

the Dean's Report

SCHOOL of PUBLIC POLICY

Winter 2003

NATIONAL SECURITY AND FREEDOM

This fall, Gregory F. Treverton, the 2002-2003 John M. Olin Distinguished Visiting Professor, taught the course "National Security and Freedom." He examined a wide range of issues including the transformation of national security and the question of once-familiar notions of "foreign" and "domestic" or "public" and "private."

September 11 accomplished, in a dramatic way, what the world after the Cold War only hinted at. Respecting none of the distinctions on which Cold War security policy was based, it bodes to produce equally dramatic changes.

Events in real time provided much of the subject matter for the class.

Treverton and his students simulated the United Nations Security Council debating resolutions on Iraq, observed an ongoing project trying to reshape the organizational culture of the FBI, and imagined a conversation among three North American heads of government—Bush, Fox, and Chrétien—at Bush's Texas ranch. In many sessions, the class participated in conversations by telephone with policy-makers or analysts, often people whose work they had read previously. Discussions also centered on the reshaping of America's national security.

Treverton is acting president and director of studies at the Pacific Council



on International Policy and senior consultant at RAND. He has also served as vice chair of the National Intelligence Council in the Clinton administration, as a staff member of the National Security Council, and as a professional staff member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

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SCHOOL of PUBLIC POLICY

Dean James R. Wilburn

(310) 506-7490
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Upcoming Events

January 14, 2003

Karl Kaltenthaler
 "The Future of the Euro"
 1:00 p.m., Mendenhall Courtroom

January 21, 2003

Richard Grant, Economist
 "Supernationalization of Money"
 11:00 a.m., Mendenhall Courtroom

January 28, 2003

Michael Novak
 "Blue Environmentalism"
 11:00 a.m., Mendenhall Courtroom

January 29, 2003

Board of Visitors Meeting
 11:30 a.m.
 Jonathan Club, Downtown Los Angeles

March 4, 17, & 28, 2003

James Q. Wilson
 "The Influence of European Thinkers
 on the U.S."

April 14 & 15, 2003

Senior Capstone Presentations
 2:00 p.m., CCB 140

LOCKED OUT OF A HOUSE

By Joel Kotkin, Senior Fellow, Davenport Institute

Excerpt from *Los Angeles Times* Opinion Section, September 22, 2002

Article written as preface to the release of the report, "Rewarding Ambition: Latinos, Housing, and the Future of California," co-written with Thomas Tseng, Research Fellow, Davenport Institute.

The promise of homeownership in California today is threatened as never before. The problem is not that the state's upwardly mobile first and second generations of immigrants, roughly half of whom are Latinos, are not hard-working or ambitious enough. Rather, they are entering a housing marketplace incapable of meeting their demands at reasonable prices.

The causes of spiraling housing costs in California include the state's tax regime and various environmental and liability laws. Not enough houses are being built to ensure affordability. If not corrected, Latinos may become the first major group to be denied ownership of a piece of the California dream.

Today, homeownership in California, at 56 percent, is the second lowest in the country, behind New York. In contrast, the overall U.S. homeownership rate, driven by historically low mortgage interest rates, has soared to an all-time high of 68 percent. While the rate rose 4.2 percent in the rest of the nation during the 1990s, it increased only 2.2 percent in California.

Latinos, particularly immigrants, have been most powerfully affected by this trend. Between 1970 and 2000 the percentage of home-owning Latino households in California dropped from 49 percent to 41 percent.

The decline is not caused by a lack of significant income gains for Latinos.

The key problem is cost. Nine of the ten least affordable metropolitan areas in the country are in California.

This situation threatens both the future of the state's economy and the durability of its social order. Homeownership makes neighborhoods more stable and connected. Homeowners are more likely to participate in volunteer and political organizations, as well as stay in their areas longer, thereby helping to promote social stability.

The significant difference between the 1990s boom in California and previous ones has been the lack of new housing construction. During the 1990s, housing production was less than half that in the 1980s. Today, annual housing construction is less than 150,000 units a year, half the peak rate of 1986 and more than 50,000 fewer than in the 1970s, when the state population was about 10 million fewer.

Judging by the current rates of new permits, the state housing shortfall will exceed as many as 1 million units within the next few years.

A growing gap between an expanding class of property-less working-class immigrants, mostly Latino, and mainly Anglo property owners may empower demagogues of left and right, but it won't be good for the future of California as a place where ambition is rewarded.

