

THE CANON

FALL 2009

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE'S
MEMBER AND ALUMNI MAGAZINE

MASS EFFECTS IN
MODERN LIFE
Winston Churchill

OUR SACRED HONOR
Shelby Cullom Davis

SECURITY AND FREEDOM:
STUDENT JOURNALISTS
GAIN FIRSTHAND
EXPERIENCE IN PRAGUE

SENÁT
PARLAMENTU ČESKÉ REPUBLIKY



ISI AT A GLANCE

Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell (KY) and his wife, Elaine Chao, former secretary of labor under George W. Bush, joined ISI for dinner during the Lehrman American Studies Center Summer Institute at Princeton University. They both addressed the audience along with John David Dyché, author of Republican Leader: A Political Biography of Senator Mitch McConnell, recently released by ISI Books. Below: In August, Dr. Jack Templeton Jr., left, recognized the winners of ISI's Culture of Enterprise Student Essay Contest with awards ranging from \$1,000 to \$10,000.



ISI held three day-long seminars on the West Coast in June, bringing together ISI faculty, staff, students, and supporters. Here, R. V. Young, editor of Modern Age and professor of English at North Carolina State University, talks with audience members after his lecture on "Alternative Means of Education Today." Read more on page eight.

Above: Jonathan Karl, ABC News senior congressional correspondent, addresses the audience at the Collegiate Network Alumni and Friends Reception in Washington, D.C. On the cover: CN students tour the Czech Republic senate building during the Geo-Strategic Journalism Course in Prague. Read more about the course on page fourteen. Photo taken by CN student John Stevenson of Bucknell University.



In July, forty of the nation's top undergraduates participated in the inaugural conference for ISI's year-long Honors Program. ISI faculty and staff lectured on the topic "Meaning in History: Learning from the Past."



THE CANON · FALL 2009

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE

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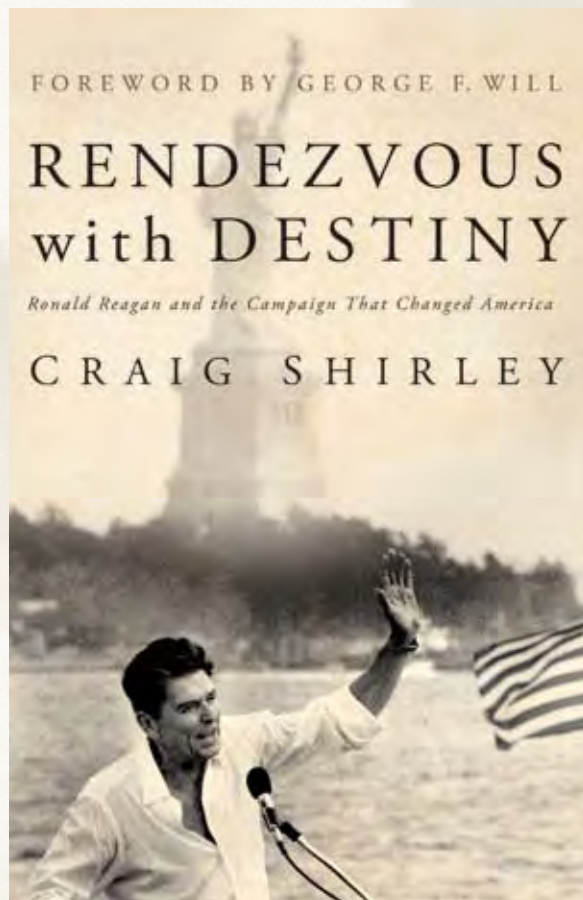
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“Anyone who would understand the Reagan victory of 1980 and the movement that eliminated the Soviet Union and revitalized America **must read**—indeed **must study**—Craig Shirley's **brilliant, comprehensive work.**”

—NEWT GINGRICH



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WE STILL HOLD THESE TRUTHS

Upon reading the two feature articles in this issue of the *Canon*, a colleague told me that she thought them to be a bit depressing. It is true that Winston Churchill's "Mass Effects on Modern Men" and Shelby Cullom Davis's "Our Sacred Honor" both lament the loss of a certain type of man—of the great leaders of centuries past who not only were of outstanding character but were willing to sacrifice everything for the good of their neighbor and the good of their country. Churchill also reminds us of the remarkable role that chance, or Providence, plays in history's march, while Davis recalls how uncertain the prospect of independence from Britain was when the signers stepped up to forever seal

WE CANNOT DISPARAGE
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GENERATION.

their fate and affix their names to the Declaration of Independence. And they did so "with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence." Fifty-six colonial Americans answered destiny's call, pledging their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor to the pursuit of liberty.

If they had not done so, the whole course of history would have changed. Their bravery was anchored in their attachment to their heritage and their com-

mitment to their principles. And ever since, each generation has been called to rise to the challenges of its time and make the same commitment that our founders did. To do that, we cannot disparage the foundations of our country, but must nurture them afresh in and for each successive generation. We must not despair over the loss of great leaders, but instead work to educate the best of our youth today so that they will be able and willing to lead the fight for freedom tomorrow. As Matthew Spalding puts it in *We Still Hold These Truths*, a forthcoming ISI book that is itself a hopeful offering of the key principles that animated our founding and must be renewed in our time: "It is because of these principles [in the Declaration and Constitution], not despite them, that America has achieved its greatness."



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Sadly, the fabric of freedom is threadbare in our country today. ISI has shown through three successive reports on the level of civic literacy among college graduates that most students no longer know the basic facts of American history. Historical memory is fading while notions contrary to the American tradition are accelerating in Washington and in the corridors of our institutions of higher learning. It is the crucial task of our time to reacquaint the rising generation with the inheritance of our country's founders, with their heroic fight for liberty, with the sacrifices and struggles of the generations that followed, and with the ideals and institutions central to the American tradition of republican self-government. This is the fundamental task of ISI.

In letter eleven of John Dickinson's *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer*, he wrote: "Let us take care of our rights, and we therein take care of our prosperity. 'SLAVERY IS EVER PRECEDED BY SLEEP.'" At ISI we do not sleep. We have not slept since our founding over fifty years ago. Our mission is, in Dickinson's words, "to take care of our rights" through education—through the thousands of lectures, publications, reading groups, conferences, debates, and more that we have held through the years and continue to hold for our nation's college students, educating them, as our motto says, for liberty. I hope you enjoy reading about this work in the following pages, and I thank you for your support of it.



ISI president T. Kenneth Cribb Jr., center, pauses for a photo at the fifth annual Lehrman American Studies Center Summer Institute with, left to right, Amherst professor Hadley Arkes, John Mueller of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, Lehrman Center president Lt. Gen. Josiah Bunting III, and founder of the Lehrman Center, Lewis E. Lehrman.

Sincerely,

T. Kenneth Cribb Jr.
ISI President

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ISI IN ACTION

ANNUAL WEST COAST SEMINARS DRAW HUNDREDS OF GUESTS

This June, ISI hosted three day-long seminars that allowed guests—both those familiar with and newly introduced to ISI—to discuss and thoughtfully reflect upon such lasting concerns as culture, education, and our Western inheritance. Attendees gained a personal understanding of ISI’s mission and its activities on college campuses while also listening to faculty and staff speak on a variety of timely topics.



Seminar participants enjoyed the opportunity to browse and purchase ISI books and journals at each event.

On June 7, 150 people participated in the seminar “The Crisis of Western Education” just north of San Diego. The evening before, ISI also hosted a planned giving seminar and President’s Club dinner that featured an address by ISI president T. Kenneth Cribb Jr. The following Friday, ISI hosted another President’s Club dinner in San Francisco, followed by a Saturday seminar on “Islam and the West.” On June 21, 130 ISI students, faculty, and supporters gathered in Seattle for “Five Forgotten Conservatives: What They Can Teach Us Today.”

