

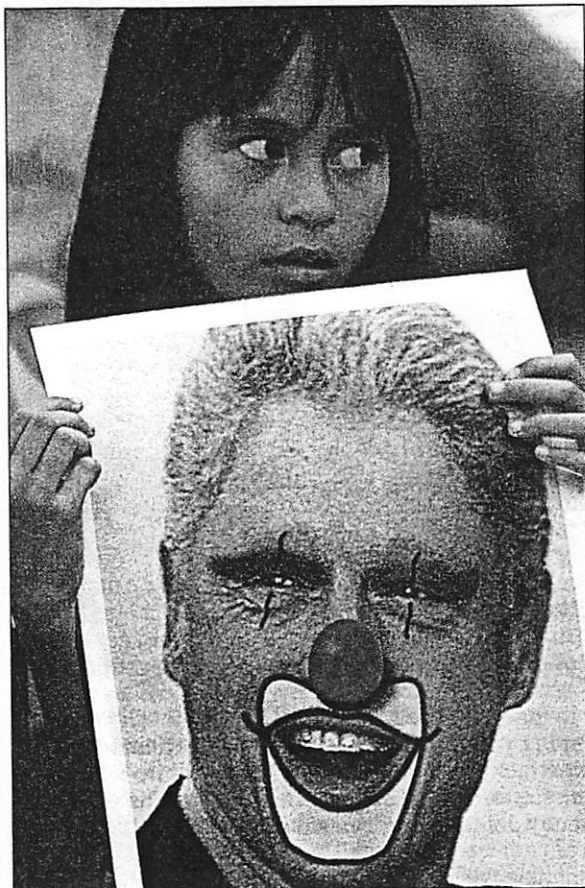
Funding Subversion of National Security

By J. Michael Waller

How huge foundations now are lavishing money to gut U.S. national interests from leading defense and security bodies, outspending sounder national-security programs 10-to-1.

Traditional national-security groups in academia, government and public policy are disappearing. And that, observers say, presents an alarming trend for the 21st century. "Most national-security-minded groups simply aren't there anymore," says John Lenczowski, director of the Institute of World Politics, perhaps the only graduate school in the United States devoted to teaching traditional statecraft. "The veterans groups don't serve their old purpose at all anymore; they're in it for government benefits. And when it comes to academic institutions, you've got mostly a kind of internationalist crowd. Most of the schools of international affairs focus on internationalism, rather than the American national interest."

Meanwhile, thanks to the globalist-collectivist bias of the leading universities, relatively few younger people are equipped to replace the Reagan-era thinkers and doers who won the Cold War. The dominant force of the next generation is intellectually rooted in a fundamental distrust of the United States and of U.S. might and mission during the Cold War and sees the United States as even less to be trusted as the world's sole superpower. This worldview deliberately tends to diminish U.S. influence by promoting more numerous and more powerful international organizations and courts, nongovernmental organizations, or NGOs, and treaties that would constrain the United States while doing little, in practical terms, to restrain regimes hostile to America and to freedom. This view also treats U.S. economic, diplomatic and



Clowns in action: East Timor girl has an eye on U.S. world leadership.

even military resources as tools with which to advance political, social and cultural agendas ranging from gun-control and the environment to gender- and sex-related causes.

It means that this century's new diplomats, intelligence analysts, military planners, congressional staffers

and strategic thinkers will come mostly with a worldview that minimizes U.S. national interests. Their work will be reinforced — or even initiated and shaped — by think tanks, journalists and NGOs financed by the same multibillion-dollar pool.

With the exception of a hardy handful of small foundations, the end of the Cold War saw funding all but evaporate for traditional organizations and programs focused on national-security policy. But the big foundations that bankrolled academics and activists professionally opposed to U.S. Cold War leadership regrouped, even going on retreats and conducting studies to "examine" their new purpose and to redefine the ideas of defense and security. In most cases, according to a Center for Security Policy study of the 70 largest foundations

in the defense and security field, the grantors changed their program names. They stripped out "national" from security and replaced it with global, environmental or collectivist themes.

