject to this tax, you must file an income tax return on Form 990-T. In this letter, we are not determining whether any of your present or proposed activities are unrelated trade or business as defined in section 513 of the Code.

You need an employer identification number even if you have no employees. If an employer identification number was not entered on your application, a number will be assigned to you and you will be advised of it. Please use that number on all returns you file and in all correspondence with the Internal Revenue Service.

Because this letter could help resolve any questions about your exempt status and foundation status, you should keep it in your permanent records.

If you have any questions, please contact the person whose name and telephone number are shown in the heading of this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Charles H. Brennan

District Director

cc: George J. Gillespie, III
Messrs. Cravath, Swaine & Moore
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Institute for Educational Affairs

As an organization making grants or scholarships to individuals, you must maintain adequate records and case histories to show the name and address of each recipient of aid; the amount distributed to each; the purpose for which the aid was given; the manner in which the recipient was selected and the relationship, if any, between the recipient and (1) members, officers, or trustees of the organization, (2) a grantor or substantial contributor to the organization or a member of the family of either, and (3) a corporation controlled by a grantor or substantial contributor, in order that any or all distributions made to individuals can be substantiated upon request by the Internal Revenue Service (See Rev. Rul. 56-304, 1956-2 C. B. 306).

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WHAT IS I.E.A.? I.E.A. is an educational foundation established in 1978 by William E. Simon and Irving Kristol. Based on a partnership between the business community and scholars, its goal is to develop an intellectual defense of the ideals and principles of democratic capitalism.

WHY I.E.A.? In the face of a unique cultural hostility toward our own economic system, public policy and economic analyses, though necessary, are not enough. "Experts" invariably disagree about policies and programs.

What is most needed is a strengthening of the case *for* democratic capitalism as fairer and freer than competing systems. In short, our very way of life requires a moral and intellectual defense.

Only with such a defense at hand will opinion leaders, teachers, and students be persuaded to view our system—and present it to others—in a positive and healthy context.

WHAT DOES I.E.A. DO? I.E.A. supports the research and writing of scholars and journalists whose work fosters, promotes, and increases an understanding of democratic capitalism.

The I.E.A. **Grant Program** has funded research into such issues as:

- the political character of the money supply;
- the politics of the anti-nuclear movement;
- the relationship of Marxism and nationalism in the "Third World."

In addition, the I.E.A. **Clearinghouse** is designed to increase the effectiveness of corporate giving. The **Clearinghouse** provides information and advice about organizations and individuals seeking corporate support, and publishes the *Guide to Public Policy Research Organizations*, and other educational materials.

THE I.E.A. BOARD: I.E.A.'s governing body is a Board of Directors equally divided between businessmen and academics.

The businessmen are there to ensure that I.E.A. money is spent sensibly.

The academics are there because of their knowledge of who's who in academia.

SUPPORT: I.E.A.'s current budget is \$883,150. More than 74 corporations, foundations, and individuals have become contributors to I.E.A.'s work.

STAFF: The I.E.A. staff consists of the Executive Director, Dr. Philip N. Marcus, and two Program Officers.



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 topical issues in depth, and to permit an exchange of views about promising activities and initiatives in the field. The **Forum** is made up of over 160 participants.

Each 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.

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
Perspectives on Public Interest Law

Among the many experts who have addressed the **Forum** meetings have been: **Edith Efron** (University of Rochester), **Irving Kristol** (*The Public Interest* magazine), **Robert Nisbet** and **Michael Novak** (American Enterprise Institute), **Alan Reynolds** (First National Bank of Chicago), **Hon. Laurence H. Silberman** (Crocker National Bank, San Francisco), **William Tucker** (*Harper's* magazine), **Paul Weaver** (*Fortune* magazine), and **Ralph Winter** (Yale University Law School).

Owing to a widespread interest in the discussions of our panelists, the Institute has begun to publish the proceedings of **Forums** in booklet form; *Economics and Economic Education* and *Perspectives on Public Interest Law* are now available upon request.



THE I.E.A. CLEARINGHOUSE

The I.E.A. **Clearinghouse** keeps track of literally hundreds of non-profit organizations, and provides information to corporations and foundations when those organizations apply for support. In addition, the **Clearinghouse** responds to a variety of other requests for assistance, from identifying all the effective organizations in a particular field to meeting specialized research needs. The unique character of the Institute enables us to offer this service quickly and professionally.

The **Clearinghouse** functions are based on our ability to draw upon in-house expertise, our contacts and consultants in the academic community, and the resources of our Board members to help in the assessment of proposals or organizations that may be seeking support.

In addition to answering many individual requests from corporations and foundations for advice and information in making grants, we have begun a program of publications to reach a wider audience. We have reprinted Irving Kristol's important speech, "Foundations and the Sin of Pride: The Myth of the 'Third Sector,'" and mailed it to 5,000 corporate and foundation executives. We have since received requests for an additional 1,000 copies. Also, we have published a *Guide to Public Policy Research Organizations*, which lists those organizations the Institute has assessed as worthy of private financial support. Our purpose here is to help philanthropy take an active, informed part in the development of ideas. The response 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.



STATEMENT BY MILTON FRIEDMAN

The theme of inhumanity has been the central element of anti-capitalist rhetoric for two hundred years. The theme is repeated today, and is still the most effective element in the armory of those who are opposed to the free market system. Capitalism, they declare, is inhumane. Of course, that is completely contradicted by experience. Yet the theme, the idea, retains much of its power.

We must make people understand that the basic idea of a free society is fundamentally a humane idea. It is fundamentally the idea that people as individuals have responsibility to themselves and to one another, that those responsibilities cannot be met by turning them over to somebody else, by electing a governmental official who will take money out of your pocket in order to spend it on supposedly good objectives. It can only be met by us as individuals. In spreading that basic philosophy, we must go beyond the kind of economic studies that I've spent my life on, that even the best public policy think tanks produce. Changing fundamental attitudes requires action on all levels. It must go beyond economics. It must go beyond philosophy. It must go to the core of our culture, where the values and beliefs that shape our actions are formed.

We must move on a broad front. That cannot be done by business executives in their capacity as representatives of their business. The actions needed can be provided only by people in their private capacity, not as representatives of a business, but as citizens of the United States. The main effort will have to be by individuals who are not engaged in business, but who are scholars, writers and people from all walks of life. It will have to be done and organized through universities and through foundations. It will require the support of the community of businessmen and of many other individuals.

The successes we've achieved so far certainly cause all of us, I think, to be optimistic. The tide of opinion in the world is changing and not only in America. It's been happening in Great Britain. It's been happening even in Sweden. It's been happening around the world. Now is the time to keep it moving and see if we can't really achieve a breakthrough.

*Excerpted and adapted from a talk given under the auspices of the Heritage Foundation on May 14, 1980.

FOUNDATIONS
AND
THE SIN OF PRIDE:
The Myth of The "Third Sector"

By
Irving Kristol

A speech before the
Annual Conference of the
Council on Foundations,
May 30, 1980

Published By
The Institute for Educational Affairs

Today, I want to talk about the foundation world and the sin of pride—what the Greeks called *hubris*, what the church fathers called *superbia*, namely the desire to do more good than anyone can do, a desire to do good which ends up being a form of the will to power. I think the foundation world today is suffering from the sin of pride.

Let me give you a very clear and specific instance. It is now generally said and widely thought that the foundation world (the non-profit world, as we say), constitutes a "third sector" in American society. There is, it is said, the private sector, consisting of business enterprise; the public sector, consisting of government; and then we have the third, not-for-profit sector, of which the foundations are the animating core. I would like to suggest to you that there is no third sector. Foundations are part and parcel of the private sector. They are flesh of the flesh, bone of the bone, blood of the blood of the private sector. The notion that foundations in some way constitute a sector of their own, different from, above, and superior to the other two sectors is an act of pride which will only go before a fall. That fall may consist in the fact that foundations will end up depriving themselves of their sustenance, which comes from the various parts of the private sector. Foundations are creations of the private sector.

In fact, there are only two sectors in our society: the private sector and the governmental sector. The voluntary associations in our nation do not make up a third sector; they are part of the private sector. Churches are part of the private sector. Fraternal organizations are part of the private sector. Even political parties are part of the private sector. There is no high ground which foundations can occupy and from which they can look down upon the other sectors and then try to think up policies, methods of improving the world, which are somehow disinterested in a way that those of the other two sectors are not.

The sin of pride to which I refer shows itself in many other ways. For instance, we hear it said that foundations should be setting the national agenda. But it is politics that sets the national agenda. If foundations want to get into politics, that is their privilege, but they ought to know that what they are then doing is getting into politics. They are not acting in some disinterested way; they are not representing something called "the public interest." In politics everyone represents the public interest, or rather everyone represents some conception of the public interest, for politics consists of conflicts among different conceptions of the public interest. There is no *one* conception of the public interest which is right as against all others. I want to emphasize that if foundations are inclined to get involved in politics this way, I think that's perfectly proper—but they ought to know what they are doing. They ought not to think that somehow they are above the political battle. They ought not to think they will not end up bearing the scars of the political battle. They ought not to think that they will be immune to political attack. Shaping the national agenda is part of the political activity of a democracy.

We also hear it said that foundations should stimulate social change, or, to use one of the favorite clichés, be on "the cutting edge" of social change. That, too, is politics.

