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Institute For Educational Affairs

make
file

President
Philip N. Marcus

January 23, 1984

Mr. Marshall Breger
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
Room #197
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Marshall,

The editors of the campus publications IEA has created are attending our national conference in Washington, D.C. on February 5-6.

Please accept this invitation to our reception and buffet to start our conference: from 5-7 p.m. on Sunday, February 5, at the Capitol Hill Room of the Capitol Hill Hotel at 200 C Street, S.E.

I hope that you can come to meet these students (from 47 campuses across the nation), and to see how the growing support for traditional values is taking root on campuses.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,



Philip N. Marcus
President

PNM/cmh

Dear Phil,

~~I will be at~~

A number of Washington friends are having a reception in my honor Sunday afternoon. I will try to come to the

February 5

IEA reception afterwards - closer to 7:00 PM. I do hope to see you then

310 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. 10017 212-687-2826

Am

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

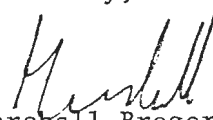
January 27, 1984

Dear Phil:

A number of Washington friends are having a reception in my honor Sunday afternoon. I will try to come to the IEA reception afterwards - closer to 7:00 p.m.

I do hope to see you then.

Sincerely,



Marshall Breger
Special Assistant to the
President for Public Liaison

Philip N. Marcus
Institute for Educational
Affairs
310 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

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THE IEA REPORT

The *IEA Report*, newly redesigned, is intended as a source of information about the Institute and its activities. Comments on ways in which the *Report* could better serve its readers are welcome. The *Report* will now appear on a regular quarterly basis.

Philip N. Marcus, President

THE IEA REPORT

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

Fall 1984



IEA Will Stay the Course in 1985

In 1985, IEA's principal emphasis, its Board of Directors agreed at an October meeting, will be on its Special Projects, the continuation of *This World* magazine and the media program, and the launching of a new initiative to improve private philanthropy.

IEA's College Journalism Program, the largest component of the media program, has grown to the point at which it is necessary to expand the IEA staff and to provide more educational programs for the students. Sixty-six college newspapers or magazines have been started by Institute "seed-grants," and more college publications continue to spring up. Prospective editors are seeking advice on how to start their own publications, and new generations of editors and staff are replacing graduating students at established journals. IEA, the Directors feel, must respond to growing demands for practical advice about how to make campus publications self-supporting through advertising and alumni fund-raising campaigns, and about how to improve quality. In 1985, the Institute will add a new staff Coordinator for the Young Journalist Program; expand the number of conferences, national and regional, held for student journalists; and enhance IEA's monthly *Newslink*, a guide to improving the quality of these publications.

IEA's new initiative for 1985 is to be a major Philanthropic Advisory Service. The effort, building on the base of existing IEA work, will assist informed, principled, pluralistic, private philanthropy. Previous efforts include the *Independent Philanthropy* newsletter, the Clearinghouse of in-

formation on people, projects and institutions, the Foundation Officers Forums, and IEA's own small program of exemplary grantmaking.

Observers of the philanthropic world have made note of IEA's efforts to prevent the intrusion of partisan politics into philanthropy. But the growing pressure on private philanthropy to adopt the agenda of failed federal programs has persuaded contributions officers of the need to be better informed about public policy programing.

In addition to continuing to publish *Independent Philanthropy*, The Philanthropic Advisory Service calls for a new series of Foundation Officers Forums, managerial workshops for working foundation and corporate contributions staffs. These will deal with the practical issues of planning, running, evaluating and staffing programs.

Also to be initiated is an IEA Symposium series. These gatherings will introduce important works in progress to an audience drawn from the worlds of media, philanthropy, business, and public affairs. While the Foundation Officers Forums will emphasize the technical aspects of grantmaking, the Symposia will highlight substantive issues. Together these two initiatives will provide grant makers an introduction to current debates in a variety of public policy fields.

The final component of the Philanthropy Advisory Service will be the Funders Exchange. The Exchange will create a central marketplace for the exchange of information and projects among directors of foundations and corporate contributions programs. At Exchange meetings, members will be able to discuss current projects and judgements with their colleagues. IEA will serve as a secretariat, facilitating the flow of information among Exchange members.

With this new comprehensive package of services, IEA hopes to continue to strengthen private philanthropy, to inform grant givers, and to multiply resources, thereby increasing the effectiveness of private philanthropy.