Access to the complete report can be found at:
<http://publicpolicy.pepperdine.edu/events/LHreport.pdf>



Dean James R. Wilburn

Nothing is more encouraging to the founders, faculty, and staff of the School of Public Policy than seeing the extraordinary accomplishments of our graduates who are already changing the world across a wide spectrum of career choices.

Some are making a difference in local and regional organizations, both in government and in the private sector. An equal number are completing doctorates at other universities, preparing to spread the influence of Pepperdine to yet another generation of students.

There is also a growing cadre of alumni in Washington, D.C.—at the White House, in think tanks, and at the State Department. A few are involved in setting up the new Department of Homeland Security.

Then there are those already vigilant for the security of America in a global setting—in Russia, Kryrgystan, and Ukraine as well as Africa, South America, and Asia.

Although their career choices are widespread, they are united by strong commitments—care for each individual's welfare, the importance of nongovernmental associations, and the belief in testing all policies against transcendent values. While Mr. Pepperdine could not have imagined the dangerous and complex world where our graduates are now emerging as leaders, he would surely be pleased that these products of this newest Pepperdine initiative are leading lives of purpose, service, and leadership.

James R. Wilburn

LYNN C. FRITZ SCHOLARS

Founded by Lynn C. Fritz, the Fritz Institute was created to bring together best-business practices and academic research to augment the capabilities of humanitarian organizations engaged in disaster management worldwide. By creating a global network of scholars to research and disseminate best practices to enhance the disaster relief field and providing access to state-of-the-art technology from the commercial arena, it is the goal of the Fritz Institute to facilitate the effective delivery of disaster relief. Previous scholars include 2001–2002 recipients Kenya Hudson ('02) and Sara Carmack ('02). Negin Mosaheb and David Mashuri were recently named Fritz Scholars.



Negin Mosaheb

Negin Mosaheb graduated from the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1998 with a bachelor of arts degree in sociology. Her experience in global logistics was developed during her summer internship with the Karvarn division of the Overseas Merchandise Inspection Co., Ltd. (OMIC), a Japanese-based international inspection company which controls the quantity and quality of the imports and exports that are commonly exchanged between countries. Mosaheb utilized her background and familiarity with the Iranian culture and language as well as her academic experience to find innovative measures to bridge the gap between the internationally

understood and practiced rules of business and the accepted cultural and religious measures to work with business practices in Iran. She is fluent in Farsi and conversational in Spanish. Mosaheb is a 2003 Master of Public Policy candidate.



David Mashuri

David Mashuri received a bachelor of arts degree with high honors in 1995 from Russian People's Friendship University, Moscow, in linguistics, Russian language, and literature. There, he also studied Arabic for five years, which segued to his first job as an Arabic-to-Russian interpreter in the Yemen Republic. Next, Mashuri worked as director and owner of K. M. Security Investments, Inc., specializing in travel and health services. Utilizing his previous business experience and proficiency in Russian, he received an employment opportunity from DHL International Kazakhstan. He built partner relations with the Kazakhstan Postal Service (KazPost) and worked in the areas of international business, logistics, and communication. His native language is Uighur, and he is fluent in Russian, English, and Arabic. He is seeking an internship opportunity with the U.S. Department of State, CIA, or FBI and would like to work in the field of international relations in the regions of the former Soviet Union and the Middle East. Mashuri is a 2004 Master of Public Policy candidate.

BOARD OF VISITORS MEETING: AUGUST 6, 2002

This past year, the board met to discuss the dean's plan for the coming year including the addition of new faculty members. Dean Wilburn expressed interest in strengthening the School's international emphasis and sought the board's counsel on curriculum and faculty suggestions. The board also reviewed presentations by Professor James Q. Wilson and Senior Fellow Joel Kotkin. Both discussed their academic works to date, interaction with students, and plans for the future. Kotkin made an extended presentation on the Davenport Institute's work on local and regional policy. Over the past

five years, the Institute has developed a reputation for innovative and timely research culminating in the publication of "Rewarding Ambition: Latinos, Housing, and the Future of California."

The dean is pleased to welcome two new members to the board: Wendy Borchardt and Glen Holden.

Wendy Borchardt is a political consultant and former staff member of the Reagan Administration. Borchardt serves on the Hoover Institution Board of Overseers and the Advisory Board of the Parents Television Council along with Senator Joe Lieberman, Bill Bennet, and Michael Medved.