As one seminar participant stated, “Thank you for a wonderful day. I had no idea what to expect, and was surprised and delighted with the oratory of the

day and the high quality of debate and discussion. I await with eagerness to hear of new conferences and events put on by ISI. Thank you again for an inspiring, soul-refreshing day.”

To listen to the lectures from each seminar, please visit <http://donorevents.isi.org>.

STANFORD REVIEW EDITOR RECEIVES \$10,000 ERIC BREINDEL AWARD

The Eric Breindel Foundation presented the fourth annual Eric Breindel Award for Excellence in Journalism to Carl J. Kelm, a 2009 graduate of Stanford University, where he served as editor in chief of the Collegiate Network (CN) newspaper the *Stanford Review*. A native of Modesto, California, Carl majored in political science and minored in history. After completing an internship at the *Wall Street Journal*, he hopes to attend law school.

The Breindel Foundation annually presents the \$10,000 award to a student whose work best reflects the spirit that animated the writings of Eric Breindel: love of country and its democratic institutions, as well as the act of bearing witness to the evils of totalitarianism. Past Breindel Award recipients include Collegiate Network alumni Elise Viebeck and John Wilson, both graduates of Claremont McKenna College where they wrote for the *Claremont Independent*.



ISI AWARDS PRESTIGIOUS GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS FOR 2009-10

This fall, ISI awarded six Richard M. Weaver Fellowships to assist future professors who are dedicated to advancing ordered liberty through their

teaching at the college level. ISI also awarded two Western Civilization Fellowships to assist graduate students in their dissertation work related to the study of our Western patrimony.

This year's Weaver Fellows are: Jeremy Bergstrom (historical theology, University of Durham), Michael Breidenbach (political thought, University of Cambridge), Lewis McCrary (political theory, Georgetown University), Stephen McGuire (politics, Catholic University of America), Veronica Mayer (European studies, Columbia University), and David Sandifer (history, University of Cambridge). ISI's Western Civilization Fellows are Gladden Pappin (political theory, Harvard University) and Matthew O'Brien (philosophy, University of Texas).

Additionally, ISI awarded a Salvatori Fellowship, which supports graduate work related to the American founding, to Greg Weiner (political theory, Georgetown University) and the Bache Renshaw Fellowship for graduate study in education to Alan Harvath (Indiana Wesleyan University).

For more information about ISI's fellowship program, contact Nathaniel Zebrowski at (302) 524-6122 or visit www.isifellowships.org.

FIFTH ANNUAL LEHRMAN AMERICAN STUDIES CENTER SUMMER INSTITUTE

Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell, author Victor Davis Hanson, and historian Alan Charles Kors were among the lecturers for ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center Summer Institute in June. Hosted in partnership with the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University, the Institute brought twenty-six advanced graduate students and junior faculty members together with nearly fifty of the nation's leading scholars to address the theme "American Statesmanship: Founding Principles, Historical Examples." Twelve days of lectures and workshops delivered practical, hands-on advice on curricular, pedagogical, and professional



Victor Davis Hanson explored the topic "Democracies at War" at ISI's fifth annual Lehrman American Studies Center Summer Institute at Princeton University. Hanson reminded participants of the importance of studying the past to address contemporary concerns.

matters related to teaching American heritage and the tradition of ordered liberty in the undergraduate classroom. In the words of one faculty member, "The Institute is performing an important role in developing the next generation of scholar-teachers committed to serious reflection and teaching in the American political tradition." Learn more at <http://lehrman.isi.org>.

ISI'S FOUNDING FATHERS NATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL ESSAY CONTEST

ISI is sponsoring a high school essay contest on the legacy of Nathanael Greene, commander and general in the Continental Army during America's War for Independence. All registrants will receive a free copy of Spencer Tucker's *Rise and Fight Again: The Life of Nathanael Greene* and a free subscription to the *Intercollegiate Review*. Cosponsored by the CiRCE Institute, the James Madison Institute, and the Association of Classical and Christian Schools, the first-place award is a \$1,000 scholarship. Students are asked to consider the life and character of Nathanael Greene, and to discuss why his legacy as a military strategist, leader, and patriot should be remembered by contemporary Americans. Essays are to be between 1,200 and 1,500 words and must be postmarked or e-mailed by January 22, 2010. For additional details, or to register to receive a copy of *Rise and Fight Again*, participants should e-mail their name, address, high school, and graduation date to essaycontest@isi.org or call (302) 524-6132 by November 20.



This event is complimentary and guests are welcome. It will begin with registration at 9:00 a.m., include lunch, and conclude with a reception at 4:15 p.m. For more information or to RSVP, please contact Mary Radford at (302) 524-6139 or mradford@isi.org.

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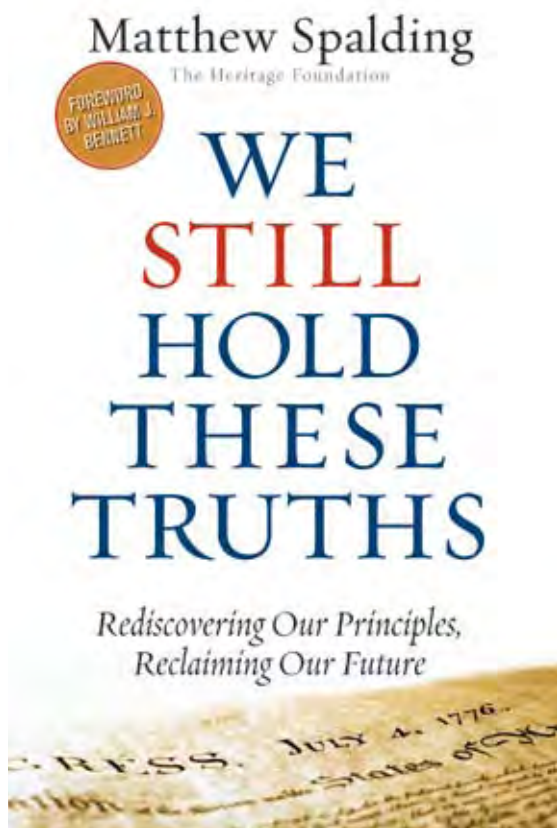
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♦ ♦ ♦

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—WILLIAM J. BENNETT, bestselling author and nationally syndicated radio host

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—ROBERT P. GEORGE, Princeton University



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ISI'S WILLIAM E. SIMON FELLOWSHIP FOR NOBLE PURPOSE: SEEDING CIVIL SOCIETY

William E. Simon (1927–2000) was a businessman whose passion for entrepreneurship led him to outstanding success in the world of investments and venture capital. He was a dedicated public servant, most notably as secretary of the treasury in the 1970s. He was a lifelong advocate of the free market who also recognized that economic life is not the whole of human life, and a nation's wealth is measured not merely by GDP, but by the vibrancy and compassion of its civil society. He was a philan-

thropist and a man of faith who considered it both a responsibility and a privilege to serve the poor.

ISI's William E. Simon Fellowship for Noble Purpose seeks to honor Simon's memory by encouraging graduating college seniors to follow in his footsteps. With three unrestricted grants of up to \$40,000, the fellowship, in effect, serves as a source of social venture capital—to seed civil society with initiatives offering concrete assistance to those in need. It holds out the promise of changing the world, one individual at a time, through authentic personal care and concern—not through an all-embracing bureaucracy or through the pat system of any ideology.

Already the Simon Fellowship has paid rich dividends. George Srour, a graduate of William & Mary, was the first-place winner in 2005, the fellowship's inaugural year. His project Building Tomorrow, now a respected philanthropy headquartered in Indianapolis, boasts seventeen college chapters involved in fundraising efforts that have resulted in the construction of four schools—serving more than 1,000 students—for AIDS orphans in sub-Saharan Africa. Two more schools are currently under construction.