And foundations have no more perception of what is right or wrong in social change, of what is effective or what is desirable, than anyone else who is involved in politics. Foundation people are almost certainly better educated—or at least better schooled—than most people who are involved in politics. But that does not mean that they have a superior understanding of what society needs, in what directions society ought to go, or in what direction society can go.

Acts of Arrogance

There is an implicit arrogance in the notion, in the very rhetoric, that a foundation should be on "the cutting edge" of social change. First of all, it assumes you know what the cutting edge is, and you know that it cuts this way, not that way. Secondly, to be on the cutting edge of social change you have to have a complete, comprehensive, theoretical understanding of the social order—of how change is brought about and how you bring about the changes you wish as against the changes you don't wish. There is no such comprehensive theory—never has been, never will be. We do not understand ourselves that well, and we do not understand our neighbors that well. The reason we have politics at all is because the world is full of other people. Other people are never quite like us. That's the way it's always been, and that's the way it's always going to be. The notion, therefore, that any foundation or any group of scholars or any group of thinkers can have a "disinterested" conception of where society should go, one that is not open to political conflict and political argument, is an act of intellectual arrogance which can only end up creating damage to foundations. For not only can't we control social change in a disinterested way, in the end we can't control it at all. We really cannot control social change. We can try. It's very important to try. But the notion that you can come up with a master plan for social change and institute that plan and get the results that you really intended is to over-look the fact that the basic law of politics is that unanticipated consequences are always more important than the anticipated consequences of your actions.

There have been a number of such instances of intellectual arrogance over the past 25 or 30 years, some of which I have been involved in, some of which I have just witnessed. I'll mention two of them, both, as it happens, involving the Ford Foundation. Back in the 1950's, the Ford Foundation decided that the behavioral sciences were the key to the future, that the behavioral sciences, like sociology and political science, would really give us a way of controlling human destiny. They would bring about the "politics of the future," and create a better society at the least cost. And so the Ford Foundation devoted tens of millions of dollars to advancing the behavioral sciences in the universities, with great success. Unfortunately, 15 years later it turned out that the behavioral sciences were in a condition, and to this day are in a condition, of intellectual crisis; the younger scholars, whether conservative or radical, are all in rebellion against the behavioral sciences, which they find very boring, very tedious, and on the whole ineffectual. But the damage that has been done to our universities by the Ford Foundation's

presumption in thinking that it knew what should be taught in the universities, that it knew exactly what it should impose on universities within the social sciences, has been enormous. Because professors don't die young. Tens of thousands of professors, with tenure, are now sitting in universities, trained in the behavioral sciences, teaching students who find them all (or most of them) thoroughly unsatisfying.

The other, more famous instance, of course, was the school decentralization fight in New York City. Being a New Yorker, that was something that came very close to the bone. There the act of arrogance was evident, because if there's one law of New York City politics it is: "Thou shalt not polarize racial and ethnic groups." That has been the overriding political law of New York City for 150 years now, but the Ford Foundation blithely went ahead and polarized the city, inflicting enormous damage on the public school system, and on the political system of the city. My impression is that having caused that damage, it has now lost interest in the subject and has gone on to something else.

Grand Designs, Sad Results

Now, I don't want to be misunderstood. It is possible to do good. It really *is* possible to do good. Doing good isn't even hard. It's just doing a lot of good that is very hard. If your aims are modest, you can accomplish an awful lot. When your aims become elevated beyond a reasonable level, you not only don't accomplish much, but you can cause a great deal of damage. And, in fact, I think that foundations in this country have passed up enormous opportunities to do good, simply because they have found them not sufficiently ambitious.

In my own experience, I spent several years on the Council of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and it was an organization that I was very much in favor of. In fact, I even helped persuade some of my conservative friends in Congress to vote its appropriation against their inclination. I have avoided speaking to them since. I don't know what I would now say to them. Basically, NEH did a good job; in all fairness, I think it still does half a good job. At the beginning, what NEH did was quite simple and obvious. We supported archaeological expeditions in Turkey. Someone has to support them; they're worth doing. They might discover something interesting; it seems right that NEH should do it. We supported critical editions of major texts. Again, every expensive. Again, someone has to do it, and it seems right that the National Endowment for the Humanities should do it. We went on doing all these very colorless and rather boring, but good things.

But in the end it didn't satisfy a great many people, including people in Congress, including some of the present leaders of foundations. The result is that, when you proposed something along those lines, the reaction became, "Oh goodness, come on, we don't want another edition of classical texts. Let's do something more interesting, let's do something that has an effect on the world." As a consequence, the emphasis at NEH, over these past years, has shifted. A lot of the money is now simply wasted, in my view, on all sorts

of dubious "community and cultural activities." I do think that the National Endowment for the Humanities should support excellent museums. I don't think it ought to support third-rate museums. But, of course, it's now in the business of supporting third-rate ballet troupes, third-rate, fourth-rate museums, spreading the money around state-by-state, county-by-county; it has been quite politicized. It still does some good—I'd say half of what it does is still perfectly good. But it just could not be satisfied to do the good things which were not intellectually exciting. They were quite routine but worth doing, and now unfortunately very few foundations are doing them.

I take a more dramatic instance. Everyone is concerned about youth unemployment in the ghetto, as I am, and I have been involved with various foundations and government as well, over the years, in trying to do something about it. It's astonishing how little has been accomplished. The reason so little has been accomplished is that no one was satisfied with doing a little; everyone wanted to do a lot. For instance, it is a scandal in this country that vocational education is in the condition it's in. It is absolutely absurd. Can you imagine a United States of America where there is a shortage of automobile mechanics, and yet there are "unemployable" kids in the ghetto who can strip an automobile in four minutes flat? It just doesn't make sense. But when you try to get a program of vocational education going—and I've tried very hard with various foundations to get a simple program of vocational education going—they say, "No! No! We don't want to train these kids to be automobile mechanics. We want to train them to be doctors, to be surgeons."

Let's be reasonable. Not everyone can be a doctor or a surgeon. Some people are going to end up as automobile mechanics. Automobile mechanics have a pretty good career. They make a great deal of money, most of it honestly. But the fact is that it has been impossible to get the resources for so limited a goal.

Foundations talk a great deal about education, and propose grand theories about education. Whenever a foundation comes to me with grand theories about education, I say: "Fine, start a school." Why not? If you have grand and novel theories about education, start a school. But it turns out that those people don't want to start a school. They want to reform the whole public education system, or whatever. But it's very hard to reform the public education system, which is populated by people with interests, ideas, and habits of their own. It's not in their interest to be reformed. So they will take your program and twist it in all sorts of ways. Whereas, a foundation can always start a school. Thus it seems reasonable to insist: if you have any good ideas about education, whether it be in the ghetto or elsewhere, *start a school*. But I have never heard of any foundation that started a school, one that would put its theories into effect. A hundred years ago that was assumed to be a very promising way to reform education. These days it is regarded as insufficiently ambitious, too modest in its intent.

Again, turning to the youth of the ghetto, if you say to a foundation: "Look, there are many bright kids in the ghetto who need help, who need scholarships, who need fellow-

ships. Why don't you help them?" the answer to that is: "We want to help those who are really down at the bottom. That's the problem." Indeed that *is* the problem. Only, helping those at the bottom is not easy, whereas helping those who are at the top, or are moving up, is feasible. It works. If you suggest such a program you are accused of something called "creaming," namely, taking the most able, the most intelligent, the most ambitious, and moving them up while neglecting the rest. But that is the normal way in which all groups move into the mainstream of American life. This is true for all groups, all immigrant groups, all ethnic groups, all racial groups. You begin by moving up those who can be moved up. Their brothers, sisters, cousins, friends, see them moving up and begin to foresee that it's *possible*. They begin to shape their lives and their habits to *follow* them. The notion that you go directly to the hard-core unemployable, the high-school dropouts, who are "hard core" for a reason, is utopian. They're not easy to cope with. The notion that you can cope with these people directly, and transform them overnight into willing and eager students, is childish. I'm not saying you can't do it in the case of certain individuals. And if a foundation wanted to focus enormous resources on a few such individuals, it would probably work. But it would be enormously expensive, and in the end you would just be helping a few individuals. The more sensible approach is to do what you can do—help those who wish to be helped, who can be helped, who are already motivated, and hope that others will follow in their path. It is, on the basis of experience, a realistic hope.

I'll never forget my first job, working for a fine mechanic, who was an illiterate and who owned his own factory. After I'd been there a few days, he took me aside and said, "Irving, I want you to remember two things: First, a thing worth doing is worth doing cheaply. And second, if something is too hard to do, find something easier to do." On the whole, I think that's good advice. When things get terribly hard and terribly expensive, it's a sign that—for reasons which you may never understand—it's not going to be doable. Peter Drucker—many years later I read Peter Drucker on management—ends up saying the same thing as my little machine shop owner did, namely, you pour your resources into things that work. You don't spend all your time and energy and money on things that don't work. Do what is doable, and when you do what is doable, it will affect everything else, and you then get the kind of progress in education, or in the economy, or what have you, which brings everyone into the system and from which everyone benefits.