Glen Holden was named by President George H. W. Bush in 1989 as ambassador to Jamaica. He was founder, chairman, and CEO of The Holden Group, a Los Angeles insurance company. Ambassador Holden has served on many boards including London Life Insurance, Trilon Corporation of Canada, the Los Angeles Council of Boy Scouts, and the California Chamber of Commerce; he currently serves as a regent of Pepperdine University.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC POLICY

The student organization Women in Public Policy (WPP) hosted Professor Angela Hawken in October as the first speaker of the 2002–2003 academic year. Hawken, an adjunct professor of research methods, also works at RAND as a policy analyst. She spoke to students about her life, her career, and the challenges faced by women in the public policy arena. This past fall WPP also hosted Melisa Carroll, publicity director of HOPE, International. Carroll is a Pepperdine alumna (SPP '01) and a founding member of Women in Public Policy. Plans are underway for WPP to hold a symposium at Pepperdine in the Spring 2003 semester.



Professor Angela Hawken (center) is presented with a Pepperdine sweatshirt by WPP President Pauletta Walsh (right) and WPP member Kimberly Cates.

BRAUN CENTER FOR THE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY CONSTRUCTION UPDATE

More than 1,342,000 pounds of steel have been erected, 47.53 miles of electrical wire have been laid, a 1,600,000 gallon water tank has been constructed, and 40,320,000 pounds of concrete have been poured for the completion of the University's 96,000-square-foot facility, the Drescher Graduate Campus. This full-service education facility will be home to the Braun Center for the School of Public Policy, recently named by Virginia (Ginie) Braun and the Carl F. Braun Residuary Trust; the Beckman Management Center for the Graziadio School of Business and Management; and the Graduate School of Education and Psychology.

Progress on this spectacular 50.4-acre plateau nestled in the Santa Monica Mountains is visible each passing day. While

January 2004 was the original opening for the Drescher Graduate Campus, the contractors are estimating an opening as early as Fall 2003.

School of Public Policy students, for the first time, will have a student services center, access to the Collazo Library and Learning Center which will have public policy holdings, a wireless infrastructure for Internet access in the courtyards and the classrooms, a computer laboratory, a business center for photocopies or binding services, a cafeteria, and a 300-vehicle parking structure. Student enthusiasm is growing and requests for construction tours increase each week. Even alumni are anxious for the opportunity to view the new site.

Angela Hawken
Applied Research Methods in
Public Policy Adjunct Faculty

Angela Hawken is in the final year of a Ph.D. in policy analysis at the RAND Graduate School. She is researching populations at risk for AIDS in developing countries and building models that consider cultural, social, and economic barriers to behavioral changes required for effective prevention and treatment. This research will inform the creation of more effective intervention programs to curb the spread of the disease.

Her current RAND research activities include an evaluation of state anti-fraud strategies and, with support from the Wallace Reader's Digest Fund, an assessment of the role of informal education providers (including community organizations, museums, after-school care providers, etc.) in providing out-of-school-time learning experiences to improve education outcomes for youth.

Hawken is currently on assignment in Georgia (the former Soviet republic), supported by the U.S. State Department, where she is a visiting professor at the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies (GFSIS). She is also a guest professor at the Open Society-Georgia-sponsored program at Tbilisi State University.

Douglas W. Kmiec
Distinguished Senior Policy Fellow

Dean of The Catholic University of America School of Law in Washington, D.C., Douglas W. Kmiec has continued to be very active in the Supreme Court. Justice Clarence Thomas and the Supreme Court Historical Society recently invited him to deliver his extended lecture on the court in times of Cold and Hot War. Given in the Supreme Court courtroom to an audience that included members of the judiciary, various division heads within the Department of Justice, former attorneys general, current military leaders, as well as distinguished advocates of the bar, the lecture covered the court's wartime jurisprudence and made an effort to apply it to the war on terrorism.

Earlier in the fall semester, Kmiec debated Harvard's Alan Dershowitz at the Harvard Law School on constitutional issues and engaged another panel of scholars on property rights under the Constitution at Boalt Hall.

Gordon Lloyd
Professor of Public Policy

Professor Gordon Lloyd continues to work on five specific manuscripts discussing the Supreme Court and slavery, the New Deal in regard to political economy, the Framers and the Supreme Court, the foundations of political economy, and the French revolutions of 1789 and 1848, as well as a few other articles.