Some of the other initiatives that have been launched with the aid of the Simon Fellowship include an innovative assisted living facility in a converted convent in New York City; a rural lending library at a mission in Honduras; a national network of collegiate student groups promoting responsible sexuality; an



Jennifer Wotochek, program director of the William E. Simon Foundation, Dr. Jack Templeton Jr., president and chairman of the John Templeton Foundation; 2009 Simon Fellows Sabil Gujral, Emily E. Smith, and Andrew Boyd; and ISI president T. Kenneth Cribb Jr. at the August awards ceremony.

2009 SIMON FELLOWS

ANDREW BOYD ▸ UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
\$40,000 fellowship recipient, for his vision and entrepreneurial efforts to coordinate a microcredit institution for forty-four villages in the Lempira region of Honduras

EMILY E. SMITH ▸ DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
\$5,000 fellowship recipient, for her plans to investigate the extent and nature of freedom of the press within Iran

SAHIL GUJRAL ▸ RICE UNIVERSITY
\$5,000 fellowship recipient, for his study of the holistic nature of free market business in the Philippines and exploration on how it may be expanded and developed



George Srour, a 2005 Simon Fellow, with Ugandan children whose school was built through Srour's organization, Building Tomorrow.

archive of oral histories documenting the genocide in Rwanda; a program to teach the foundations of democracy to Iraqi university students; an online networking community for pro-life advocates; and a program to bring appropriate care for the terminally ill to India.

The 2008 first-place winner, Bryan Mauk of John Carroll University, used his Simon Fellowship to found the Metanoia Project last summer. After years of building close relationships with the homeless in his hometown of Cleveland, Ohio, Mauk had the idea to obtain, repair, and sell abandoned and foreclosed homes, using the help of homeless laborers as much as possible to also provide job training. Once repaired, the homes are sold through owner financing options to create permanent housing for those in need. The proceeds from all sales are used to continue the housing program and fund an overnight homeless drop-in center. Mauk is simultaneously pursuing his master's degree at Case Western Reserve University's Mandel Center for Nonprofit Organizations.

In August, the 2009 \$40,000 Simon Fellowship was awarded to Andrew Boyd of the University of Michigan. After several mission trips to Honduras, he hopes to help the rural poor by making microfinance loans available to them, thereby encouraging the development of skilled trades and a viable economic base in one of the world's poorest regions. Already he has secured five fellow Michigan graduates to serve as project coordinators in Honduras, translators and

“RECEIVING THE SIMON
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HOMELESS OF CLEVELAND.”

—Bryan Mauk, founder of the Metanoia Project

other collaborators on the ground in Honduras, and \$200,000 in capital from a Michigan businessman to finance the initial round of loans. He also has the help of one of his college professors who is an expert in network analysis of complex systems—a new field of economic research that provides tools for “mapping” relationships within a community. Using these advanced tools, Boyd believes he will be able to identify the most promising candidates to receive loans even in rural areas, thus putting microfinance there on a sustainable, profitable footing.

Perhaps just as important as the amazing projects that these fellowship winners are undertaking are the hundreds of applications that ISI receives each year, which indicate that the very existence of the Simon awards is inspiring hundreds of young people to reflect on the ways in which they might incorporate social entrepreneurship into their own lives. In this way, a culture of solidarity and voluntary social responsibility is built up—and America's social capital is replenished.

For more information about the 2010 Simon Fellowship application process, e-mail simon@isi.org, call (302) 524-6122, or visit www.simonfellowship.org.

TELL US YOUR

Noble Purpose

The William E. Simon Fellowship for Noble Purpose is an unrestricted grant awarded to those graduating college seniors who have demonstrated passion, dedication, a high capacity for self-direction, and originality in pursuit of a goal that will strengthen civil society. In addition to the \$40,000 top prize, awards of \$20,000 and \$10,000 will be made to two other outstanding students. Visit the website below for more information. Completed applications must be postmarked by **February 1, 2010**.

www.simonfellowship.org



SECURITY AND FREEDOM: STUDENT JOURNALISTS GAIN FIRSTHAND EXPERIENCE IN PRAGUE

Each June, ISI's Collegiate Network invites twelve of its top student journalists to participate in the Geo-Strategic Journalism Course in Washington, D.C., and Prague, Czech Republic. By providing high-level access to leading correspondents, policymakers, and government officials in the U.S. and



Roger W. Robinson, fellow at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and president and CEO of Conflict Securities Advisory Group, Inc., addressed the students during the National Security Seminar at the Heritage Foundation.

Europe, the course achieves two goals. First, it offers invaluable foreign reporting experience, and second, it instills in students an appreciation for America's national security challenges.

To begin the course, students participate in a day-long National Security Seminar in Washington, D.C., with policy professionals, national security correspon-



Twelve of the Collegiate Network's top student journalists, pictured with the CN staff, participated in the Geo-Strategic Journalism Course.

dents, congressional aides, and U.S. government officials. Lecturers this year included Dr. James Carafano, national security analyst at the Heritage Foundation; Walter H. Pincus of the *Washington Post*; and Doug Bandow, senior fellow at the Cato Institute.

During phase two, the CN partners with the Prague Security Studies Institute, an organization that focuses on the education and development of new generations of security-minded university students and policy practitioners in the Czech Republic. While in Prague, students interact with dissidents from the Communist era, ex-pat journalists, Czech foreign ministry officials, and more.

The final phase requires participants to compose at least three articles on aspects of the course that they found interesting and relevant to the Czech Republic. The students spend nearly two weeks reporting overseas, and the CN ensures that all aspects of the course are conducive to inspiring story ideas. The CN staff then assists the young journalists in getting their work published in prominent national venues.

This year, students also contributed short reflections on their experiences through the "Prague Blog" (www.cnpragueblog.org). Following are four posts written while in the Czech Republic.

TEST PILOT PSYCHOLOGY

Sarah Schubert • Bucknell University

As an American visiting the Czech Republic for the first time, I pretty much took for granted that I would be able to just generally have the privileges that we have back in the States. Sure, I know that Czechoslovakia was a Communist regime for over forty years, but they so successfully established a parliamentary democracy and a free-market economy in just twenty years that I never really thought about the oppression that was the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

It was not until we had the opportunity to listen to Jan Urban, a journalism professor for New York University's study-abroad program in Prague, that

I finally began to understand just what life in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was like.

Having lived under the Communist regime, Mr. Urban knew just how oppressive the system was, noting several times that there was absolutely no way around it. The state was the Communist Party, and it controlled everything. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was by far the most centralized of the Eastern Soviet bloc countries, partially because the industrial nature of the country had a well-organized labor movement that provided the foundation necessary to support a Communist regime.

One of the most telling examples Urban gave was that of parents trying to send their children to school. Although children did receive primary education—for what it was worth—a child’s ability to attend college, and even high school, was dependent on their parents’ political loyalty and nothing else. Simply put, children were hostages of the parents. The Party knew that parents would not risk their children’s education by doing anything that would seem to go against the Communist Party. People knew that they basically only had one chance to resist because that would most likely be their last, as they would be punished either through their children, prison, or worse.

THE JEWISH MUSEUM IN PRAGUE

Jane Coaston • University of Michigan

Today we visited the “Jewish Quarter,” the location of one of the oldest synagogues in the world and the Jewish Museum. The quarter also contains the Pinkas Synagogue. Walking through that synagogue is one of the most difficult things I have done in a very long time.

Walking into it was like a slap in the face. On the walls are printed the names of the over 80,000 Bohemian and Moravian Jews murdered during the Holocaust—their family name, their birth date, and the year of death. Some names were followed by years that indicated that the person was over eighty years



Dinah Spritzer, an American journalist based in Prague, spoke about life as a foreign correspondent.

old. But the moment that hit me the hardest was one name followed by “1940–44.” A four-year-old, maybe just learning how to read and write, sent to die.

Upstairs, there was a room dedicated to the “Children’s Drawings from Terezin, 1942–44.” Terezin was to be a “model camp.” The Nazis brought the Red Cross to the camp to show them how well Jews were being treated, and they made a propaganda film about the camp, *The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*. But virtually all of the inhabitants were quickly shipped further east to death camps. The drawings were of the camp and daily life. Some were doodles—one had

THE PARTY KNEW THAT
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COMMUNIST PARTY.