Federated Society

Announcement of New & Recent IEA Grants

IEA's Board of Directors has approved the following grants at recent quarterly meetings.

- *The McGill Magazine*, for publication of a new student monthly at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. (\$3,000)
- *The University of Toronto Magazine*, to assist in launching a new alternative student monthly at the University of Toronto. (\$2,730)
- *The Trinity Observer*, for publication of a new alternative monthly at Trinity College in Connecticut. (\$4,600)
- *The Cornell Vanguard*, to assist in publishing a new student bi-weekly at Cornell University. (\$4,390)
- *The South Florida Review*, for publication of a new alternative fortnightly at the University of South Florida, Tampa. (\$2,300)
- *The Marquette Free Press*, in continuing support of a student monthly at Marquette University in Milwaukee. (\$3,000)
- *The Washington Spectator*, a supplemental grant to permit continued publication of an alternative monthly at the University of Washington, Seattle. (\$4,310)
- *The California Review*, to permit continuing publication of a student monthly at the University of California, San Diego. (\$850)
- *The Hawkeye Review*, in support of an alternative monthly at the University of Iowa. (\$2,000)
- *The Texas Review*, to support continued publication of a student monthly at the University of Texas, Austin. (\$2,397)
- *The Observer of Boston College*, to permit continuing publication of an alternative student monthly at Boston College. (\$2,865)
- *The Tomahawk*, in support of a new student monthly at Florida State University, Tallahassee. (\$3,800)
- *The Chicago Spectator*, to assist publication of a new monthly newspaper at the University of Chicago. (\$1,174)
- *The Claremont Review of Books*, to support continuing publication of a quarterly student review at the Claremont Colleges in California. (\$7,770)
- *The UNH Herald*, to assist continuing publication of an alternative monthly at the University of New Hampshire. (\$1,457)
- *The Northwestern Review*, in continuing support of a student monthly at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. (\$4,920)
- *Public Research, Syndicated*, to support interns in a summer program in alternative political journalism. (\$6,000)
- *The Alternative Educational Foundation, Inc.*, to support a year's editorial internship at *The American Spectator*. (\$12,000)
- *The Institute on Religion and Democracy*, to support a year's editorial internship with the Institute's Church and Economic Programs Information Service. (\$13,000)
- *Freedom Federation*, a year's support of an editorial intern to assist in producing the newsletter of this new coalition of American-based ethnic organizations whose native lands are dominated by the Soviet Union or Soviet proxies. (\$13,800)
- *Center for Judicial Studies*, to support a summer internship at *Benchmark*, a bimonthly report on legal and Constitutional developments. (\$8,000)
- *Harper's*, to support a year's editorial internship (\$14,000)
- *Mr. Arch Puddington*, to permit the commissioning of an article for *Workers Under Communism* on the effects of the Solidarity Movement in Poland on labor relations in the Soviet Union and East Europe. (\$3,500)
- *Dr. Allan C. Carlson*, in support of studies on the loss of agreement about American values after World War II. (\$1,750)
- *Mr. Fabio Sampoli*, in support of studies critically analyzing current business bestsellers and the decline of respect for entrepreneurship. (\$17,000)
- *Mr. Burgess Laird*, to permit the researching and writing of a study of the public policy debate on Central America. (\$2,970)
- *Professor Frederick R. Lynch*, California State University, Los Angeles, to support a study on the effects of Affirmative Action on white male professionals. (\$2,250)
- *Council on Basic Education*, to commission a series of feature articles on education topics by prominent writers for the Council's journal *Basic Education*. (\$5,000)
- *Catholicism in Crisis*, to improve this journal's content, circulation, and format. (\$25,000)
- *Professor Ann Hartle*, Emory University, in support of a study on the political nature of philosophy. (\$6,000)
- *Dr. Marc Plattner*, National Humanities Center, a supplemental grant to permit completion of a book on income redistribution and economic justice. (\$10,000)
- *Professor Bernard H. Siegan*, University of San Diego, in support of a monograph on the role of the Supreme Court in American society. (\$10,000)
- *Dr. Charles H. Fairbanks*, in support of a book on arms races and arms control. (\$18,900)