This past June, Lloyd acted as instructor for "The American Revolution and the Founding of a New Nation" at the Ashbrook Teacher Institute, Ashland University in Ashland, Ohio. He was the director for Frank H. Knight's "Freedom and Reform: The American Tradition of Political Economy" at the Liberty Fund Colloquium in Pasadena, California, in November. He then acted as director and discussion leader for "The Bill of Rights and American Liberty" at the Liberty Fund Colloquium for High School Teachers in Alexandria, Virginia in October.

Geoffrey Segal
Research Fellow

Geoffrey Segal has recently published four studies: "The Extent, History, and Role of Private Companies in the Delivery of Correctional Services in the U.S." (Ius et Lux Foundation, Warsaw, Poland, September 2002, published in English and Polish), "The Salinas Utility User's Tax: Necessary Revenue Source or Government Waste?" (Reason Foundation, October 2002), "Competition & Government Services: Can Massachusetts Still Afford the Pacheco Law?" (Pioneer Institute for Public Policy, October 2002), and "Contracting for Road and Highway Maintenance" (Reason Foundation, November 2002). In October, he also was named a 2002 Fellow of the Mont Pelerin Society.

In addition, Segal is concluding work on a review of smart growth initiatives in Ventura County and their effect on the housing market and, separately, making observations on what can be learned from the city of Atlanta's massive water privatization, sponsored by the Georgia Public Policy Foundation. Further, Segal is involved in the California Performance Budget Review. A committee will make recommendations on how legislators can avoid raising taxes based on cost-saving and cost-cutting techniques.

Michael Shires
Assistant Professor of Public Policy

As the director of the Murray S. Craig Digital Democracy Laboratory, Michael Shires has been actively developing new databases and opportunities for this lab to make a difference in improving state and local government accountability. As a member of one of the working groups of the state legislature's efforts to craft a new master plan for education, Shires has been participating in a series of public hearings across the Southland with members of the State Assembly. He was most recently on NPR and CNN as an analyst of California's November elections.

Gregory F. Treverton
John M. Olin Distinguished Visiting
Professor

Gregory F. Treverton managed the report of the Pacific Council on International Policy Task Force which was released in November in Tokyo. The binational task force, titled "Can Japan Come Back?," was chaired by former California governor and senator, Pete Wilson. At RAND, he led a team assessing security at the FBI in the wake of the Hanssen spy case. Also, he has been looking across the public, private, and nonprofit sectors, asking whether the nation is producing the kind of leaders it will need for the 21st century. For the Pentagon, Treverton has been examining the impact of the global changes related to September 11 and determining the use of reserves to access cutting-edge skills the military will need but finds hard to attract and retain.

Charles Van Eaton
Professor of Public Policy

Over the past term Charles Van Eaton has been interviewed on CNN-fn, featured on a special segment of "The Evening News with Jim Lehrer" on issues regarding the economy, and addressed local and national economic issues on local radio several times. In addition, Van Eaton has written four op-ed articles for the *Los Angeles Daily News* over the past six months and consistently writes monthly articles on a wide variety of economic and social issues, which have been cited in radio commentary programs across the nation. Often consulted and quoted, his work has recently appeared in the *Ventura County Star*, *USA Today*, and the *Battle Creek, Michigan* daily newspaper. He also serves as vice president and director of economic studies for the Lincoln Heritage Institute in Eaton Rapids, Michigan.



Carmack and Congressman Ed Royce.

Sara Carmack (SPP '02) is field representative and community relations coordinator for California Congressman Ed Royce. In order to keep the congressman up-to-date on the key issues for each of these cities, she regularly attends city council and chamber meetings as well

as other special events held by these cities. In addition, Carmack also serves as the community relations contact for the Asian-American, African-American, and Arab-American interest groups and advocacy organizations. She is also the grants officer for the 40th district office.



Nathaniel H. Goetz (SPP '01) is founder and director of the Forced Migration Laboratory at the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego. Goetz is currently collaborating

with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on the project "On the Road to Self-Sufficiency and Integration: Lessons from a Protracted Refugee Situation" and is editing a book entitled, *Forced Migration, Global Security, and Humanitarian Assistance*. In January 2003, he will be presenting findings from this book at the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration biennial conference in Chiang Mai, Thailand.



Jeffrey Jones (SPP '02) is a public affairs fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He works with senior administration and Hoover fellows to develop skills useful in impacting public policy on the national level. Jones' current research areas include social welfare, literacy, and electricity deregulation—the topic of an op-ed piece of his recently published in the *Orange County Register*.



Lindgren with her sons Aidan and Ethan.