German language lessons (“Eins für alles und alles für eins”—“One for all and all for one”). The children who drew these pictures were four and five years old, some a little older. Almost all of them died.

It’s virtually impossible for me to explain what the Pinkas Synagogue made me feel. I felt robbed, in a sense. These people could have been parents, grand-



Tomas Pojar, first deputy minister of foreign affairs for the Czech Republic, gave students the Czech perspective on foreign policy and U.S.-Czech relations.

parents. They could have been artists or architects or academics. But because of a political ideology, they were deemed “unworthy” of life and brutally murdered. I want to know who these people were and who they could have been. But I never will. No one will. And I think that is one of the greatest tragedies of the Holocaust.

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Alex Mayer • College of William and Mary

On the one hand, today’s visit to former Czech president Vaclav Havel’s office was not at all what I expected. I hardly realized we had reached our destination when we stopped outside the ordinary, unassuming entrance to his office. Located on a quiet

IT’S DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE WHY,
AFTER EVERYTHING THEY’VE GONE
THROUGH, THERE WOULD STILL
BE EVEN THIS MUCH SUPPORT FOR
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE.

side street, the office was not what one might imagine for a man revered in his country and around the world as one of the most influential intellectual and political personalities in modern times.

After being ushered inside by one of Havel’s three staffers (downsized from the 180 he had during his time in office), we were shown into his post-presidential suite.

Aside from the courtyard, the place was rather cramped, consisting of only three small connected rooms.

At the center of the table in the middle conference room an engraved plate with the opening sentence of the U.S. Constitution was prominently displayed—a gift to Havel from President Obama during his recent visit to Prague.

Books lined the numerous shelves which formed the “walls” between the three rooms of the office, and the collection was very eclectic. There were also copies of Havel’s own prolific writings, both fiction and nonfiction.

This brings me to the other hand I mentioned at the beginning of this post; upon further review, the office we saw meshes perfectly with everything I know about Vaclav Havel. As his staff told us today, the man is unassuming, calm, modest—even shy—and precise. Those qualities, along with his obvious love for pop culture (especially rock music), were evident in his office. As a playwright, intellectual, activist, and reluctant politician, Vaclav Havel’s eccentricities were manifested in that office.

As I scanned the numerous books on his shelves, a thought occurred to me, something that kind of sums up the thing I like most about Havel—it must be nice, I sighed to myself, to have a president who has written books about subjects other than himself. We could use a bit more of that spirit in the U.S., if you ask me.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION?

Casey Hynes • Mount St. Mary’s University

When I think about the anecdotes we’ve heard in the past several days about life under the Communist regime and about what the Czech Republic has been doing since the Velvet Revolution, I’m amazed at how far they’ve come but also saddened and angry to think about what people here and in so many other places suffered.

Yesterday, after we left Vaclav Havel’s office, we passed the communism memorial, which is one of the most understated but effective and haunting memorials I’ve seen. There is a statue of a man on a staircase, and as you go up, there is less and less to him until there is nothing left. The plaque states that the memorial is

dedicated not only to those who were killed during that time, but to all those whose lives were destroyed. That has stayed with me throughout the past two days, when we're walking through the city or in a session, hearing from people who lived through it and helped bring down the regime. Seeing that has made all of this that much more powerful and meaningful. A protester recently set the memorial on fire, and there has been talk of the Communist Party gaining some influence in the Czech government after the October elections. It's difficult to imagine why, after everything they've gone through, there would still be even this much support for Communist influence.

It's also been interesting to hear about other post-Soviet countries, and the dynamics between the Czech Republic and these other nations. Yesterday, we heard from Jan Marian from the Czech Foreign Ministry, who discussed the state of the government and human rights in Belarus and how the Czech Republic is attempting

to draw them out from under Russian influence. It's disturbing to hear about these oppressive regimes and the gross human rights violations that are carried out regularly, but also inspiring to hear from people who are actively working to do something about it.



Oldrich Cerný, executive director of the Prague Security Studies Institute, addresses the Collegiate Network students and staff.

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November 3 • University of Dallas • Irving, Texas
Southern Responses to Jefferson's Condemnation of Slavery
Eugene Genovese, author and historian

November 5 • Rice University • Houston, Texas
The Big Ripoff: How Big Business and Big Government Steal Your Money
Timothy Carney, author and journalist

November 6–8 • San Antonio, Texas
Collegiate Network National Editors Conference
Featuring lectures by John J. Miller, Victorino Matus, and Marty Singerman*

November 14 • Evanston Golf Club • Skokie, Illinois
The Roots of American Order Day-long Seminar
See more details on page ten

November 19 • Seattle Pacific University • Seattle, Washington
Who's Afraid of the Renaissance? The Once and Future Tradition of Christian Humanism
Gregory Wolfe, author and editor of *Image*

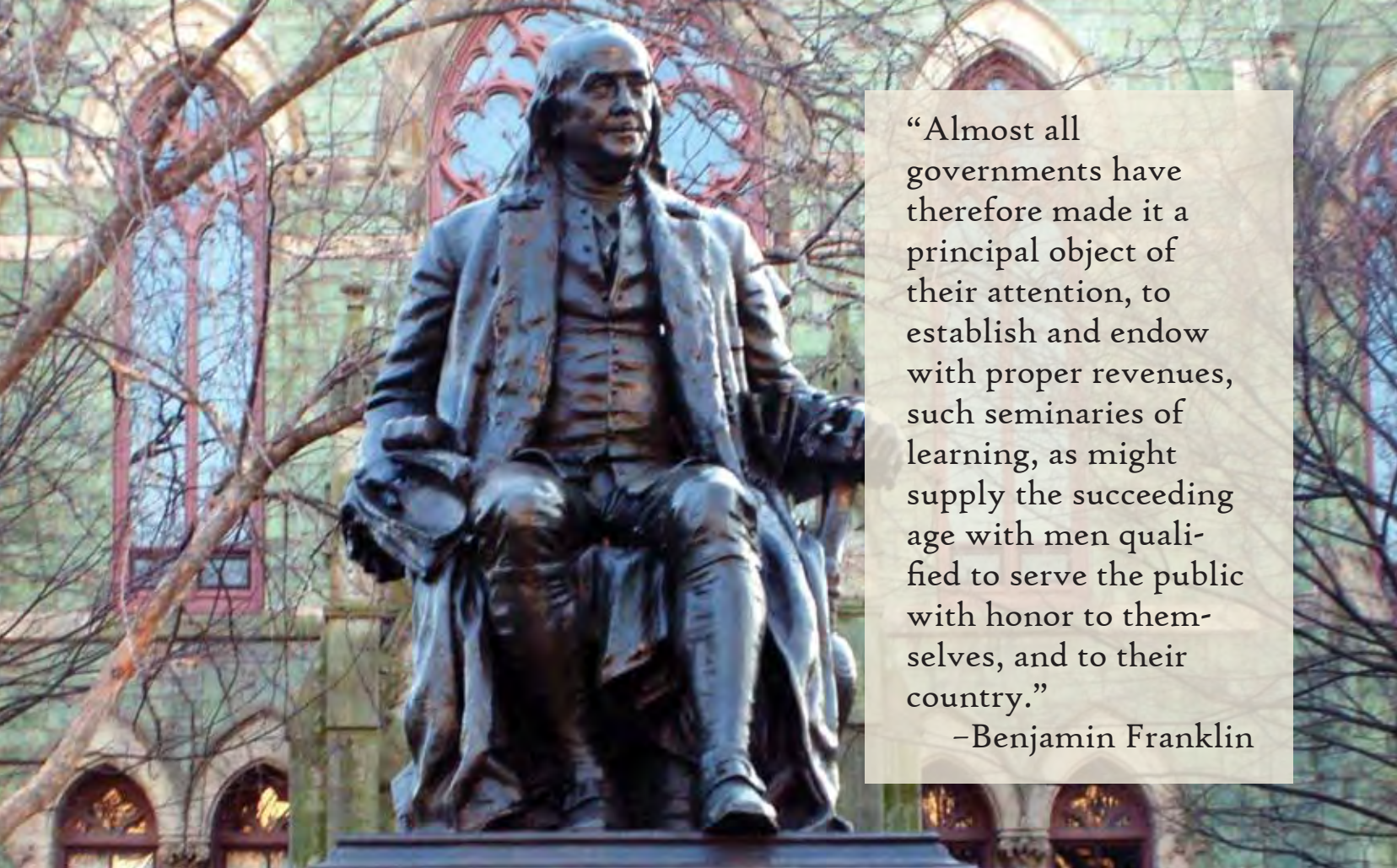
December 3 • John Jay College of Criminal Justice • New York City
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Featuring lectures by Heather MacDonald, George L. Kelling, and Jose Cordero