There is a passion for doing good. It is a noble passion, but it is a passion. And all passions have to be controlled. All passions are dangerous unless they are controlled. We have had long experience in the history of Western civilization with people who spend their lives doing good. Nuns, members of religious orders, working in hospitals, in schools. All of them were under a discipline where they were on regular occasions humiliated by their institutions. That is, if you wanted to do good in the old days, say in a hospital, at some point, you emptied bedpans. Now, I'm not saying that all the professionals at the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation should

spend one day a month emptying bedpans. On the other hand, it is useful to have an occasion for humility. It is very easy to sit down and devise a new health delivery service, but cleaning bedpans gives you an insight into some of the problems inherent in health delivery service. The passion for doing good, when it was restricted to religious orders, had a self-correcting mechanism in it. We have no such system of self-discipline and self-humiliation, so that the tendency toward pride and arrogance in doing good, the tendency toward an excess of passion and self-righteousness in doing good, is unchecked.

Pluralism and Private Initiative

I want to make one final point, which is really my original point. Foundations came into existence originally to do all the things that needed to be done that the government did not do in the 19th and early 20th centuries. That was the right thing for foundations to do at that time. However, the situation has changed today. We have had a reversal. There is almost nothing you can suggest which government is not eager to do. And it seems to me that foundations, therefore, have a special responsibility to be wary of government and to be a lot more solicitous of their own sector, which, I repeat, is the private sector. You're not *above* the private sector, by God, you're *in* it. I really am a little sorry, with all due respect to Landrum Bolling and the city of Washington, that the Council on Foundations has decided to set up headquarters in Washington. I think that's the wrong signal to the foundation world. Foundations should not be an adjunct to government. Foundations should be an adjunct to their own, private sector. There is a tendency these days for everything to become an adjunct to government, just as there is a tendency, when foundations have a good idea, for government to take it and run away with it. My favorite example of the latter is the Meals on Wheels program. This was a marvellous program, a community program, where people got together and delivered meals to elderly people who were either house-bound or confined to their beds. And Congress heard about this and said, "That's a great idea; we'll do it." So it passed the Meals on Wheels legislation, but with all sorts of new regulations, so that the community organizations that had been delivering meals for years were all disqualified because they didn't have enough professional nutritionists, they didn't have the right number of this or enough of that, they didn't have the right inspection of their facilities, etc. So you end up with another government agency doing, in its bureaucratic and, I am convinced, in the end not very humane way, what neighbors were doing in a very pleasant and humane way.

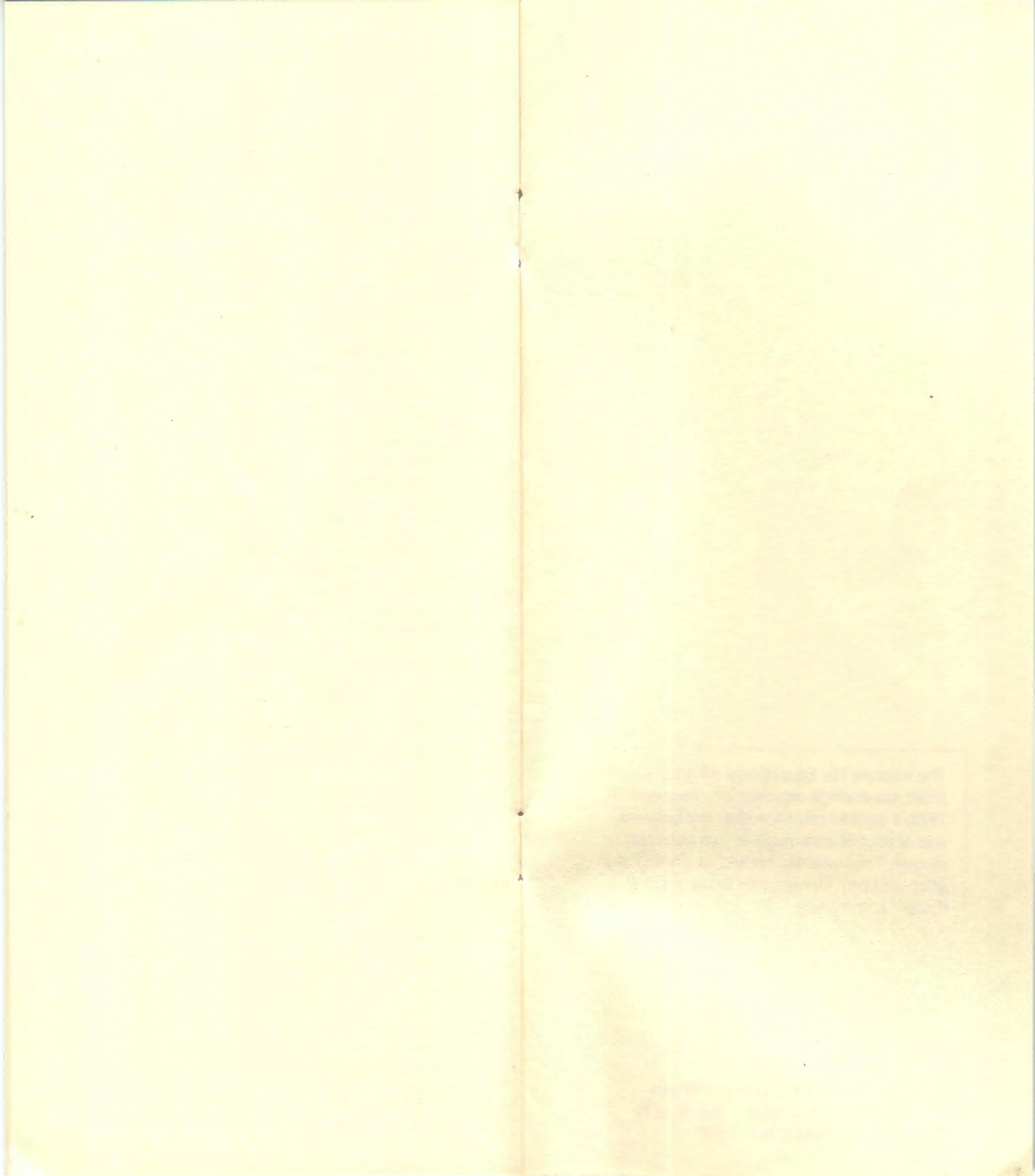
There is clearly a tendency of government, in the name of the welfare state, to expand the conception of the welfare state so far as to be bureaucratically paternalistic. I think foundations should combat this tendency, not encourage it.

In sum, foundations should rethink their situations and their conditions. We live in a pluralistic society. Some foundations are going to be liberal, some are going to be radical, some are going to be conservative, and that's fine. That's the way it should be, as long as they realize that they

are being either liberal, conservative, or radical, not somehow representing something called "the common good," which they alone are in a position to define. But I do want to emphasize, in closing, that all of those activities, whether radical, liberal, or conservative, emerge from the private sector, and are a distinctive aspect of our pluralist society. To the degree that our society becomes more centralized, to the degree that government becomes more intrusive in all the affairs of our lives, to that degree, foundations are going to end up in fact being adjuncts of government or being assimilated into government.

Even now it is said—and I have heard foundation executives say it, and I think most people here would probably say it—that the money you people spend is public money, and therefore you have a public responsibility. Now, in what sense is the money you spend public? Under the tax laws, the contributions made to foundations are deductible from income. If you say that that money is public money, you are saying: "Well, the government has the right to all our money, but it doesn't exercise this right at all times or in all respects. It leaves some of that governmental money for us to spend, and therefore we have a public responsibility attached to that money." I think that is socializing money in rhetoric prior to socializing it in fact. The money you people spend is *private money*. It is *not* public money. Money that the government does not take is ours. You can have whatever public responsibilities you wish to assume with that private money. But it is private money. It is the life blood of your organizations, and I think it is time foundations gave a little more thought to the source of that life blood and to what might be done to making that life blood a little more abundant and, shall we say, healthier in composition.

Irving Kristol is a Director of the Institute for Educational Affairs, Co-Editor of The Public Interest magazine, and a member of The Wall Street Journal's Board of Contributors.



The Institute For Educational Affairs is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization. Founded in 1978, it aims to bring together the business and academic communities in a common pursuit. The Institute conducts a grant program and provides services to the philanthropic community.

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



Project Inform

TO INFORM STUDENTS ABOUT POLITICAL INFLUENCES WITHIN STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

Project Inform was established in May, 1982 to serve as a clearinghouse for information regarding the promotion of conservative viewpoints on American campuses.

The primary functions of Project Inform can be broken down into these five categories:

- 1) To attack mandatory fee abuse on the campuses by leftist student governments; to attack improper funding mechanisms used by groups such as Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Group (PIRG), especially the advent of the negative check-off system.
- 2) To expose and defund groups purporting to represent American students when in reality are far-left and represent only a small minority. The United States Student Association (USSA) is the major target in this case.
- 3) To encourage non-leftist students to run and win student governments elections and provide technology manuals to this end.
- 4) To serve as a middleman between students wishing to resort to legal action in regards to funding violations, and conservative legal foundations willing to take up cases. For example, students have resorted to legal action against PIRG in New Jersey and against fee abuse at Berkeley.
- 5) To assist in the founding of conservative newspapers and provide technology manuals for this purpose.