More Recent Grants

- *Mr. Nick Eberstadt*, Center for Population Studies, Harvard University, in support of a monograph comparing the economic development of North and South Korea since 1945. (\$5,000)
- *Professor Peter Bauer*, London School of Economics, for research assistance for assembling a collection of essays on the economics of development and foreign aid. (\$5,000)
- *Professor Edward A. Wynne*, University of Illinois at Chicago, in support of a book on the causes and remedies of current adolescent alienation. (\$3,000)
- *Professor Eugene Bardach*, University of California, Berkeley, in support of an article on current moralizing in public life. (\$3,000)
- *Mr. B. Bruce-Briggs*, Hudson Institute, in support of an article on strategic weapons policy to be published in *Encounter* magazine. (\$1,500)
- *Mr. Kenneth Modeste*, former Executive Officer, Ministry of External Affairs, Grenada, in support of an article on the background to the revolution in Grenada. (\$1,500)
- *Mr. David Gress*, The Hoover Institution, to support costs of travel and research for writing an article on Soviet public diplomacy. (\$2,400)
- *Miss Joan Frawley*, to support a series of articles on the conflict in El Salvador and the Catholic clergy. (\$4,000)
- *Professor Edward Wynne*, University of Illinois, to permit the planning of a conference on the future steps to improving education. (\$2,400)
- *The University Balance*, for publication of a new student paper at the State University of New York at Buffalo. (\$5,535)
- *The Sacramento State Forum*, for publication of a student monthly at Sacramento State University. (\$3,730)
- *The Illini Review*, for publication of a student monthly at the University of Illinois. (\$4,000)
- *The Western Scholar*, for publication of a student magazine at Brigham Young University. (\$3,733)
- *Libertas*, for publication of a student newspaper at Queens University, Kingston, Ontario. (\$2,000)
- *The Dartmouth Review*, a supplemental grant for continued publication of the alternative student paper at Dartmouth College. (\$5,000)
- *The UNH Herald*, for publication of a student monthly at the University of New Hampshire. (\$5,700)
- *Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation*, to support a year's editorial internship. (\$14,000)
- *Mr. Joshua Muravchik*, to support research and writing of articles on changes in Democratic Party procedures and policies, human rights in Nicaragua, and the National Council of Churches and the Soviet Union. (\$12,500)

- *Mr. Eric Breindel*, for an article on Jews and the American Communist movement. (\$2,500)
- *Professor Edward C. Banfield*, Harvard University, in partial support of a book on happiness as a political idea. (\$15,000)
- *Miss Linda L. Norman*, Claremont Graduate School, support to permit continued study. (\$5,000)
- *Dr. Carnes Lord*, to complete a book on arms control verification and compliance. (\$25,000)
- *Mr. John Fox*, research support for a biography of Whittaker Chambers. (\$15,000)
- *Professor Karl Jackson*, University of California, Berkeley, supplemental grant to complete a study of political oppression in Communist Vietnam. (\$22,900)
- *Rutgers Contrarian*, for publication of a new student monthly at Rutgers University. (\$7,615)
- *The Bemidji State Review*, to assist in establishing a new independent student newspaper at Bemidji State University, Bemidji, Minnesota. (\$1,100)
- *Princeton Tory*, to help launch a new independent monthly at Princeton University. (\$9,800)
- *Michigan State Times*, for publication of a new student monthly at Michigan State University. (\$8,100)
- *California Review*, in continuing support for a student newspaper at the University of California, San Diego. (\$3,396)
- *The Fourth Street Journal*, in continuing support of a student monthly at New York University. (\$9,200)
- *The Primary Source*, to support continued publication of an independent student paper at Tufts University. (\$4,411)
- *Wesleyan Review*, in continuing support of a student magazine at Wesleyan University. (\$3,000)
- *Grand Strategy*, for a year's editorial internship. (\$13,500)
- *Yale Literary Magazine*, for a one year editorial internship. (\$13,500)
- *Journal of Contemporary Studies*, for six-month extension of an editorial internship. (\$6,500)
- *Policy Review*, for a one-year editorial internship. (\$13,500)
- *Lay Commission on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy*, to assist in production and dissemination of the Commission's report. (\$15,000)
- *The Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies*, in partial support of the Society's national symposium, "Equality and the Law." (\$25,000)
- *Mr. Joseph Budensky*, in support and writing on the transfer of Western technology to the Soviet Union. (\$5,000)
- *Mr. Bui Diem*, continuing support for writing a history of the American war in Vietnam. (\$13,600)
- *Special Projects*: the Institute has allocated \$160,000 in support of its journal on religion and society, *This World*.