December 10 • Hotel Monaco • Washington, D.C.
Collegiate Network 30th Anniversary Celebration
See more details on page seventeen

January 14–17 • Savannah, Georgia
Liberty and Democratic Authority in the Works of Tocqueville, Jouvonal, and Nisbet
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—Benjamin Franklin



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A new report from ISI's American Civic Literacy Program

This November, ISI will issue its fourth national civic literacy report, *Shaping the American Mind*, which will explore in detail the beliefs and opinions of America's college graduates—those leaders that Benjamin Franklin worked so hard to produce. *Shaping the American Mind* compares and contrasts the real-world impact of the college experience with that of higher levels of civic literacy, looking in particular at Americans' attitudes toward the free society. For example, the report examines how the investment in a college degree effects a graduate's:

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- Approach to America's founding documents and principles
- Beliefs about the primary purpose of higher education
- Overall political and ideological orientation
- And a number of other contested cultural, religious, and policy disputes

Watch for the results this November at www.americancivilliteracy.org. There you will also be able to review ISI's three previous path-breaking civic literacy studies.

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MASS EFFECTS *in* MODERN LIFE

by Winston Churchill

Is the march of events ordered and guided by eminent men; or do our leaders merely fall into their places at the heads of the moving columns? Is human progress the result of the resolves and deeds of individuals, or are these resolves and deeds only the outcome of time and circumstance? Is history the chronicle of famous men and women, or only of their responses to the tides, tendencies, and opportunities of their age? Do we owe the ideals and wisdom that make our world to the glorious few, or to the patient anonymous innumerable many?

The question has only to be posed to be answered. We have but to let the mind's eye skim back over the story of nations, indeed to review the experience of our own small lives, to observe the decisive part which accident and chance play at every moment. If this or that had been otherwise, if this instruction had not been given, if that blow had not been struck, if that horse had not stumbled, if we had not met that woman, or missed or caught that train, the whole course of our lives would have been changed; and with our lives the lives of others, until gradually, in ever-widening circles, the movement of the world itself would have been affected. And if this be true of the daily experience of ordinary average people, how

much more potent must be the deflection which the Master Teachers—Thinkers, Discoverers, Commanders—have imparted at every stage. True, they required their background, their atmosphere, their opportunity; but these were also the leverages which magnified their power. I have no hesitation in ranging myself with those who view the past history of the world mainly as the tale of exceptional human beings, whose thoughts, actions, qualities, virtues, triumphs, weaknesses, and crimes have dominated the fortunes of the race. But we may now ask ourselves whether powerful changes are not coming to pass, are not already in progress or indeed far advanced. Is not mankind already escaping from the control of individuals? Are not our

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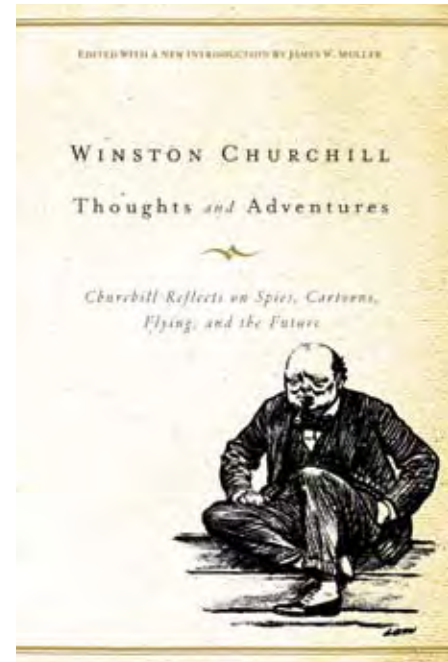
affairs increasingly being settled by mass processes? Are not modern conditions—at any rate throughout the English-speaking communities—hostile to the development of outstanding personalities, and to their influence upon events: and lastly if this be true, will it be for our greater good and glory? These questions merit some examination from thoughtful people.

Certainly we see around us today a marked lack of individual leadership. The late Mr. John Morley, statesman and philanthropist, man of letters and man of affairs, some years ago towards the close of his life delivered an oration in which he drew attention to the decline in the personal eminence of the leaders in almost all the important spheres of thought and art. He contrasted the heads of the great professions in the early twentieth century with those who had shone in the mid-Victorian era. He spoke of “the vacant Thrones” in Philosophy, History, Economics, Oratory, Statecraft, Poetry, Literature, Painting, Sculpture, and Music, which stood on every side. He pointed—as far as possible without offence—to the array of blameless mediocrities, who strutted conscientiously around the seats of the mighty decked in their discarded mantles and insignia. The pith and justice of these reflections were unwelcome, but not to be denied. They are no less applicable to the United States. With every natural wish to be complimentary to our own age and generation, with every warning against “singing the praises of former times,”¹ it is difficult to marshal today in any part of the English-speaking world an assembly of notables, who either in distinction or achievement can compare with those to whom our grandfathers so gladly paid attention and tribute.

It must be admitted that in one great sphere the thrones are neither vacant nor occupied by pygmies. Science in all its forms surpasses itself every year. The body of knowledge ever accumulating is immediately interchanged and the quality and fidelity of the research never flags. But here again the mass effect largely suppresses the individual achievement. The throne is occupied; but by a throng.

In part we are conscious of the enormous processes of collectivization which are at work among us. We have long seen the old family business, where the master was in direct personal touch with his workmen, swept out of existence or absorbed by powerful companies, which in their turn are swallowed by mammoth trusts. We have found in these

processes, whatever hardships they may have caused to individuals, immense economic and social advantages. The magic of mass production has carried all before it. The public have a cheaper and even better article



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or a superior service, the workmen have better wages and greater security.

The results upon national character and psychology are more questionable. We are witnessing a great diminution in the number of independent people who had some standing of their own, albeit a small one,

¹ A reference to the beginning of the Harrow School song “The Silver Arrow” (1903): “I sing the praise of the olden days...”

and who if they conducted their affairs with reasonable prudence could “live by no man’s leave underneath the law.”² They may be better off as the salaried officials of great corporations; but they have lost in forethought, in initiative, in contrivance, in freedom, and in effective civic status.

These instances are but typical of what is taking place in almost every sphere of modern industrial life, and of what must take place with remorseless persistency, if we are to enjoy the material blessings which scientific and organized civilization is ready to bestow in measureless abundance.

In part again these changes are unconscious. Public opinion is formed and expressed by machinery.

Public opinion is formed and expressed by machinery. The newspapers do an immense amount of thinking for the average man and woman.