Project Inform will be looking into all radical organizations that have organized networks of campus chapters such as Mobilization for Survival, American Friends Service Committee, Progressive Student Alliance, Progressive Student Union, etc.

A monthly newsletter will be published that will have the latest news on legal fights against fee abuse and negative check-off systems as well as articles dealing with conservative newspapers, USSA, and student government elections.

If you like more info or can help in any way, contact Steve Baldwin at 1-202-484-6530.



Project Inform

TO INFORM STUDENTS ABOUT POLITICAL INFLUENCES WITHIN STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

STARTING A CONSERVATIVE CAMPUS NEWSPAPER

The conservative movement on campus has recently added on another weapon to its arsenal to fight the ideological war that has been dominated by the left for so many years.

The alternative campus newspaper is the perfect way to counter the liberal arguments. They are compact, readable, short, informative, and usually controversial. Across the nation they have attracted the attention of the media as the left, radical administrations, and "official" campus newspapers howl at the newcomers as if freedom of speech did not apply to people not holding a liberal viewpoint.

Besides balancing the political views offered on campuses, conservative newspaper staffs will learn invaluable lessons in the fine arts of editing, reporting, composition, advertising, and the like. Since the conservative movement needs people in the communication media, the benefits here are obvious.

Conservative newspapers are fantastic for esprit de corps and can be used to promote conservative speakers, events, issues, etc. However, before you decide that you want to join the 40 or so conservative newspapers already established, read the following information and then think about it. It is a very big project.

FUNDING

Start-up costs usually range from \$20,000 to \$50,000 dollars, especially if you plan to publish a 12 page or more weekly and maintain off-campus office space.

Per-issue costs run from \$1500 to \$2000 but there will be supply costs, office space costs, utility bills, and possibly even legal costs.

The three primary sources of funding are advertising, subscriptions/donations, and through foundations. There are at least six foundations that have in the past granted funding to conservative newspapers usually amounting from \$2000 to \$5000 dollars. Most papers do not charge but do send the paper to alumni and simultaneously ask them for a donation. Advertisements can result in recovering up to 80% of your publishing costs.

STAFF

You'll need a least three hard-core dedicated people to start a conservative newspaper and once it is started, another 5 or 6 more to guarantee its continuity. Key people may have to have light class schedules. Everybody will have to put 2 to 5 hours a day in if it's a weekly. You will need an artist, a photographer, reporters, copy readers, a advertising manager, a distribution manager, and more.

PRINTING & LAYOUT

Very few conservative newspapers lay-out or print themselves. A few have made arrangements with the school and pay a fee to typeset and lay-out using the campus newspaper facilities. Otherwise, the typesetting and lay-out work is contracted out. The printing is always contracted out. The staff is responsible for producing copy, providing photographs and artwork, and, using dummy sheets, sketching out how the lay-out should look (to serve as a guide to the lay-out people).

LEGAL

Hopefully, the only major legal activity that you may engage in is the incorporation of the newspaper and the creation of tax exempt status. This all depends upon the relationship the paper will have with the school.

At some schools where liberals dominate, the administration and faculty are very left, and the paper intends to attack, it is advisable to stay completely separate. This means an off-campus office, an off-campus box, and most likely no arrangements regarding using the school's typesetting and lay-out facilities. Not being an "official" extension of the school, you will want to apply for your own tax exempt status. Without this status, foundations will be reluctant to grant funds to your paper. If you don't have any legal "connections," you may have to pay up to \$3000 to have this taken care of.

If your school is not liberal and won't be a major focus of your attacks, arrangements can be made to have on-campus office space and use campus facilities.

FOR MORE INFO

There are many factors to consider when starting a conservative newspaper and Project Inform is currently in the process of completing a technology manual that will hit on all aspects in detail. Foundations will be listed, fundraising strategies, organization of staff, etc. If you are seriously considering starting a conservative newspaper, contact Project Inform Director Steve Baldwin at 202-484-6530.

Office of the Director

June 4, 1982

Left 51
Informal Meeting of Foundations and Individual Funders
Concerned With Nuclear Arms Control and Peace Issues

Date: July 7, 1982

Time: 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

Place: 777 UN Plaza - Dag Hammarskjold Lounge

Lunch Served at 12:45. Dutch Treat for Funders.

AGENDA

Special Focus on US-USSR Relations

1. Marshal D. Shulman, director of the Russian Institute and Adlai Stevenson Professor of International Relations at Columbia University, and former Adviser to the Secretary of State for Soviet Affairs in the Carter Administration, will comment on current US-USSR relations, and how funding sources might help improve the picture.
2. Arthur Macy Cox, author of the recently-published book Russian Roulette: The Superpower Game will give his views on this question and discuss his proposals for avoiding World War III.
3. John Mack, professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, and author of "What About the Russians?" will discuss mutual perceptions by adversaries and the need for new terminology to describe conflict in the nuclear age.
4. John Strelau, associate director for international relations of the Rockefeller Foundation, will report on his survey of the state of Russian studies in the US.
5. Jeanne Mattison and Carl Marcy, co-directors of the American Committee for East-West Accord, will report on current activities and plans of the Committee.
6. Roger Molander, executive director of Ground Zero, will discuss plans for Ground Zero Phase II, which will emphasize education concerning the USSR.

7. Marcus Raskin, co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies will discuss the conference scheduled for Minneapolis next winter, to be sponsored by his institute and by the USSR's Institute of USA and Canada Studies.
8. Jim Hickman, recently back from a visit to the USSR, will comment on contacts established through the Esalen Institute, including the planned conference of US astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts.

Conveners for this meeting: Bob Scrivner
John Steiner

PLEASE RSVP TO: (212) 397-4844. Some recent articles by the scheduled resource people will be sent in advance of the meeting to those who indicate they are planning to attend.

To:

Bob Allen - Kendall Foundation
 Anne Bartley - Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation
 Dick Boone - Field Foundation
 Joel Brooke - Fund for Peace
 Fred Crossland - W. Alton Jones Foundation
 Joan Davidson - J.M. Kaplan Fund
 Jane Lee Eddy - Taconic Foundation
 Helen Edey - Scherman Foundation
 Brad Edgerton - W. Alton Jones Foundation
 David Freeman - Scherman Foundation
 Meg Gage - Peace Development Fund
 Wade Greene - Rockefeller Family Associates
 Colin Greer - New World Foundation
 Carol Guyer - James C. Penney Foundation
 Steve Haft - Bydale Foundation
 Jay Harris
 Patricia Hewitt - Joint Foundation Support
 David Hunter - Stern Fund
 Jim Kettler - Ruth Mott Fund
 Geraldine Kunstatter - Albert Kunstatter Family Foundation
 Ed Lawrence - Veatch Program
 Jane Lawrence - Grantmakers International
 Sally Lilienthal - Ploughshares Fund
 Bob Mazer - Peace Development Fund
 Scott McVay - Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation
 Joshua Melman
 Bill Moody - Rockefeller Brothers Fund
 Stewart Mott - Stewart R. Mott & Associates
 Dr. Josephine Murray

Martha Muse - Tinker Foundation
Karen Paget - The Youth Project
Hilary Palmer - Rockefeller Brothers Fund
Jeffrey Puryear - The Ford Foundation
David Ramage - New World Foundation
Erwin A. Salk
Enid Schoettle - The Ford Foundation
Stanley Sheinbaum
Hildy Simmons - Norman Foundation
Jack Smith - The Stanley Foundation
Karl Stauber - The Needmor Fund
Marty Teitel - C.S. Fund
Joan Warburg - Bydale Foundation
Cora Weiss - Samuel Rubin Foundation
Stanley Weiss
Bob Worth - HKH Foundation
Dorian Yates
Anne Zill - Stewart R. Mott & Associates
Vernon Andrews - Veatch Program
Carol & Ping Ferry
Rita Goodman - Johnson Foundation
Frances Hart - Public Research Foundation
John Hunting
Mrs. Madeleine H. Russell - Columbia Foundation
Wendy Schwartz - A.J. Muste Memorial Foundation
Sidney Shapiro - Max and Anna Levinson Foundation
Susan Silk - Columbia Foundation
Sam Wiener
David Fenton - David Fenton Communications
Polly Howells
Richard Pollack - David Fenton Communications
Brenda Brimmer - Ploughshares Fund

Informal Meeting of Foundations and
Individual leaders Concerned with
Nuclear Arms Control and Peace Issues

777 U.N. Plaza, Dag Hammerskjold Lounge

July 7, 1982

Anticipated Attendance

Ms. Ruth Adams
MacArthur Fpundation
140 South Dearborn St.
Chicago, Illinois 60603

Mr. Robert L. Allen
The Henry P. Kendall Foundation
One Boston Place
Boston, Massachusetts 02108

Ms. Anne Bartley
Mr. Jack Ciric
Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation
317 Ninth St., SE
Washington, DC 20003

Mrs. June Bingham
5000 Independence Ave.
Bronx, New York 10471

Ms. Brenda Brimmer
Ploughshares Fund
American Express 9th Floor
708 Third Ave
New York, NY 10017

Mr. Arthur Macy Cox
335 31st St., NW
Washington, DC 20008

Frederick Crossland
Alton Jones Foundation
Enterprise Ave.
? New Jersey 07607

Ms. Gloria Duffy
Ms. Sally Lilienthal
Ploughshares Fund
Port Mason
San Francisco, CA 94123