Sara Lindgren (SPP '01) joined us this fall as an adjunct professor of Family Policy. Her course explored the role of marriage and family in America, as well as how current policy developments such as abortion and divorce law, same-sex marriage

initiatives, and euthanasia impact the family. In addition to teaching about family, Lindgren is continuing to expand her own—she and her husband Todd are the proud parents of two boys, and are expecting their third child in mid-January.



Machado with Robin Williams at Ganci Air Base outside of Bishkek. Williams was on a USO trip.

John Machado (SPP '00) is presently serving as a Counter-Narcotics Program officer at the U.S. Embassy in Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic. The Kyrgyz Republic is a major drug-trafficking region for opium and heroin transported from Afghanistan, located a short distance to the south.

Machado works daily with various United States bureaus and agencies, Kyrgyz officials, and international organizations to stem the tide of narcotics coming across the borders of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan. The Counter-Narcotics Program addresses all aspects of the drug trade including terror groups such as Al Qaida and the Islamic movement of Uzbekistan and their reliance on illicit drugs as a means of financial support.



Natasa Milasinovic (SPP '99) has a new position as video assistant at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) located in Den Haag, The Netherlands. As part of the

Office of the Prosecutor, Milasinovic's work entails analyzing video materials and documents related to war crimes which occurred on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.



Mackenzie Kirby Nuño (SPP '02) married Stephen A. Nuño on August 24, 2002 in Carmel-by-the-Sea, California. Nuño is a planner for an environmental consulting firm where she specializes

in planning, designing, and permitting mineral resource development throughout California. She lives with her husband in Irvine, California, where he is working toward his Ph.D. in political science.



Claudia Orsi (SPP '01) and Almis Udrys (SPP '01) were married on June 29, 2002, by Don Marino Ghini at the church of San Michele Arcangelo in Argelato-Bologna, Italy.

After a reception at the Palazzo Bentivoglio Pepoli, the couple left for a surprise honeymoon to the Balearic island of Formentera. Orsi is working as a legislative researcher for the Legislative Intent Service. Udrys is an auditor/evaluator for the California State Auditor, Bureau of State Audits.



Dinesa D. Thomas (SPP '02) is currently working as a legislative analyst in government affairs at the New Century Financial Corporation. A publicly traded company listed on the NASDAQ, the New

Century Financial Corporation is a specialty finance company that, through its subsidiaries, is engaged in the business of originating, purchasing, selling, and servicing non-conforming mortgage loans secured primarily by first mortgages on single-family residences. Thomas' responsibilities include serving as the Political Action Committee administrator; developing relationships with federal, state, and local elected officials as well as consumer advocates; communicating the company's policy position; and analyzing legislation.

Latino Housing Study Examines Increasingly Complex and Difficult Dilemma Affecting Southern California

As the Southern California region's population continues to expand—largely through immigration and the children of immigrants—it is increasingly unable to meet the housing needs of much of its new population. This housing shortfall is particularly profound among Latinos, who are soon to constitute a plurality of the region's households.

Davenport Institute Fellows Joel Kotkin and Thomas Tseng authored a landmark report entitled, "Rewarding Ambition: Latinos, Housing, and the Future of California," which was presented by the School of Public Policy, the La Jolla Institute, and Cultural Access Group in September at the Santa Ana Performing Arts Center.

Program participants included Gary E. Acosta, CEO and Vice Chairman, National Association of Hispanic Real Estate Professionals; Steve Olson, CEO, The Olson Company; Erika Ozuna, Research Fellow, Davenport Institute, Pepperdine University School of Public Policy; Steve Pontell, CEO, De Oro Group and President, La Jolla Institute; John P. Reekstin, Executive Director, Santa Ana Community Development Agency; and Barbara Zeidman, Director, Fannie Mae, Los Angeles Partnership.



Housing Conference Panelists L-R: John Reekstin, Barbara Zeidman, Steve Olson, Erika Ozuna, and Gary Acosta.

"Can a Nation 'Under God' Be Religiously Free?"

On October 11, 2002, Douglas W. Kmiec returned "home" to Pepperdine to deliver a lecture. Kmiec, who previously held the Caruso Family Chair at the Pepperdine Law School, carefully considered the Ninth Circuit's holding that the reference to God is unconstitutional. Kmiec illustrated how the ruling was in error—factually, legally, and philosophically.



Douglas W. Kmiec

Factually, a pledge is not a prayer; legally, the pledge results in no established church nor endorsement thereof; and most importantly, the pledge is representative of the most vital philosophical aspect of our Republic—namely, that we derive our rights from a Creator. Kmiec ended his remarks by observing: "Sometimes it is said that the framers built better than they knew. The corollary is that those who seek to deconstruct the pledge destroy more than they understand."