The newspapers do an immense amount of thinking for the average man and woman. In fact they supply them with such a continuous stream of standardized opinion, borne along upon an equally inexhaustible flood of news and sensation, collected from every part of the world every hour of the day, that there is neither the need nor the leisure for personal reflection. All this is but a part of a tremendous educating process. But it is an education which passes in at one ear and out at the other. It is an education at once universal and superficial. It produces enormous numbers of standardized citizens, all equipped with regulation opinions, prejudices and sentiments, according to their class or party. It may eventually lead to a reasonable, urbane and highly serviceable society. It may draw in its wake

a mass culture enjoyed by countless millions, to whom such pleasures were formerly unknown. We must not forget the enormous circulations at cheap prices of the greatest books of the world, which is a feature of modern life in civilized countries, and nowhere more than in the United States. But this great diffusion of knowledge, information, and light reading of all kinds may—while it opens new pleasures to humanity and appreciably raises the general level of intelligence—be destructive of those conditions of personal stress and mental effort to which the masterpieces of the human mind are due.

It is a curious fact that the Russian Bolsheviks in carrying by compulsion mass conceptions to their utmost extreme seem to have lost not only the guidance of great personalities, but even the economic fertility of the process itself. The Communist theme aims at universal standardization. The individual becomes a function: the community is alone of interest: mass thoughts dictated and propagated by the rulers are the only thoughts deemed respectable. No one is to think of himself as an immortal spirit, clothed in the flesh, but sovereign, unique, indestructible. No one is to think of himself even as that harmonious integrity of mind, soul, and body, which, take it as you will, may claim to be “the Lord of Creation.” Sub-human goals and ideals are set before these Asiatic millions. The Beehive? No, for there must be no queen and no honey, or at least no honey for others. In Soviet Russia we have a society which seeks to model itself upon the Ant. There is not one single social or economic principle or concept in the philosophy of the Russian Bolshevik which has not been realized, carried into action, and enshrined in immutable laws a million years ago by the White Ant.

But human nature is more intractable than ant-nature. The explosive variations of its phenomena disturb the smooth working out of the laws and forces

² From Rudyard Kipling, “The Old Issue,” October 9, 1899: “All we have of freedom, all we use or know / This our fathers bought for us long and long ago. / Ancient Right unnoticed as the breath we draw / Leave to live by no man’s leave, underneath the Law. / Lance and torch and tumult, steel and grey-goose wing / Wrenched it, inch and ell and all, slowly from the King. / Till our fathers’ stablished, after bloody years, / How our King is one with us, first among his peers.”

which have subjugated the White Ant. It is at once the safeguard and the glory of mankind that they are easy to lead and hard to drive. So the Bolsheviks, having attempted by tyranny and by terror to establish the most complete form of mass life and collectivism of which history bears record, have not only lost the distinction of individuals, but have not even made the nationalization of life and industry pay. We have not much to learn from them, except what to avoid.

Mass effects and their reactions are of course more pronounced in the leading nations than in more backward and primitive communities. In Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France, the decline in personal pre-eminence is much more plainly visible than in societies which have less wealth, less power, less freedom. The great emancipated nations seem to have become largely independent of famous guides and guardians. They no longer rely upon the Hero, the Commander, or the Teacher as they did in bygone rugged ages, or as the less advanced peoples do today. They wend their way ponderously, unthinkingly, blindly, but nevertheless surely and irresistibly towards goals which are ill-defined and yet magnetic. Is it then true that civilization and democracy, when sufficiently developed, will increasingly dispense with personal direction: that they mean to find their own way for themselves; and that they are capable of finding the right way? Or are they already going wrong? Are they off the track? Have they quitted the stern, narrow high-roads which alone lead to glorious destinies and survival? Is what we now see in the leading democracies merely a diffusion and squandering of the accumulated wisdom and treasure of the past? Are we blundering on together in myriad companies, like innumerable swarms of locusts, chirping and devouring towards the salt sea, or towards some vast incinerator of shams and fallacies? Or have we for the first time reached those uplands whence all of us, even the humblest and silliest equally with the best, can discern for ourselves the beacon lights? Surely such an inquiry deserves an idle hour.

In no field of man's activities is the tendency to mass effects and the suppression of the individual more evident than in modern war. The Armageddon



through which we have recently passed displays the almost complete elimination of personal guidance. It was the largest and the latest of all wars. It was also the worst, the most destructive, and in many ways the most ruthless. Now that it is over we look back, and with minute and searching care seek to find its criminals and its heroes. Where are they? Where are the villains who made the War? Where are the deliverers who ended it? Facts without number, growing libraries, clouds of contemporary witnesses, methods of assembling and analyzing evidence never before possessed or used among men are at our disposal. The

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quest is keen. We ought to know; we mean to know. Smarting under our wounds, enraged by our injuries, amazed by our wonderful exertions and achievements, conscious of our authority, we demand to know the truth, and to fix the responsibilities. Our halts and our laurels are ready and abundant.

But what is the answer? There is no answer. On the one hand, the accusations eagerly pressed now against this man or Government or nation, now against that, seem to dissipate themselves as the indictment proceeds. On the other, as the eager claimants for the honor of being the man, the Government, the nation THAT ACTUALLY WON THE WAR multiply and as their self-advocacy becomes more voluble,



Statue of Churchill outside of the Houses of Parliament in London.

more strident, we feel less and less convinced. The Muse of History to whom we all so confidently appeal has become a Sphinx.³ A sad, half-mocking smile flickers on her stone war-scarred lineaments. While we gaze, we feel that the day will never come when we shall learn the answer for which we have clamored.

Meanwhile the halts rot and the laurels fade. Both the making and the winning of the most terrible and the most recent of earthly struggles seems to have been a cooperative affair!

Modern conditions do not lend themselves to the production of the heroic or super-dominant type. On the whole they are fatal to pose. The robes, the wigs,

the ceremonies, the grades that fortified the public men and ruling functionaries of former centuries have fallen into disuse in every country. Even “the Divinity that doth hedge a King”⁴ is considered out of place except on purely official occasions. Sovereigns are admired for their free and easy manners, their readiness to mingle with all classes, their matter-of-fact work-a-day air, their dislike of pomp and ritual. The minister or president at the head of some immense sphere of business, whose practical decisions from hour to hour settle so many important things, is no longer a figure of mystery and awe. On the contrary he is looked upon, and what is more important for our present purpose, looks upon himself, as quite an ordinary fellow, who happens to be charged for the time being with a peculiar kind of large-scale work. He hustles along with the crowd in the public conveyances, or attired in “plus fours”⁵ waits his turn upon the links. All this is very jolly, and a refreshing contrast to the ridiculous airs and graces of the periwigged potentates of other generations. The question is whether the sense of leadership, and the commanding attitude towards men and affairs, are likely to arise from such simple and unpretentious customs and habits of mind: and further whether our public affairs will now for the future run on quite happily without leaders who by their training and situation, no less than by their abilities, feel themselves to be uplifted above the general mass.

The intense light of war illuminates as usual this topic more clearly than the comfortable humdrum glow of peace. We see the modern commander entirely divorced from the heroic aspect by the physical conditions which have overwhelmed his art. No longer will Hannibal and Cæsar, Turenne⁶ and Marlborough,

³ A mythical figure with the body of a recumbent lion and a human head. The most famous example is the Great Sphinx of Giza, adjacent to the great pyramids near Cairo; it is believed to date from c. 2600 B.C. There was a Sphinx of Theban legend, which posed riddles and strangled those who failed to solve them.

⁴ Churchill paraphrases the saying of Claudius, “There’s such divinity doth hedge a king,” in Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act IV, sc. v, line 123.

⁵ Knee-breeches terminating four inches below the knee, worn with long woolen stockings.

⁶ Henri de la Tour d’Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne (1611–75), marshal of France and commander of French troops during the Thirty Years’ War.

Frederick and Napoleon, sit their horses on the battlefield and by their words and gestures direct and dominate between dawn and dusk the course of a supreme event. No longer will their fame and presence cheer their struggling soldiers. No longer will they share their perils, rekindle their spirits, and restore the day. They will not be there. They have been banished from the fighting scene, together with their plumes, standards, and breast-plates. The lion-hearted warrior, whose keen eye detected the weakness in the foeman's line, whose resolve outlasted all the strains of battle, whose mere arrival at some critical point turned the tide of conflict, has disappeared. Instead our generals are to be found on the day of battle at their desks in their offices fifty or sixty miles from the front, anxiously listening to the trickle of the telephone for all the world as if they were speculators with large holdings when the market is disturbed.