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
745 Fifth Ave.
New York, NY 10022

Dr. Helen Edey
The Scherman Foundation, Inc.
250 West 57th St. Suite 2122
New York, NY 10019

Ms. Marion Edey
620 Butternut St., NW
Washington, DC 20012

Mr. David Fenton
Mr. Richard Pollack
David Fenten Communications
250 West 57th St. Suite 1132
New York, NY 10107

Ping and Carol Ferry
Box 697
Scarsdale, NY 10583

Mr. David F. Freeman
The Scherman Foundation, Inc.
250 West 57th St. Suite 2122
New York, NY 10019

Scott McVay
Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation
063 Madison Ave
Post Office Box 2132K
Morristown, New Jersey 07900

Ms. Monica Melamid
Joint Foundation Support
275 Madison Ave.
New York, NY 10016

Dr. Roger Molander
Ground Zero
806 15th St. NW
Washington, DC 20005

Mr. Stewart R. Mott
1133 Fifth Ave
New York, NY 10028

Mr. John Mroz
Mr. Michael Neiditch
Institute for East-West Security Studies
304 East 45th St.
New York, NY 10017

Mrs. Hilary Palmer
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
1290 Ave of the Americas
New York, NY 10104

Mr. Jeffrey Pryear
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd St.
New York, NY 10017

Mr. David Ramage
New World Foundation
100 East 85th St.
New York, NY 10028

Marcus Raskin
Institute for Policy Studies
1901 Que St. NW
Washington, DC 20009

Ms. Tricia Ruhacky
The Youth Project
1555 Connecticut Ave NW
Washington, DC 20036

Mrs. Madeleine H. Russel
Columbia Foundation
1805 Mills Tower
770 Rush St.
San Francisco, CA 94104

Mr. Erwin A. Salk
Salk, Ward, & Walk
11 South LaSalle St.
Chicago, Ill. 60603

Dr. Marshall D. Shulman
Russian Institute
Columbia University
420 West 118th St.
New York, NY 10027

Ms. Wendy Schartz
A. J. Muste Memorial Foundation
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012

Mr. Robert W. Scrivner
Rockefeller Family Fund
1290 Ave of the Americas
New York, NY 10104

Mr. Sidney Shapiro
Max and Anna Levinson Found.
95 State St.
Springfield, Mass 01103

Ms. Susan C. Silk
Columbia Foundation
1805 Mills Tower
220 Bush St.
San Francisco, CA 94104

Ms. Hildy Simmons
Norman Foundation, Inc.
215 East 62nd St.
New York, NY 10021

Peace Development Fund
P.O. Box 270
Amhurst, Mass 01004

Mr. Jarobin Gilbert, Jr.
NBC Television Network
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10112

Mr. Wade Greene
Rockefeller Family Associates
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10112

Mr. Colin Greer
New World Foundation
100 East 85th St.
New York, NY 10028

Mr. Steven Haft
Bydale Foundation
60 East 42nd St.
New York, NY 10165

Mr. Jay Harris
2801 Barker St.
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910

Ms. Frances Hart
2430 Terrace Way
Columbia, South Carolina 29205

Mr. James Hickman
Esalen Institute
P.O. Box 67
Mill Valley, CA 94942

Mr. Louis Harris
Louis Harris and Associates, Inc
630 Fifth Ave.
New York, NY 10111

Mr. David R. Hunter
Stern Fund
? Lexington Ave, Rm 1601
New York, NY 10017

Mr. James Kettler
Ruth Mott Fund
1800 Genesee Towers
Flint, Michigan 48402

Ms. Geraldine S. Kunstadter
The Albert Kunstadter Family Found.
1035 Fifth Ave.
New York, NY 10028

Mr. Edward A. Lawrence
Veatch Program
Noth Shore Unitarian Society
Plandome Rd.
Plandome, NY 11030

Ms. Jane Lawrence
Grantmaking International
777 United Nations Plaza 5th Floor
New York, NY 10017

Ms. Estelle Linzer
The Johnson Foundation
Racine, Wisconsin 53401

Professor John Mack
Harvard Medical School
25 Shattuck St.
Boston, Mass 02115

Mr. Joshua Mailman
713 Madison Ave
New York, NY 10021

Mr. Carl Marcy
Ms. Jeanne Vaughn Mattison
American Committee on East-West Accord
227 Massachusetts Ave, NE
Washington, DC 20002

?
David Rockefeller & Dirge
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10112

Mr. Rob Stein
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th St.
New York, NY 10028

Dr. John Stremlau
Rockefeller Foundation
1133 Ave. of the Americas
New York, NY 10036

Ms. Betsy Taylor
Nuclear Information and Resource Service
536 16th St. NW
Washington, DC 20036

Ms. Leslie Van Derzee
David Rockefeller's Office
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10112

Cora Weiss
Sameul Rubin Foundation, Inc.
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Stanley Weiss
? Connecticut Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20009

Harold Williams
? South Bristol
Los Angeles, CA 20009

Dorian Yates
? Roberts' Office
? Ave of the Americas--Room 3425
New York, NY 10104

Anne Zill
Stuart R. Mott & Associates
Maryland Ave NE
Washington, DC 20002

Mr. John Steiner
6857 Midgewood Dr.
Oakland, CA 94611

Mr. Leo Harris
Cleveland, Ohio

NOTES ON ROCKEFELLER FUND LETTER

American Committee for East West Accord (ACEWA) Co-directors are Carl Marcy and Jeanne Mattison. Marcy is on the Board of Center for International Policy (CIP) which is a spinoff of the Marxist think tank Institute of Policy Studies (IPS). The Co-chairman is Seymour Melman who is also co-chair of SANE and works with the Soviet front World Peace Council (WPC) and the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) in organizing WPC speaking engagements and the 1975 Chicago National Conference to Slash Military Spending.

Fund for Peace Works with the Soviet front World Peace Council (WPC) in regards to funding peace movements. IPS spinoff CIP operates under the tax exempt umbrella of the Fund for Peace. CIP's former director Robert Borosage is the former director of IPS. FFP's principle backer is Stewart Mott (also in attendance) who operates two houses at 120 Maryland Ave involving numerous far-left organizations such as CIP, the Marxist Womens Strike for Peace, etc. Mott works very closely with the WPC.

Institute for Policy Studies. Raskin (an attendee) is a IPS founder. Principal funding comes from the Sam Rubin Foundation. Has many contacts with violence-prone domestic revolutionary organizations including the Weathermen and also supports Soviet-backed revolutionary terrorist groups in Asia, Latin America, Western Europe, and the Middle East. Last April, IPS visited Moscow and met with Soviet dis-information experts in regards to the peace movement. IPS always follows the Soviet line on all issues. It has never varied.

YOUTH PROJECT. This organization is a funding group formerly headed by Marge Tabankin, a known communist who visited Hanoi in 1972 to support the North propaganda-wise. She was elected to the ruling Council of the Soviet-Organized World Peace Assembly. She was also Director of Vista under Carter.

Markus Raskin A former founder and director of IPS and was involved in the Counterspy publication and Covert Action Information Bulletin.

Ground Zero Headed by Roger Molander, Ground Zero portrays itself as an education, non-partisan organization. However, a simple survey of their literature shows they are in favor of disarming.

Stanley Sheinbaum A member of the California State Higher Education Board. Was an advisor to Counterspy magazine. Works with the South African Communist Party. Sheinbaum is also a member of the Committee for Public Justice which was founded by famed communist Lillian Hellman.

Field Foundation. Described as one of the major financiers of the anti-intelligence movement and has worked before with Lillian Hellman. Has funded IPS.

Stanley Foundation. Has financed media projects for the Peace movement, other radical groups, and works with the United Nations NGO groups.

Stuart Mott. Radical backer of the Fund for Peace, Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, Women's Strike for Peace, etc.

Institute of the USA A major propaganda front for the Soviet Union. Is under the jurisdiction of the KGB. They specialize in studying American media and tailoring Soviet propaganda for American audiences.

Ploughshares Fund. May be a Berrigan Brothers organization. If so, they are responsible for breaking into several nuclear energy plants and have been convicted.

Cora Weiss A well known communist, she works with the Samuel Rubin Foundation and also director of the radical Riverside Church Disarmament Program which works with Soviet Embassy Counselor Yuri Kapralov to promote the "Soviet side" of the arms race. Cora is formerly with the Marxist Women's Strike for Peace and the U.S. Communist Party controlled People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. During the Vietnam war she received lots of media attention for her meetings with the Vietcong and rounded up "aid" for them. Her husband Peter Weiss is on the IPS board.

Rubin Foundation Founded by Samuel Rubin who was a confirmed socialist. Rubin worked with the communist during World War II to smuggle out perfume (rare varieties) from Spain which enable him to become a multimillionaire. His company was Faberge. He sold Faberge and now funds radical movements and is a major backer of Breira, INC., a Jewish organization which opposes the existence of Israel. His daughter is Cora Weiss heads it.

The Stern Fund Funds IPS, the radical national lawyers GUILD (NLG), Campaign to Stop Government Spying (CSGS), and many others. Philip Stern is an IPS Trustee.