Excerpts from Sidney Hook's 1984 Jefferson Lecture

Sidney Hook, the renowned emeritus professor of philosophy at New York University and the author of numerous works championing the cause of freedom, delivered the prestigious Jefferson Lecture in Washington, D.C. on May 14. The Jefferson Lectureship, which was established in 1972 by the National Endowment for the Humanities, is the highest honor conferred by the federal government for achievement in the humanities. Mr. Hook, whose work IEA has been pleased to support, spoke on "Education in Defense of a Free Society." Some excerpts:

The most profound feature of Jefferson's political philosophy, and what all major political groups in American life today regard as possessing a perennially valid significance, is its emphasis on self-government. Self-government in Jefferson's conception has three central features. It is based on freely given or uncoerced consent. Secondly, freely given consent entails the guaranteed right to dissent, to wit, the freedoms of speech, press, association, and assembly, and all other freedoms legitimately derived from them. It is this feature that distinguishes the Jeffersonian, or modern, conception of self-government from the ancient and transient democratic orders of the past, which recognized no limits on government power, and treated opponents within the democratic system as enemies. Finally, given the recognition of the right to dissent, a *sine qua non* of a self-governing community is the principle of majority rule. In the absence of a consensus, rarely to be expected in the inescapable conflicts of human interests and opinions, this rule is the only way to reach orderly decision and effect a peaceful succession of government. Jefferson stressed this, as did many years later the uncompromising individualist, William James. "The first principle of republicanism," writes Jefferson, "is that the *lex majoris partis* is the fundamental law of every society of individuals of equal rights. To consider the will of society enunciated by a single vote, as sacred as if unanimous, is the first of all lessons in importance. This law, once disregarded, no other remains but the use of force."

Jefferson was acutely aware, as are we all, that majorities may go astray, be injudicious, and even be morally tyrannical within the letter of the law. For this he had only one remedy: not the rule of presumably enlightened minorities, but the education of experience. His not unreasonable assumption is that, given access to knowledge, most adult human beings are better judges of their own interests than are others. However, to be able to learn effectively from their present experience, citizens should have access to education of a narrower kind—to schooling that develops the intellectual skills and imparts the relevant knowledge

necessary to sustain a free society. The people themselves, Jefferson continually observes, are "the only safe depositories" of non-oppressive rightful government.

One may ask, of course, whether such government is not only safe, but whether it is sound, not only whether it is right, but whether it is good. Jefferson's reply indicates where he puts his faith: "To render them [the people] safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This is indeed not all that is necessary though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our Constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The influence on government must be shared by all the people."

I have brought up Jefferson's ideas about the relation between education and freedom not out of an academic concern with those ideas, but rather in the hope that examining them might yield some guidance in dealing with our urgent contemporary crisis. It is a crisis that threatens the very survival of a free self-governing society in the United States. For it consists precisely of an eroding allegiance to the ideals of a free self-governing society itself. It would require volumes to document the failure to abide by the democratic ethos in American life today. Restricting ourselves only to phenomena observable without enlisting batteries of research teams to report on them, we find: (1) the vehement assertion of rights and entitlements without the acceptance of corresponding duties and obligations; (2) the invocation of group rights to justify overriding the rights of individuals; (3) the growth of violence, and the tolerance of violence, in schools and local assemblies; (4) the open defiance of laws authorized by democratic process, and the indulgence of courts toward repeated and unrepentant violators; (5) the continued invasion by the courts themselves into the legislative process; (6) the loss of faith in the electorate as the ultimate custodian of its own freedom.

Each reflective observer can make his own list of the multiple threats from *within* our own society to the health, security, and civility of the processes of self-government. However conceived, they raise the question of whether we possess the basic social cohesion and solidarity today to survive the challenge to our society from *without*, particularly that posed by the global expansion of communism. Although there are different views of the immediacy and magnitude of the Communist threat to the free world, it is plain political folly to deny its existence. The map of the world from 1945 to the present bears witness to the fact that the policy of containment, initiated by President Truman after the Baruch-Lilienthal and the Marshall Plan had been rejected by the Kremlin, does not contain...

What then must be done?...