All very right and worthy. They are at their posts. Where else indeed should they be? The tape-machine ticks are recording in blood-red ink that railways are down or utilities up, that a bank has broken here, and a great fortune has been captured there. Calm sits the general—he is a high-souled speculator. He is experienced in finance. He has survived many market crashes. His reserves are ample and mobile. He watches for the proper moment, or proper day—for battles now last for months—and then launches them to the attack. He is a fine tactician, and knows the wiles of bull and bear,⁷ of attack and defence to a nicety. His commands are uttered with decision. Sell fifty thousand of this. Buy at the market a hundred thousand of that. Ah! No, we are on the wrong track. It is not shares he is dealing in. It is the lives of scores of thousands of men. To look at him at work in his office you would never have believed that he was fighting a battle in command of armies ten times as large and a hundred times as powerful as any that Napoleon led. We must praise him if he does his work well, if he sends the right messages, and spends the right troops, and buys the best positions. But it is hard to feel that he is the

hero. No; he is not the hero. He is the manager of a stock-market, or a stock-yard.

The obliteration of the personal factor in war, the stripping from high commanders of all the drama of the battlefield, the reducing of their highest function to pure office work, will have profound effects upon sentiment and opinion. Hitherto the great captain has been rightly revered as the genius who by the firmness of his character, and by the mysterious harmonies and inspirations of his nature, could rule the storm. He did it himself: and no one else could do it so well. He conquered there and then. Often he fell beneath the bolts and the balls, saviour of his native land. Now, however illogical it may seem and even unjust, his glamour and honors will not readily descend upon our calculating friend at the telephone. This worthy must assuredly be rewarded as a useful citizen, and a faithful perspicacious public servant; but not as a hero. The heroes of mod-

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ern war lie out in the cratered fields, mangled, stifled, scarred; and there are too many of them for exceptional honors. It is mass suffering, mass sacrifice, mass victory. The glory which plays upon the immense scenes of carnage is diffused. No more the blaze of triumph irradiates the helmets of the chiefs. There is only the pale light of a rainy dawn by which forty miles of batteries recommence their fire, and another score of divisions flounder to their death in mud and poison gas.

That was the last war. The wars of the future will be even less romantic and picturesque. They will

⁷ Can be meant literally, or as a parallel with the stock market, in which bull markets rise and bear markets fall.

Can nations remain healthy,
can all nations draw together, in a world
whose brightest stars are film stars and
whose gods are sitting in the gallery?
Can the spirit of man emit the vital
spark by machinery?

apparently be the wars not of armies but of whole populations. Men, women and children, old and feeble, soldiers and civilians, sick and wounded—all will be exposed—so we are told—to aerial bombardment, that is to say to mass destruction by lethal vapour. There will not be much glory for the general in this process. My gardener last spring exterminated seven wasp's nests. He did his work most efficiently. He chose the right poison. He measured the exact amount. He put it stealthily in the right place, at the right time. The entire communities were destroyed. Not even one wasp got near enough to sting him. It was his duty and he performed it well. But I am not going to regard him as a hero.

So when some spectacled "brass hat" of a future world-agony has extinguished some London or Paris, some Tokyo or San Francisco, by pressing a button, or putting his initials neatly at the bottom of a piece of foolscap, he will have to wait a long time for fame and glory. Even the flashlights of the photographers in the national Ministry of Propaganda will be only a partial compensation. Still our commander-in-chief may be a man of exemplary character, most painstaking and thorough in his profession. He may only be doing what in all the circumstances some one or other would have to do. It seems rather hard that he should receive none of the glory which in former ages would have been the attribute of his office and the consequence

of his success. But this is one of the mass effects of modern life and science. He will have to put up with it.

From this will follow blessed reactions. The idea of war will become loathsome to humanity. The military leader will cease to be a figure of romance and fame. Youth will no longer be attracted to such careers. Poets will not sing nor sculptors chisel the deeds of conquerors. It may well be that the chemists will carry off what credit can be found. The budding Napoleons will go into business, and the civilization of the world will stand on a surer basis. We need not waste our tears on the mass effects in war. Let us return to those of peace.

Can modern communities do without great men? Can they dispense with hero-worship? Can they provide a larger wisdom, a nobler sentiment, a more vigorous action, by collective processes, than were ever got from the Titans?⁸ Can nations remain healthy, can all nations draw together, in a world whose brightest stars are film stars and whose gods are sitting in the gallery? Can the spirit of man emit the vital spark by machinery? Will the new problems of successive generations be solved successfully by "the common sense of most"; by party caucuses; by Assemblies whose babble is no longer heeded? Or will there be some big hitch in the forward march of mankind, some intolerable block in the traffic, some vain wandering into the wilderness; and will not then the need for a personal chief become the mass desire?

We see a restlessness around us already. The cry of "Measures, not Men"⁹ no longer commands universal sympathy. There is a sense of vacancy and of fatuity, of incompleteness. We miss our giants. We are sorry that their age is past. The general levels of intelligence and of knowledge have risen. We are upon a high plateau. A peak of 10,000 feet above the old sea-level is scarcely noticeable. There are so many

⁸ In Greek mythology the Titans were any of the older gods who preceded the Olympians and were the children of Uranus (Heaven) and Gaia (Earth).

⁹ This phrase, penned by Philip Stanhope (1694–1773), Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, 1726, in a letter of March 6, 1742, refers to the modern insistence on laws rather than discretion for rulers, from suspicion of the use they might make of it; the phrase was quoted approvingly by Oliver Goldsmith and Edmund Burke, but attacked by the future prime minister George Canning in the House of Commons in 1801.

such eminences that we hardly bother about them. The region seems healthy; but the scenery is unimpressive. We mourn the towering grandeur which surrounded and cheered our long painful ascent. Ah! if we could only find some new enormous berg rising towards the heavens as high above our plateau as those old mountains down below rose above the plains and marshes! We want a monarch peak, with base enormous, whose summit is forever hidden from our eyes by clouds, and down whose precipices cataracts of sparkling waters thunder. Unhappily the democratic plateau or platform does not keep that article in stock. Perhaps something like it might be worked up by playing spot-lights upon pillars of smoke or gas, and using the loud-speaker apparatus. But we soon see through these pretences.

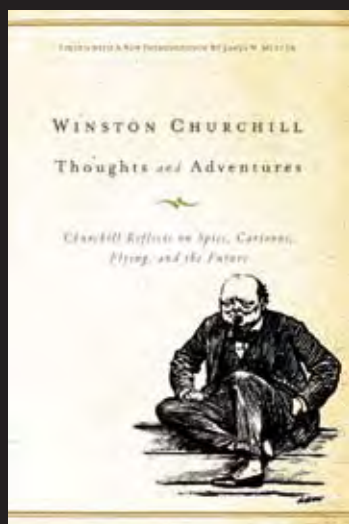
No, we must take the loss with the gain. On the uplands there are no fine peaks. We must do without them while we stay there. Of course we could always

if we wished go down again into the plains and valleys out of which we have climbed.

We may even wander thither unwittingly. We may slide there. We may be pushed there. There are still many powerful nations dwelling at these lower levels—some contentedly—some even proudly. They often declare that life in the valleys is preferable. There is, they say, more variety, more beauty, more grace, more dignity—more true health and fertility than upon the arid highlands. They say this middle situation is better suited to human nature. The arts flourish there, and science need not be absent. Moreover, it is pleasing to look back over the plains and morasses through which our path has lain in the past, and remember in tradition the great years of pilgrimage.