Less than a decade after the collapse of the Soviet empire, the new globalist strain is outspending traditional national-security programming by more than 10-to-1, according to the study. The combined endowments of foundations funding global-collectivist security programs exceed \$42 billion, while foundations devoted to more traditional national-security and defense policies hold a comparatively tiny \$4 billion in assets — one year's worth of interest income of their collectivist counterparts.

Spending from those endowments on defense and security education, training and public policy totals about \$200 million annually — not including peripheral issues such as democratic transitions and postconflict aid, or the \$100 million that CNN mogul Ted Turner gives annually to U.N. programs. Traditional national-security education and policy receives only about \$23 million a year. "This is a 10-to-1 endowment advantage and a

7-to-1 funding advantage for the left," according to the study.

That \$23 million total for traditional national security is less than the \$27.5 million the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation dished out in 1997 for its Program on Global Security alone. Such huge levels of funding afford the foundations and recipients another key advantage: They are more willing and able to coordinate and plan ahead for program priorities and can expect implicit cooperation among recipients that is much harder to expect when funding is scarcer and therefore more competitive.

"The left understands the power of ideas and the importance of cadre-building in world affairs far better than the right does," the Center for Security Policy's Thor Ronay tells *Insight*. "They build cadres early. That's why they fund so many university degree programs, academic chairs and graduate students — to credentialize people. They create an idea — 'international legalism,' let's say — and then credentialize the idea, promote it in the media and policy circles and provide the cadres to lead the way. It's much like the model of founding a new religious sect."

One example is the arms-control area. "They identify their best and brightest cadres interning in the arms-control and disarmament movement, give them Herbert Scoville Fellowships from the Council for a Livable World, subsidize their Ph.D.s and place them with like-minded mentors in senior government posts," says Ronay, who authored the center's study. "There are a number of them in the Clinton administration today with top-secret clearances, hired to run U.S. national security. It's like a presidential management internship program for the left. Their side takes this very seriously and invests in it and acts on it. They understand that power lies not only in ideas but in people and programs. If you put enough into people and programs, especially media and pedagogy, you can sell bad ideas for long enough to bring dangerous results."

The taxpayer-funded U.S. Institute of Peace targets high-school students with an annual essay contest on "peace" issues and has a fellowship program for graduate students to pursue "peace studies." The Council for a Livable World says that since 1987 it has mentored 71 graduate students into key activist, academic and government posts, including prominent defense contractors, the State Depart-

Weiss: Evolved from Marxist fringe to a global security financier.



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ment, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the CIA. The MacArthur Foundation's Next Generation Program has spent a staggering \$100 million during the last 15 years to train more than 5,000 graduate students in the international-relations and security arena. That's nearly an entire generational cohort: from academics, journalists and foreign-service officers to NGO executives.

In contrast, Ronay says, "Conservative groups have to go begging for donors and justify every expense in terms of what it has done today. Only a few seem to have the vision or sense of strategy it takes to look a generation or even a decade ahead."

Most of the defense and security grantmaking from the large foundations manifests itself in four basic programs, according to the Center for Security Policy study: media, academia and cadre-building, international legalism and arms control/disarmament, and institution-building.

From her glass tower at 777 United Nations Plaza in New York City, Samuel Rubin Foundation President Cora Weiss sees things with a clear sense of purpose in protracted terms. Her father, Samuel Rubin, built his Fabergé empire in the 1930s with clandestine help from Soviet-backed Communist groups, according to veteran journalist James L. Tyson. Such an ideologue was Rubin that he named his son Reed after U.S. Communist John Reed, whom the Soviets buried in the wall of the Kremlin. The elder Rubin founded and endowed the foundation where Weiss has been a fixture since at least the 1960s.

During the Vietnam War, Weiss funded not only agitprop against U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia but groups supporting Hanoi and the Viet Cong against U.S. troops. For decades she funded a range of hard-left groups from the Center for Constitutional Rights — which has litigated for the likes of CIA defector Philip Agee and Puerto Rican terrorists (Agee and one of the terrorists are living in Cuba) — to the Institute for Policy Studies. During the Cold War, though, most of the Samuel Rubin Foundation's grantees were considered even by liberals to be on the far left. Today, however, Weiss and her beneficiaries are more in the mainstream.