Today it is widely agreed that fundamental educational reforms are needed to improve the levels of skill and literacy of American students so that they may cope with the present and future problems arising from multiple changes in our complex world. Agreeing with this proposition, I am

continued on page 7

Reports Reveal Threats to Democracy and Religion

The state of religion around the world is no cause for celebration, and, as should no longer be surprising, the situation is the worst in Communist countries. Recent work by Joshua Muravchik and Joan Frawley, whom IEA has been pleased to support, has once again underscored how badly religion fares under Marxist governments, and, by way of contrast, the favorable prospects for religion in democratic countries even in very poor regions.

Muravchik has contributed a long article, "The National Council of Churches and the U.S.S.R.," to the new issue of *This World*, IEA's journal of religion and society. His article takes as its occasion the visit last June of 266 American Christians to the Soviet Union, under the auspices of the National Council of Churches. Upon their return, members of this delegation said they had "witnessed certain improvements in the situation of the religious communities. We remain optimistic that this trend will continue."

But as Muravchik scrupulously documents, if this is the trend the NCC delegation saw, its perceptions are remarkably faulty. The history of religion in the Soviet period includes an unbroken sequence of abuses against, and interference in the traditional affairs of, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Jewish community, and others.

Muravchik gives a brief history of this governmental intrusion. In 1922, for example, the Soviet regime imprisoned the patriarch of the Orthodox Church for his resistance to efforts by the government to expropriate holy relics from churches. He was held for a year, and on the eve of his trial, released only after a "confession" appeared under his name in *Izvestia*. In 1927, the new patriarch, Sergei, was imprisoned, again to be released after capitulating to the demands of the government.

The depressing pattern has continued, unwittingly laid bare for the West in a 1975 report to the Communist Party Central Committee by V. Furov, then Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Council on Religious Affairs, which oversees religious practice in the Soviet Union. Furov wrote that "the ruling bishop now ordains and appoints priests and deacons only upon the approval of the Council" on Religious Affairs, and that "there is no consecration of a bishop, no transfer without thorough investigation of the candidate by appropriate officials of the Council."

Muravchik chronicles the effects of this state control, and concludes with a stern reminder for those in the West who would be friends of religion. Among his recommendations: "NCC spokesmen should never allow themselves to prettify Soviet reality," and "NCC bodies should stop lending

themselves to Soviet propaganda operations merely for the opportunity to 'relate' to East European churchmen."

Joan Frawley, a contributing editor to the *National Catholic Register*, has reported on abuse of the Catholic church in Nicaragua. In an interview she conducted for the *Register*, Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo, the Nicaraguan primate, declared that "We want to state clearly that this government is totalitarian. I don't think we can deceive ourselves today; we are dealing with a government that is an enemy of the Church—especially those who are orthodox." Prompting Obando's remarks, in late July, was the sudden expulsion of 10 Catholic priests from Nicaragua by the Sandinistas. Says Obando: "The government wanted to hit the Archdiocese of Managua and wanted to create chaos. Certainly it has given us a blow."

In an impassioned plea for understanding from his fellow Catholics—particularly in the United States—Obando urged the faithful to stop listening to the distortions espoused by the so-called "Popular Church." Americans, he says, "receive a lot of their information from the Popular Church and the Sandinistas—which is the same thing."

Frawley has also written, in the *Los Angeles Times*, a reappraisal of the Church in El Salvador. After a number of years of support for the revolutionary movement there, the Church has come to accept the legitimacy of the democratically-elected government of Jose Napoleon Duarte. Frawley writes: "While church leaders will continue to press Duarte's government to broaden economic reforms and punish death-squad supporters, they also voice growing concern about the rebels' strategy of disrupting agricultural production and destroying public transportation, power plants, factories and bridges."

She concludes that "the Duarte government presents new possibilities that the church is obliged to explore"—possibilities that remain, for now, altogether absent in Communist countries, where the word "obliged" has an entirely different meaning.

THIS WORLD Moves

This World, IEA's journal of religion and society, has moved its editorial offices from New York to Washington, D.C. The new address:

THIS WORLD
320 Massachusetts Avenue NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Bookshelf

"The Coercive Utopians" by Rael Jean Isaac and Erich Isaac

By now it should be no mystery that the right frequently wins national elections, but the left continues to control those institutions that deeply influence public opinion: the media, the universities, and the churches. Contemplating this paradox may lead one to suspect that electoral victories count for little so long as what Rael Jean Isaac and Erich Isaac call "the institutions of the consciousness industry" remain dominated by an affluent, educated, and unmistakably radical elite. In their astonishing book, aptly entitled *The Coercive Utopians* (Regnery Gateway, \$18.95), the Isaacs bring this elite and the various institutions it runs sharply into focus, revealing the dichotomy that exists between the opinions of these "coercive utopians" and those of the American people—whose surrogates the utopians claim to be.