Ann Zill Worked for Nader groups such as Congress Watch and Fund for a Constitutional Government. She is known as a professional organizer of radicals and recently circulated a memo to all peace movement leaders describing in detail how they most easily manipulate the media into covering them. She is now employed by the S. Mott organization.

Cox Former CIA and OSS officer. Is a visiting fellow at IPS's radical Washington School (teaches Marxist viewpoints) Was a delegate to a meeting in Russia in 1979 for the American Friends Service Committee.

Mack A signer of a full page ad that recently appeared in the Washington Post supporting the PLO (called the "Ad Hoc Committee in defence of the Palestinian and Lebanese People")

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Collections

This is not a presidential record. This marker is used as an administrative marker by the Ronald W. Reagan Presidential Library Staff. This marker identifies that there was an object in this folder that could not be scanned due to its size.

Call 7/11


Nuclear
Freeze

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 6, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR SVEN KRAEMER

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL 

SUBJECT: National Day of Prayer for
Nuclear Disarmament

Attached is correspondence I have received from Dr. Ralph A. Bohlmann, President of the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church.

I would very much appreciate your suggesting a draft response for me to Dr. Bohlmann, a very constructive and supportive individual.

Attachment

don't sponsor -

JD

svan will talk to him

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH - MISSOURI SYNOD

500 NORTH BROADWAY · SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI 63102



OFFICE OF THE
PRESIDENT

231-6969
AREA CODE 314

July 1, 1982

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20000

Dear Morton:

Enclosed is an invitation I received to join a number of religious leaders in sponsoring a national day of prayer for nuclear disarmament.

I will delay responding to this invitation until I have received your counsel. Does the president find the proposal here outlined to be supportive of our best national interests or not? In your judgment, would I be more helpful by joining with this group or by kindly declining the invitation?

As you know, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is not known for its public espousal of such causes. Nevertheless, on the surface of it the proposal appears to have considerable merit. However, I do not know many of the people whose names are listed here nor what motivates this proposal.

Thanks for whatever counsel you can give me on behalf of Mr. Reagan.

Sincerely,

Ralph A. Bohlmann
President

RAB/mh

NATIONAL DAY OF PRAYER FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036

June 29, 1982

Dr. Ralph Buhlman
President
Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod
500 North Broadway
St. Louis, MO 63102

Dear Dr. Buhlman:

On October 17 there will be a mass religious convocation in Washington, D.C., the focus of a National Day of Prayer for Nuclear Disarmament. We are writing to urge you to join us as Sponsors for this event, and to invite you to a meeting on July 22, from 12:00 to 4:00 p.m., at which time plans for the convocation will be discussed.

This invitation is being sent to one hundred religious and scientific leaders nationally. The Sponsors will constitute the governing body for the convocation, and we hope you will be able to attend July 22 and participate directly in planning it. If your schedule does not allow you to be present, we still hope you will support this effort by adding your name to the list of Sponsors.

We have enclosed a copy of the proposal which outlines plans for October 17. If you have any questions or suggestions about the proposal, please contact us directly or through Rabbi David Saperstein, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C., 20036, (202) 387-2800, or Dr. Ira Helfand, 19 North Main Street, Bellingham, MA, (617) 966-0972.

The meeting on July 22 will be at the office of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue (corner of 65th Street), New York.

We hope that you will join us in this important effort to end the nuclear arms race.

Sincerely,

Bishop John Hurst Adams
Second Episcopal District
African Methodist Episcopal Church*

Bishop James Armstrong
President, National Council of Churches*

Bishop George Bashore
Boston Area Methodist Church*

Dr. Hans A. Bethe
Professor of Physics
Cornell University*

Dr. Helen Caldicott
President
Physicians for Social Responsibility*

Bishop Thomas Gumbleton
Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit*

Dr. Alexander Leaf
Chairman, Dept. of Preventive
Harvard Medical School*

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
President, Union of American
Hebrew Congregations*

Dr. Jerome Wiesner
President Emeritus
Mass. Institute of Technology*

*Affiliations for
identification purposes only

NATIONAL DAY OF PRAYER FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Background: During the last several months we have been discussing the need for a large national event to bring together the huge grass roots movement for nuclear disarmament which has developed in this country. We have been concerned that such an event should accurately reflect the broad-based, middle of the road nature of this movement, which cuts across traditional political lines.

A National Day of Prayer: The event that we would like to propose is a national mass religious convocation in Washington. We feel that it is critical that this be an essentially religious event. Such a format would demonstrate powerfully how this issue transcends usual political distinctions. More importantly, it would speak to the spiritual despair which so many feel when we confront the real possibility of nuclear destruction, a despair which has, historically, held so many of us back from working on this problem.

Within the context of a religious program, it would be appropriate to have a number of short talks about various specific aspects of the current danger. Perhaps Dr. H. Jack Geiger could describe the effects of a nuclear attack on Washington, a military leader might speak on the current state of the arms race, and there could be a talk about the current state of the disarmament movement. But these talks should be clearly part of an essentially religious program, and we should avoid the usual list of twenty speeches from representatives of every group connected with the event. The music for the program would be drawn from the liturgical music related to peace. Perhaps one of the major national orchestras would be willing to participate in the program.

Local events around the country could be coordinated with the national gathering. There could be church programs in every community in the country

that day about the threat of nuclear war. Perhaps all the church bells in the country could ring for one minute at noon time, accompanied by a national minute of silent prayer such as we used to observe on Veterans Day.

Sponsorship: In keeping with the religious nature of the event, it should be convened and governed by leaders of the religious community, and if possible, formally sponsored by the national church organizations. It is appropriate to include also medical and scientific organizations among the sponsors because of the special role that the medical and scientific communities have in explaining the consequences of the nuclear arms race to the general public.

Date: We have discussed the question of timing extensively and would suggest that this event take place before the election, probably on Sunday, October 17, which is the first weekend after the Jewish High Holy Days.

It is our belief that a major religious convocation of this sort will have the same effects on the disarmament movement that the 1963 Civil Rights March had on the struggle against segregation. It will define nuclear disarmament as the central item on the national agenda and make opposition to real efforts at disarmament as morally unacceptable as continued support for segregation.

We feel that it is critically important for the religious and scientific communities to continue to provide leadership to this movement, and we hope you will join us in sponsoring this event.

Nuclear Freeze

RUSH!

The Executive Memorandum

The Heritage Foundation

513 C Street N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 546-4400

7/28/82

Number 3

A FREEZE MAKES NO SENSE

The rhetorical appeal of "nuclear freeze" is almost irresistible. Congress is now being tempted by this alluring--but potentially destructive--siren. It takes the form of the Zablocki-Bingham Resolution calling for a mutual and verifiable freeze on and reductions in nuclear weapons and for approval of the SALT II agreement. This was introduced in the House of Representatives on June 23, 1982, and was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It may soon be debated on the House Floor as H.J. Res. 521.

Although the Resolution's seven findings vary in importance, two are worth close examination. The first asserts that "the increasing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery systems by both the United States and the Soviet Union have not strengthened international peace and security but in fact [have] enhance[d] the prospect of mutual destruction." Actually, whatever else one may say about it, strategic nuclear deterrence over the past 37 years has prevented war between the two superpowers, and this in a century which has been wracked by two World Wars and numerous smaller regional conflicts.

The second finding worth studying lists the benefits which the Resolution's sponsors feel accrue from the SALT II Treaty. These include SALT II's mandating of "the prompt reduction of Soviet strategic forces by 254 deployable strategic nuclear delivery systems" and the imposition of "significant restrictions on Soviet multiple-warhead deployable intercontinental ballistic missiles, and on warheads for these missiles, in terms of numbers and throwweight." The clear implication of this finding is that ratification of the SALT II Treaty would benefit the United States.

This view, however, is based upon an extremely selective reading of the Treaty. For example, while SALT II would require Soviet dismantling of some 250 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, it does not specify which systems are to be dismantled. Experience shows that the Soviet Union almost certainly would make reductions from among its older and less-capable systems--those nuclear delivery systems in its current arsenal that are least worrisome to the United States and thus least important to reduce.

The Resolution's listing of SALT II provisions, moreover, simply ignores such negative aspects of the Treaty as its failure to constrain the Soviet Union's modern large ballistic missiles (the SS-18s), which directly threaten the survivability of the U.S. land-based ICBM force and its exclusion of the Soviet intercontinental-range Backfire bomber from its ceilings.

Note: Nothing written here is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heritage Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.

According to the language of the Resolution, the United States and the Soviet Union "should immediately begin the strategic arms reduction talks" (they began June 29), and these talks should pursue objectives including "pursuing a complete halt to the nuclear arms race," "deciding when and how to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze" on nuclear weapons testing, production and deployment, and "giving special attention to destabilizing weapons whose deployment would make such a freeze more difficult to achieve." These points would pose great difficulties in the current U.S.-Soviet arms negotiations. A nuclear freeze is simply incompatible with serious arms reduction talks. Given the Soviet Union's advantages in such areas as heavy missiles, a freeze solidifying this supremacy would give the U.S.S.R. little reason to negotiate reductions seriously.

Further complicating this picture is the Resolution's recommendation that the intermediate-range nuclear force talks (INF) be subsumed under START, since despite an additional recommendation to "make every effort to reach a common position" with our NATO allies on elements of such an agreement inconsistent with our NATO commitments, such a merging of the two negotiations would immeasurably increase the possibility that no worthwhile arms agreement could ever be reached.