Not that they have shed their radicalism. They and others have changed the terms of debate. Unlike many Vietnik activists and Soviet apologists, Weiss never has broken with the hard left and, unlike even Jane Fonda, never has apologized for supporting the Communists. Today Weiss is a leader in a new effort among large defense- and security-related foundations to coordinate their giving more effectively.

That effort began early last year. Amid concern that a handful of conservative senators were threatening to derail decades-old arms-control processes, the largest or most active foundations convened a Peace and Security Funders Group, or PSFG, in Cambridge, Mass. The initial steering committee consisted of Weiss and her family foundation along with the Ploughshares Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the John Merck Fund, the Hewlett Foundation and the Ford Foundation. The PSFG welcomed smaller traditional defense and security funders to join but has a bylaw permitting any member to be expelled without cause.



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Wasted resource: *F-117 stealth bomber was lost in Serbia where no U.S. interests were threatened.*

PSFG coordinator Wayne T. Jaquith has more than 30 years of movement activism under his belt. He and many grant-giving officials in foundations have worked together informally for decades. While the target then was "U.S. imperialism," many of the big funders are promoting an imperialism of their own. At one PSFG meeting a MacArthur Foundation foreign-policy official said, "On some things I am an unabashed imperialist — feminism is one of them." Weiss, in an October 1999 funders meeting, said she wanted to create more "sensitive" armed forces, saying she detested "men in uniform with guns" and outlining a campaign for global gun control and a plan to make every U.N. peace-keeping soldier attend gender and cultural sensitivity training.

Once one sees that the big funders of defense and security policy are coordinated at the top, a lot of grants make more sense. "It's rather like the FBI discovering that the mob had a council," says a source inside the grants community.

The big funders felt invincible. Last year's Senate defeat of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, or CTBT, shocked the new funders group into overdrive. "I'm sitting here stunned

at the defeat of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty — something many of us have worked on for 35 years," Jaquith wrote to funders-group members in advance of their October 1999 meeting in San Francisco.

Discussing the CTBT's defeat at the San Francisco gathering, Weiss told members, "We have to organize. This is how all the anti-Vietnam demonstrations got funded — at a table like this."

But to organize effectively, the funders have to move further from their radical intellectual roots and into the mainstream. They are eyeing moderate Republicans in the U.S. Senate as future allies. In San Francisco they invited national-security advisers of Republican presidential candidates to participate in a "consensus-directed discussion" on defense and security. One funder proposed new initiatives in "educating" journalism students and professional journalists about the perils of missile defense and called for a major drive to influence the GOP. "There are a number of moderates among the Republicans, in the Senate especially," the foundation official said. "No one knows what sources of input are respected by this group, but we do know most senior Republicans refused to meet with our outside scientists and people before the CTBT vote." He proposed assessing how best to approach Senate Republican moderates.

As long as the PSFG continues to expand its influence on grantmaking for defense and national-security issues, the U.S. policy debate promises to become increasingly lopsided and intemperate. With the realist and morally centered school of national-security experts that reached seniority during the Reagan decade now moving toward retirement, little is being done to inculcate their tried-and-true combination of worldview and leadership experience to the next generation. The thousands and thousands of cadres produced by the globalist foundations rapidly are filling the vacuum.

The worldview of the PSFG "is evident even in its name; what is conspicuously absent is the conception of 'national security,'" according to the Center for Security Policy study. "The highest-ranking totem for

this view is perhaps Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott who in 1992 told *Time* magazine that in the coming century, 'nationhood as we know it will become obsolete; all nations will recognize a single, global authority.'"

In Ronay's view, "Essentially, you have a generation that failed to learn the lessons of the Cold War — and who in most cases rebelled against the very instruments and policies which ultimately prevailed in that costliest struggle of the world's bloodiest century — now clamoring to lead us into a brave new world of their own imagining. The only thing that is more amazing is how few people seem to notice or care. History will note this the way it always does: as an 'interwar interlude.'"

Politicized revisionist history and the decline in the study of history in general, political correctness both in academia and government, group identity and general disdain for the United States as a force for good have contributed to the rethinking of the mission of the United States in the world. "I don't believe that you can defend a country and a civilization which you neither understand nor appreciate," says Lenczowski, who served on the National Security Council in the first Reagan administration. "Or, one can further say, I don't believe that you can defend a country that you don't love." ●