Before presenting the reader with case studies of such seemingly disparate organizations as Ralph Nader's Public Citizen and the National Lawyer's Guild, the Isaacs iden-

"Coercive utopians have in common a burning desire to destroy market-controlled industrial civilization."

tify the attributes shared by the individuals in question: They are utopian "because they assume that man is perfectible and the evils that exist are the product of a corrupt social system," i.e., capitalism; they are coercive because "in their zeal for attaining an ideal order they seek to impose their blueprints in ways that go beyond legitimate persuasion." According to the Isaacs, coercive utopians have in common a burning desire to destroy market-controlled large-scale industrial civilization. In its stead they seek a reorganized economic system from which complex, allegedly dangerous technology can be eliminated. They look admiringly toward such countries as Cuba, Nicaragua, and Vietnam; they glorify the socialized poverty of the Third World.

One may ask how it is possible that this nation—whose majority still strives for progress, economic growth, expansion of opportunity, and social mobility—is more often than not responsible for keeping these insidious organizations

in business. The Isaacs write, "understandably, the utopians do not openly call for a halt to technological advance and a return to human labor in place of the machine. Rather they couch their appeals in terms of values that Americans share. The source of their strength has been their invocation of purposes that Americans, to their credit, want to achieve—social justice, peace, a pollution-free and safe environment, equality between the races and sexes, the reduction of risk, greater control of the individual over the decisions that affect his life." In other words, while the rank and file members of utopian organizations applaud the high-minded slogans of their respective groups, they rarely have more than a dim idea of the actual goals of their leadership.

One may consider the astonishing example of the National Council of Churches (NCC), an umbrella group representing 32 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations in the United States. It is only in the last year or so that the public has been made aware of the extent to which mainline Protestant denominations have become supporters of revolutionary activism, both at home and abroad. In a meticulously footnoted study, the Isaacs reveal the inner workings of this organization, tracking the paths of millions of denominational dollars to terrorists (via the Program to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches), to political support groups for terrorist organizations, and for field work designed to instill the "consciousness" of oppression and to organize the oppressed against their designated oppressors. The list of projects that come under the auspices of the NCC is seemingly endless: from the Puerto Rican FALN cell operating out of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, to the funding of such frightening schemes as Vietnam's New Economic Zones—ostensibly a farming program, fear of it drove many ethnic Chinese to take to the seas in ramshackle boats.

Protestant congregations have reacted with disbelief and anger at the recently revealed uses to which a substantial part of their weekly offerings has been put. So, one may imagine, will the contributors to the multi-million dollar bankroll of Ralph Nader's Public Citizen react at the notion that they are aiding an attempt to transform the fundamental structure of the corporation through federal regulation. Similarly, those who contribute to the cause of the nuclear freeze tend to bristle at the suggestion that the groups who initiated the movement did so in an attempt to disarm the United States unilaterally.

In addition to reporting on the activities of the utopian groups mentioned above and more—including utopian think tanks such as the Institute for Policy Studies, utopian organizations found within the government, and utopian environmental groups—the Isaacs devote a chapter to the role of the media. They dub them "shield of the utopians" for their role in screening out almost anything that could harm the utopians' public image. The media tend to act as a filter for the utopians, mainly for one well-documented reason: In general, journalists share

continued on next page

Utopians—continued

the utopian outlook on the issues the utopians address. Many, in fact, learned their trade in "utopian training grounds," that is, in the "underground," later called "alternative," press. With full discretion as to what to choose to report as well as the way in which to report it, the press, in effect, offers people its own agenda. To illustrate this point, the Isaacs remind us of one statement from Walter Cronkite. "There are always groups in Washington expressing views of alarm over the state of our defense," he said in 1974. "We don't carry those stories. The story is that there are those who want to cut defense spending."