Finally, the Zablocki-Bingham Resolution's recommendation that the United States "promptly approve the SALT II agreement provided adequate verification capabilities are maintained" is a call for ratifying a treaty which the Senate, by its actions in failing to ratify it earlier despite intense pressure from the Carter Administration, obviously found disadvantageous to U.S. national interests.

In sum, House Joint Resolution 521 is replete with language reflecting an extreme position--language which fails to appraise realistically either the SALT II Treaty or the problems for serious U.S.-Soviet attempts to reduce nuclear weapons. It makes no sense to impose a nuclear freeze when the U.S.S.R. maintains critical strategic force advantages. Arms reductions are very desirable. But they must occur in a way consistent with the needs of U.S. national security. The resolution now before Congress fails to do this.

Jeffrey G. Barlow, Ph.D.
Policy Analyst

For further information, see: "The Flawed Premises Behind a Nuclear Freeze," National Security Record (The Heritage Foundation), April 1982; "Soviet Violations of Arms Agreements," National Security Record, May 1982; and Jeffrey G. Barlow, "Moscow and The Peace Offensive," Heritage Foundation Backgrounder #184, May 14, 1982. See also, Edward L. Rowley, "A Nuclear Freeze-- Or a Cut?" Washington Post, March 21, 1982, p. A13.

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AM-DISARMAMENT: 630
UN SESSION WINDS UP IN FAILURE
BY O.C. DOELLING
ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

*Nuclear
Disarmament
Freeze*

UNITED NATIONS (AP) - THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY WOUND DOWN ITS SECOND SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT SATURDAY; A SESSION THAT FAILED TO PRODUCE A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR ENDING THE WORLDWIDE ARMS RACE. THE FINAL MEETING BECAME A PLATFORM FOR THE KIND OF EAST-WEST DEBATE WHICH SOME DELEGATES BLAMED FOR THE FAILURE OF THE SESSION TO PRODUCE A MORE SUBSTANTIVE DISARMAMENT PROGRAM.

"WASHINGTON PREFERS TO CONTINUE TO ESCALATE THE ARMS RACE," SAID SOVIET AMBASSADOR OLEG TROYANOVSKY.

"THE UNITED STATES IS PROUD OF ITS RECORD ON DISARMAMENT," SAID AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE EDWIN FEULNER JR., WHO ATTACKED THE SOVIETS FOR ITS INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN; THE VIETNAMESE OCCUPATION OF CAMBODIA; SUBVERSION IN CENTRAL AMERICA; AND THE SUPPRESSION OF FREEDOM IN EASTERN EUROPE.

THE FINAL PRODUCT OF THE FIVE-WEEK SESSION WAS A DOCUMENT THAT EXPRESSED THE MEMBERS' "PROFOUND PREOCCUPATION OVER THE DANGER OF WAR; IN PARTICULAR NUCLEAR WAR; THE PREVENTION OF WHICH REMAINS THE MOST ACUTE AND URGENT TASK OF THE PRESENT DAY."

THE ASSEMBLY ALSO STRESSED "THE NEED FOR STRENGTHENING THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT" AND RECOMMENDED CONSIDERATION OF ENLARGEMENT OF THE 40-MEMBER GENEVA DISARMAMENT COMMISSION "CONSISTENT WITH THE NEED TO ENHANCE ITS EFFECTIVENESS."

DISARMAMENT ADVOCATES AT THE SESSION HAD HOPED TO WIN CONSENSUS APPROVAL FOR A MORE SWEEPING DOCUMENT CONTAINING A DISARMAMENT TIMETABLE; STARTING WITH A NUCLEAR TEST BAN AND CONCLUDING WITH ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS.

BUT IN A CLIMATE OF EAST-WEST TENSION; THE UNWIELDY; 157-MEMBER ASSEMBLY COULD AGREE ON PRACTICALLY NOTHING. THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO DO THEIR SERIOUS ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN PRIVATE; BILATERAL TALKS IN GENEVA.

EXPRESSING THE FRUSTRATION OF MANY DELEGATES; SWEDISH UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE INGA THORSSON; CHAIRMAN OF HER COUNTRY'S DELEGATION; SAID IT WAS "REGRETTABLE THAT MOST OF THE LEADING POWERS; AND ESPECIALLY THE SUPERPOWERS; AGAIN HAVE NOT SHOWN THEMSELVES PREPARED TO MAKE USE OF UNITED NATIONS AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR GENUINE DISARMAMENT EFFORTS.

"THIS IS A FACT WHICH THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF COUNTRIES DEPLORE TODAY. THE LEADING MILITARY POWERS WILL THEMSELVES DEPLORE IT TOMORROW," SHE SAID.

“WE MUST ADMIT THE SESSION HAS NOT BEEN A SUCCESS,” ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT ISMAT T. KITTANI OF IRAQ TOLD THE FINAL MEETING.

THE REASON, HE SAID, WAS “THE SAD STATE OF THE WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE.” THE SESSION COINCIDED WITH WARS IN THE FALKLAND ISLANDS, LEBANON AND IN KITTANI’S NATIVE IRAQ.

TROYANOVSKY SAID THE UNITED STATES AND ITS NATO ALLIES CAME TO THE SESSION “VIRTUALLY EMPTY-HANDED.” THE SOVIET UNION, BY CONTRAST, HAD PLEDGED AT THE SESSION NOT TO BE THE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS; TROYANOVSKY RECALLED.

FEULNER, PRESIDENT OF THE CONSERVATIVE HERITAGE FOUNDATION OF WASHINGTON D.C., COUNTERED THE SOVIET STATEMENT BY REMINDING THE ASSEMBLY THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD MADE A NUMBER OF DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS; CALLING AMONG OTHER THINGS, FOR A ONE-THIRD REDUCTION IN NUCLEAR WARHEADS ON STRATEGIC MISSILES AND FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

“THE UNITED STATES IS PROUD OF ITS RECORD IN DISARMAMENT,” HE SAID. “NO COUNTRY IS MORE ACTIVELY PURSUING PROGRESS IN THIS FIELD.”

FEULNER NOTED THAT SINCE THE FIRST SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT FOUR YEARS AGO, THE SOVIET UNION HAD INTERVENED IN AFGHANISTAN; SOVIET-BACKED VIETNAMESE TROOPS OCCUPIED CAMBODIA AND “SUBVERSION IS BEING EXPORTED TO CENTRAL AMERICA, AFRICA, AND OTHER AREAS; AND THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM IS STILL SUPPRESSED IN EASTERN EUROPE.”

HE INDICATED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD WANTED ITS CHARGES AGAINST THE SOVIETS INCLUDED IN THE DRAFT OF ANY COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT, WHICH THE SOVIETS OPPOSED.

FUELNER SAID THAT IN VIEW OF SOVIET BLOC “TRANSGRESSIONS” IT WAS “NOT SURPRISING THAT SOME NATIONS ARGUED AGAINST LANGUAGE RECOUNTING THE HISTORY OF THE PAST FOUR YEARS.”

WHILE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ANTI-NUCLEAR PROTESTERS DEMONSTRATED FREELY IN NEW YORK AND OTHER CITIES IN THE WORLD, FEULNER RECALLED, SEVEN DISARMAMENT DEMONSTRATORS WERE ARRESTED IN MOSCOW.

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The False Promise of Nuclear Peace

BY FRANK CHAPPLE

A distinguished trade union leader demonstrates
how unilateral disarmers are being misled

LAST October some 150,000 people marched to London's Hyde Park for Britain's largest ever "peace" demonstration. From every corner of the British Isles flocked housewives, students, dockers, doctors, economists, ecologists.

But while the rally organizers—the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—were keen to stress that participants came from all parties and all churches, the overwhelming tone of banners, placards and chants was anti-Nato and anti-American. One

FRANK CHAPPLE, 60, has been general secretary of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union since 1966, serving on the General Council of the Trades Union Congress for the past ten years. Last November he became a founder member of The Council for Arms Control, a non-government organization to promote negotiated nuclear arms reductions while avoiding the dangers of unilateral disarmament.

demonstrator dressed as a skeleton cycled round demanding, "Who's the really bad guy?" Chanted the crowd, "Ronald Reagan." Other protestors carried an effigy of an apparently power-crazed American President Reagan, cowboy hat perched recklessly on the side of his head—and next to it, a 19-foot long, inflatable PVC model of a Cruise missile. Placards declared, "No to Nato."

That day and the next, a further 350,000 nuclear arms protestors took to the streets of Paris, Rome, Brussels, Oslo. And again their anger was directed at Nato "warmongering." Coincidence? Hardly, for reactivated "peace" groups now mushrooming round Europe have either been created or are being manipulated by pro-Soviet apologists in one of the most brilliantly orchestrated

propaganda offensives since the call in the mid-1930s for a Popular Front of Communists and European socialist parties.

Coordinated by the Communist-front World Peace Council in Helsinki and master-minded by the Kremlin, many of these allegedly "non-political" groups have received rather more than moral support. For an anti-nuclear campaign waged over three years on the Continent, Western intelligence sources believe that the Soviets have devoted more than £50 million. Their goal: to cajole and frighten West Europeans down a road leading from unilateral disarmament to isolationism and ultimate defencelessness against a potential aggressor.