5th Annual Charles and Rosemary Licata Lecture "The International Criminal Court: A New Diplomacy?"

Ambassador-at-large for war crimes issues, Pierre-Richard Prosper began the discussion on October 23, 2002 with the development of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and U.S. concerns about this concept. In July, the U.S. withdrew from the treaty installing the concept of a court to manage international crimes.

Prosper remarked on many international matters. Both small and large states are not providing the key leadership. Instead, thousands of

nongovernmental organizations have come on stage in recent years, driving their own issues to the top of the diplomatic program. In many cases, the U.S. is being pitted against Europe in a struggle for influence over international affairs. In a July article of the *CS Monitor*, David Davenport, a legal expert at the Hoover Institution in Palo Alto, California, said initiatives like the ICC are part of "the new diplomacy" being developed by "1,000 nongovernmental organizations and like-minded states." This, he maintains, is a challenge to both traditional post-Cold War diplomacy and the U.S. in particular.

"As the U.S. tries to figure out how to act as the world's sole superpower, it will find we can't be isolationists about these issues, but in fact we'll have to get more involved in international affairs," Davenport said.

Pierre-Richard Prosper was nominated by President George W. Bush in May of 2001. He was confirmed by the Senate and sworn in as ambassador-at-large for war crimes issues in July 2001. Ambassador Prosper received a juris doctor degree from Pepperdine University School of Law. In 2000, he was the recipient of Pepperdine University School of Law's Distinguished Alumnus Award.

David Davenport served as president of Pepperdine University from 1985 to 2000. From 1980 to 1985, he also served as a professor of law, general counsel, and executive vice president of the university. He is the founder of the School of Public Policy at Pepperdine and also the recently renamed Davenport Institute for Public Policy.

See back panel for upcoming School of Public Policy events

"Religion and Freedom"

Annual Lecture at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California

Ronald Reagan Professor James Q. Wilson delivered the 4th Annual Reagan Lecture at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley on November 19, 2002. In his welcome remarks, Presidential Foundation Executive Director Mark Burson recalled then-Governor Reagan's early involvement in Pepperdine's opening of the Malibu campus in 1972. Burson noted how this annual lecture serves to institutionalize the partnership between the Reagan Foundation and Pepperdine's School of Public Policy in helping to preserve Reagan's legacy and emphasizing the power of ideas.

Wilson's lecture, entitled "Religion and Freedom," discussed the struggle to reconcile religious belief and freedom. Wilson noted that the nation is engaged in a struggle to defeat terrorism. The struggle exists, according to Wilson, because the West has mastered the problem of reconciling religion and freedom, while several Middle Eastern nations have not. The story of that mastery and that failure occupies several centuries of human history, in which one dominant culture, the world of Islam, was displaced by a new culture, that of the West.

He continued by reviewing the history of religious freedom in Great Britain and America and its vital connection to all other individual and political freedoms. He stated his case concisely, "Religious freedom is the first freedom in the world—

without this freedom no other freedom is possible." He explained that a culture which holds one religious belief superior to all others, such that all must adhere to it, makes it impossible for the individual expression of ideas, a free press, universal suffrage, or any of the political freedoms Westerners hold so dear.

Wilson closed his discussion by reflecting on how political challenges in both cultures reflect their approach to freedom. When the West reconciled religion and freedom, it did so by making the individual the focus of society, and the price it has paid has been individualism run rampant, in the form of weak marriages, high rates of crime, and alienated personalities. When Islam kept religion at the expense of freedom, it did so by making the individual subordinate to society, and the price it has paid has been autocratic governments, religious intolerance, and little personal freedom. Wilson concluded, "I believe that in time Islam will become modern, because without religious freedom, modern government is impossible. I hope that in time the West will reaffirm social contracts, because without them a decent life is impossible. But in the near term, Islam will be on the defensive culturally, which means it will be on the offensive politically. And the West will be on the offensive culturally, which I suspect means it will be on the defensive morally."

Copies of this lecture are available through Alissa Hofmocker at (310) 506-4494 or the School of Public Policy's web page at <http://publicpolicy.pepperdine.edu>.



Professor Wilson greets lecture guests.



Professor Wilson with Flora Thornton, University regent and School of Public Policy founder. The Reagan Professorship has been made possible by a generous Thornton endowment.