The Issacs' fascinating study also attempts to place the movement in historical perspective, developing along the way a number of provocative and insightful theories that the reader may find disturbing. He may take heart, however, in the fact that:

...despite their grip upon the consciousness-molding institutions, the utopians have an Achilles heel. Their vulnerability lies in the gap between their goals and those of the average citizen. Exposure is what the utopians have greatest reason to fear.

That is to say, it is a book like this that the utopians have greatest reason to fear—and that we have greatest reason to read.

Sidney Hook—continued

suggesting that it is just as important to sharpen the students' understanding of a free society, its responsibilities and opportunities, the burdens and dangers it faces. Instead of relying primarily on the sciences and humanities to inspire loyalty to the processes of self-government, we should seek to develop that loyalty directly through honest inquiry into the functioning of a democratic community, by learning its history, celebrating its heroes, and noting its achievements....

There was a time when most Americans understood that the free self-governing society bequeathed to them by Jefferson and the other founding fathers was the "last best hope on earth." If anything, the experience of the 20th century, and especially of the past fifty years, should have made that truth even more evident than it was to Jefferson himself. During that period, our own society has been able to make gigantic strides in the direction of greater freedom, prosperity, and social justice, while its totalitarian enemies—first Nazi Germany and then the Soviet Union—have produced war and holocaust, economic misery, cultural starvation, and concentration camps. Yet in spite of that record, the paradox is that faith and belief in the principles of liberal democracy have declined in the United States. Unless that faith and that belief can be restored and revived, liberal democracy will perish. Jefferson thought that proper education was necessary to the birth and establishment of a free society. He would not have been surprised to discover that it is also necessary to its perpetuation, and indeed to its very survival.

More Attention for Young Journalists' Program

The Intercollegiate Studies Institute has published its first annual compendium of the best writing of alternative student journalists. It should come as no surprise that five of the six articles selected for honors came from IEA-supported publications. The collection is called *The Campus Review*.

The *spirit* of the new alternative journalism movement has attracted the attention of an evangelical Christian writer. Franky Schaeffer, in a book entitled *Bad News for Modern Man*, quoted extensively from last fall's *National Review* article on the IEA-supported student publications and from Midge Decter's address to the 1983 Student Editors Conference. Schaeffer noted that many of the new student editors "take a traditionalist or even orthodox religious view," further evidence that "secular people are hungering for a religious solution." He complains that the evangelical media are weakening and suggests that the fighting spirit of the alternative student press be taken as a lesson in how to hold on to and advance religious principles.

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In THIS WORLD

This World, IEA's journal of religion and society, has published its ninth issue, from its new Washington, D.C. editorial offices. Among the contents:

"Grenada, Nicaragua, and International Law" by Mackubin Thomas Owens. The author contrasts the radically different conceptions of "international law" embraced by liberal democracies and by Marxist-Leninist nations, and argues that when the West confuses the two, it puts itself at a tremendous disadvantage. Given the "revolutionary internationalism" of Nicaragua, and formerly of Grenada, the United States has a responsibility to respond.

"Star Wars—Technology's New Challenge to Moralists" by Joseph P. Martino. Mr. Martino assesses the moral implications of the President's proposal for ballistic missile defense. He reviews the generally hostile reaction to the "Star Wars" scheme, and places it in its historical context. He argues that the idea of "defense" has been lost in the current debate, and that the idea of "deterrence" has been

distorted into the mere threat of vengeance. To the only older possibilities—disarmament or horrible revenge—the new technology has added a third, more moral, possibility—real defense.

"The National Council of Churches and the U.S.S.R." by Joshua Muravchik. See the story on page 5.

Utopias from More's to Nozick's. Eva Brann offers "Utopia—the Imagined Polity," which traces the significant themes in classical utopian works. Clifford Orwin contributes "The Minimal State—Robert Nozick's Libertarian Utopia," which is a major reassessment of the third section of Nozick's important book, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*.

Also in *This World*: James Hitchcock on the Catholic Church and the New Class, Ellis Sandoz on the founders, and on liberation theology and development in the Third World (contributions by P.T. Bauer, Murdith and Rick Horden), and reviews by Richard John Neuhaus, Thomas P. McDonnell, Steven Lagerfeld, and George Weigel.

Subscriptions to *This World* are \$16 for four issues, \$32 for eight. Write: *This World*, 320 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, D.C., 20002

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THE **IEA** REPORT

Mr. Marshall J. Breger
Special Assistant to the
President for Public Liaison
The White House
Room #197
Washington, DC 20500

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