Sent Packing. Last November, the Danish Government expelled a minor Soviet diplomat, Vladimir Merkoulov, for channelling funds to "peace" groups. Seven months earlier, the Dutch had got rid of a rather larger fish: Vadim Leonov. While supposedly a Tass news agency correspondent, he was in fact a KGB agent and link man with "peace" activists. During an unguarded talk with one, he had confided, "If Moscow decides that 50,000 demonstrators must take to the streets in Holland, they will take to the streets."

The long arm of the Kremlin has also been at work in West Germany. There, in November 1980, veteran Communist Josef Weber hired a hall in Krefeld, near Cologne, and gathered several hundred assorted

environmentalists, conscientious objectors and other non-Communists to launch a nation-wide nuclear-arms protest campaign called the "Krefeld Appeal."

Their target: a million signatures on their petition by November 1981, when Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev would visit the West German capital, Bonn. But of the 1.5 million West Germans who eventually signed, few had any inkling of Weber's political allegiances or that his support group, the German Peace Union, was a Soviet-front organization.

In Britain, too, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has shown itself no less eager to support Soviet policy. Last November, when President Reagan proposed cancelling American plans for installing Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe if the Russians would dismantle their equivalent medium-range SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20 missiles, many saw this offer as a possible breakthrough in disarmament talks.

But not CND. Almost at once a spokesman was denouncing the proposal as a "public relations exercise," and a "propaganda ploy."

Comments novelist John Braine, an original CND member who became disillusioned and left the movement, "The CND reaction to the Reagan initiative once again gave the game away. Despite its great protestations of political impartiality, CND is about as independent of the Soviet line as a ventriloquist's dummy.

Indeed, it provides a textbook example of the way in which Communists involved in any movement will take it over."

Fellow Travellers. This point was tacitly admitted at the British Communist Party's national congress last November, when an official resolution exulted, "The Communist Party has made a substantial contribution and many of our members have for years played active roles in organizations which make up the broad movement for peace. CND with its mass campaigning base is especially important."

So assiduous have these "peace" activists been that the Labour Party and trade union movement have passed resolutions in favour of unilateral disarmament. And even the Liberal Party, at last September's annual conference, voted against the deployment of American Cruise missiles in Britain.

Obviously, not all those who have helped vote through such resolutions or marched with CND are Marxists—or are even necessarily aware of the extent to which their yearning for peace is being exploited by political activists. Indeed, I have no doubt that the overwhelming majority are genuinely concerned above all else to avert the risk that they, their children and grandchildren will be wiped out in a nuclear conflagration.

But as Defence Minister Geoffrey Pattie recently put it, "The skill of the Communists and the Far Left lies in their ability to foster and support

a movement which draws in large numbers of non-political people by playing on their legitimate anxieties."

The CND revival has been brilliantly engineered. Started in 1958, the campaign organized a series of highly publicized Easter marches to London from the atomic weapons research station at Aldermaston in Berkshire. Then, following the 1963 international nuclear test ban treaty, the movement hibernated for 16 years with a membership of less than a thousand but stayed alive with the open support of the British Communist Party.

Plot Thickens. When European peace groups were recently kissed back to life by the Kremlin—as a distraction from growing Soviet militarism—CND leaders were so confident of their recruiting skills that they boldly booked London's Trafalgar Square for a rally that in October 1980 attracted 70,000. For months beforehand, they had brought nuclear disarmament back to the centre of the political stage through meetings, film shows, petitions, student union debates, resolutions put forward at trade union branches and constituency Labour Parties.

There were several issues to hand that could be whipped up to spread nuclear alarm. In Britain, the Conservative Government had just chosen Trident to replace our ageing Polaris nuclear submarine force. Throughout Europe, other Nato powers had to consider the need to install American

Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles to counter the growing array of Soviet SS-20 rockets targeted on European sites.

Powerful Arsenal. Spending almost three times as much of their gross national product on arms as the Nato partners, the Russians have been "unilaterally" deploying these weapons at the rate of one a week since 1978; at least 175 SS-20s now threaten Western Europe.

The Americans do not propose even to start installing Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles until 1983, and then only if arms-control agreement has not been reached, but unilateralists have nevertheless accused them of escalating the arms race. Indeed, while Europeans themselves originally asked for these American weapons as an extra guarantee of European safety, unilateralists have stood this fact neatly on its head and argued that Americans want to fight a nuclear war in Europe that will leave their own country unharmed.

So persistently have these charges been made that thousands have flocked to the "peace" movements. Running its burgeoning operations from a cramped, three-storey building in north London, Britain's CND has recently had to invest in a £14,000 computer to keep track of an annual budget that in two years has leapt from £25,000 to £300,000 and a membership that has soared from less than 5,000 to nearly 350,000.

The movement has gained maximum benefit from this far-flung

membership by spawning a mass of sub-groups: Labour CND, Liberal CND, Trade Union CND, Ecology CND. There are also Poets Against the Bomb, Teachers for Peace, Scientists Against Nuclear Arms, Journalists Against Nuclear Extermination, Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons.

Key figure in this recent welter of activity is a 52-year-old Roman Catholic priest: Monsignor Bruce Kent. Relieved of normal parish duties, he subsists on his £6,000-a-year salary as general secretary of CND. Aply assisted by 11 other full-time staff, two of whom are Communist Party members, he says, "The churches are handicapped by profound anti-Communism at variance with Christian teaching."

Taking the Cloth. Helping churchmen overcome this traditional anti-Communism has probably been one of the unilateralists' key achievements in attracting recruits. For while none of the major churches has given "peace" groups backing, individual clergy have become crucial allies.

In West Germany, Protestant leaders have organized "peace weeks" and marches; in the Netherlands, nine Protestant churches have coordinated their anti-nuclear protests through the Inter-Church Peace Council, which now has 400 local branches. In Britain, a quarter of the Church of Scotland's 1,600 ministers have already signed a personal statement opposing nuclear arms.

Needless to say, not all churchmen

are happy with these trends. Recently, the Rev Dr William Oddie, Chaplain to Oxford University's graduate students and Fellow of St Cross College, declared, "The easy moral indignation and strident calls by some church leaders to abandon nuclear weapons unilaterally are not only dangerously naïve but can even constitute a form of spiritual escapism."

"By closing their eyes to the suffering of millions in the Soviet bloc, they demonstrate a lack of contact with reality which will make any Christian contribution towards the practical problem of genuine disarmament impossible."

What unilateralists fail to acknowledge is that peace in Europe over the past 35 years has been kept only by the existence of the balance of nuclear weapons. Despite people's idealistic yearning for a Utopian world in which all can live in happiness and peace, the sad fact is that throughout history communities unwilling to defend themselves have not survived. As William Inge, a former Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, once put it, "There is not much use in the sheep passing resolutions in favour of vegetarianism while there are still wolves who like mutton."

But possibly the unilateralists' most offensive suggestion is that those who do not support their views are either indifferent to or in some way relish the prospect of nuclear war. Since all sane people share an equal horror at its very prospect, our differences can only be over the

best means of avoiding such a war.

Some take the view that those without nuclear weapons are less likely to be nuclear targets. But the recent experience of "nuclear-free" Sweden has not been encouraging. A nation that has kept out of Nato and possesses no nuclear weapons, it nevertheless last October found a nuclear-armed Soviet submarine grounded well inside its territorial waters near its most secret naval base.

A surprise? It shouldn't have been. Ever since grabbing power in 1917, Soviet leaders have proclaimed not simply their ambition but duty to fight for the eventual worldwide triumph of Communism. A clearer example of these unchanging goals could hardly have been provided than the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan—followed by the slaughter of tens of thousands of men, women and children.

Few issues have shown the CND ideologues in truer colours. For as free world leaders expressed horror at what was happening, Dr Michael Pentz, CND national councillor, castigated President Carter and Mrs Thatcher for "reviving the cold war by cynically exploiting the Afghanistan crisis." A CND pamphlet written by Communist Party member Betty England explained that the invasion—now termed "intervention"—may well have been caused "partly by the Soviet Union's fear of growing encirclement."

The key question that I believe all unilateralists must face is this: would

Britons fare better if we got rid of nuclear arms? Despite the despairing, last-ditch cry of some nuclear disarmers, "Better red than dead," since 1917 around 25 million people have died as a result of repression inside the Soviet Union and its satellite states. Even if we escaped the worst miseries suffered by the Afghans, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, it would be virtually inconceivable that there would not be other territorial or trading demands.

The Soviet threat apart, how would we stand up to the likes of the Libyan leader Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi or any future nuclear-armed bully-boy? Unilateralists must surely spell out an alternative defence policy. Even if we relied on massive con-

ventional weapons, we would still be at risk. For no nation on earth can be guaranteed safety from a nuclear mis-hit or the drift of radio-activity.

Clearly, the current level of nuclear arms is far too high. While we cannot disinvent such weapons, we must do our utmost to reduce stocks—*multilaterally*. Negotiations will be tough, frustrating and seemingly endless, but we must never give up. The Soviets do occasionally reach and keep agreements, but only with those strong enough and determined enough to defend their own interests. Certainly the Russians will do little serious negotiations with powers that, weakened or divided by "peace" movements, unilaterally throw in their nuclear hand.

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