Then they point to the frowning crag, their venerated “El Capitan” or “Il Duce,”¹⁰ casting its majestic shadow in the evening light; and ask whether we have anything like that up there. We certainly have not.

¹⁰ Churchill visited California’s Yosemite Valley in September 1929, where he saw the sheer granite cliff called El Capitan, which means “the captain” in Spanish. The name was applied in Britain to various Turkish leaders, and later in Spain to Francisco Franco. Benito Mussolini styled himself “Il Duce,” which means “the leader” in Italian.



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CHARLES H. HOEFLICH: A LIFETIME OF SERVICE AND SUPPORT

In April 1956, a handful of men met at 407 Lafayette Building, a small office across the square from Independence Hall in Philadelphia. It was the home of ISI's first official headquarters, and the organization was getting down to business: updating its by-laws,



appointing key personnel, and establishing a board of trustees. Among those present that day were three men who would prove to be vital to the life of ISI for the next half a century.

First, there was E. Victor Milione, who would serve as ISI president for over twenty-five years and a trustee for over twenty more. Next was William F. Buckley Jr., ISI's first president, who would continue to be involved as a lecturer and advisor for decades to come. Finally, there was Charles H. Hoeflich, who still today, at

the age of ninety-five, remains an active ISI trustee. With the deaths of Milione and Buckley within just weeks of one another in 2008, Hoeflich is the only living founder of the Institute. After so many years of generous support and faithful service, he thinks back to his first involvement with ISI and is quick to state, "If I had had my wishes then, I certainly would have wanted to be a part of ISI fifty years later. I love ISI."

Hoeflich grew up just outside of Philadelphia, where his father, a 1910 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, owned a wholesale hardware company with national distribution. After graduating from West Philadelphia High School, Hoeflich won a scholarship to the Philadelphia College of Art. As he puts it, though, "It didn't take me long to see that Rembrandt I would never be." Thus, he decided to turn his love of economics and accounting into a career

path and enrolled in Wharton, the business school of the University of Pennsylvania.

As graduation approached, Hoeflich determined that he wanted to go into commercial banking and looked to get a job at Philadelphia National Bank (PNB). "It was the best commercial bank in the city," he recalls. But when Hoeflich went in and asked for a job, the cashier in charge of hiring told him that he never hired college graduates. After several visits and continued rebuffs, Hoeflich told the cashier: "I'll tell you what, I'm going out on the other side of the door, and I'm going to come in again, and we'll pretend that I'm just coming in out of high school." He left the bank, reentered, and was hired. "He must have liked my guts," Hoeflich says with a laugh over seventy years later. "I graduated from Wharton on June 10, 1936, and started at PNB on June 11." Hoeflich stayed at the bank for over twenty-five years, leaving only to serve for four years in the air transport command of the Air Force during World War II.

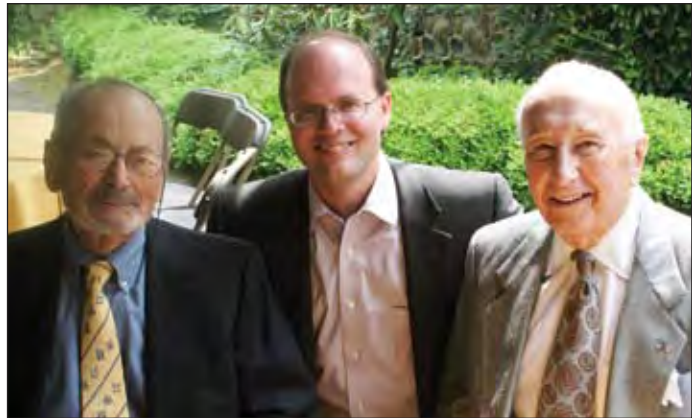
In 1962, the board of Souderton Bank, headquartered about thirty miles northwest of Philadelphia, solicited him to serve as head of their bank. "I told them, 'No thank you,' but they persisted," says Hoeflich. Finally, one of the trustees asked Hoeflich if he had prayed about the decision. Hoeflich told him no because he was afraid that God might say yes—"and I didn't want to go." But the trustee told him that if God said no, they would understand and stop asking. Thus, Hoeflich agreed to pray about it, and additionally solicited prayers from

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two close friends and his pastor. “Inside of forty-eight hours, I had so many leadings that I said, ‘Oh, let me up, I’ll go.’” And go he did, leaving behind the life he loved in the city: lunches at the Union League, evenings at the orchestra, shopping at Wanamaker’s department store, and many close friends in high places. “People thought I was crazy,” he says. But just a month after moving to the Pennsylvania countryside, he took a day off to return to the city, and recalls, “When I got in my car to go home, I could not wait to get back here.”

In his over twenty years as the head of Souderton Bank (now Univest), Hoeflich built it from a small enterprise with \$14 million in commercial loans and \$2.2 million in trust assets into a complete financial holding company with \$2 billion in commercial paper and a \$1 billion trust function. Although he officially retired more than two decades ago, he continues to sit on all policy committees for the bank and still chairs two of them. He also keeps up with several accounts, including the historic Piper Tavern, just a few miles from his house, where he first dined in 1924 on the way to summer camp with his parents. A frequent customer—as well as financial advisor—since his move to Bucks County, he can tell you just about anything you want to know about the quaint 1778 tavern, down to where it gets its meats and coffee. This continued dedication to Univest clientele embodies the bank’s mission to know its customers personally and maintain deep ties to the local community. In an era of national buy-outs and mergers, Univest has remained one of the strongest locally based financial institutions in southeastern Pennsylvania, thanks in large part to Hoeflich’s leadership and example. As George Anders wrote in a *Wall Street Journal* article on businesses gaining wisdom from older directors, “For an extreme example of staying power as the years pile up, it is hard to beat Mr. Hoeflich,” with his “timeless advice” and “lessons of a seventy-year career in banking.”

The same rings true for Hoeflich’s relationship with ISI. After more than fifty years on the board of



The closest of friends and staunchest of ISI supporters, E. Victor Milione, left, and Charles Hoeflich, right, talked daily for years. They are pictured here with ISI Senior Vice President Jeffrey O. Nelson in May 2006.

trustees—including over ten years as chairman of the board and over forty years as secretary-treasurer—there is no one whose ongoing involvement with the organization surpasses his. “Since coming to ISI as CEO in 1989,” relates current president T. Kenneth Cribb Jr., “I have never made an important decision regarding ISI’s future without Charles Hoeflich’s exquisite counsel. Charlie has been intimately involved in every stride forward that ISI has made in its mission to ‘Educate for Liberty.’”

AFTER MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS
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Hoeflich was introduced to ISI by E. Victor Milione—ISI’s first official staff member and long-time president. The two men met in the early 1950s through Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System (ACES). Hoeflich was on the board of trustees and Milione worked for the group, bringing economic

“I CAN DEPEND ON ISI TO GO DOWN THE ROAD I WANT IT TO GO AND TO TEACH YOUNG PEOPLE WHAT THEY NEED TO KNOW TO MOVE THIS COUNTRY FORWARD.”

education programs to high schools and service clubs in the greater Philadelphia area. “We sat next to each other at the meetings,” recalls Hoeflich, “and got chummy.” When Milione left ACES to help ISI founder Frank Chodorov promote what was then known as the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, he asked Hoeflich to be on the board. “I was just wild enough to say yes,” he says. “I liked the name.” As well as being elected a “founder member” of the board, he was unanimously chosen to serve as secretary-treasurer at the April 1956 meeting. He held that position until 1997, when he was named secretary-treasurer emeritus. Hoeflich also served as chairman of the board on two separate occasions, seeing ISI through transitions in leadership as well as the many financial challenges associated with governing a nonprofit organization.

Hoeflich is full of memories about the early days of ISI, including meeting at a racquet ball club before ISI had its own offices and the evening he lent William F. Buckley Jr. his driver’s license so that Buckley could rent a car to drive back to New York City after missing the last train from Philadelphia due to a late-night ISI meeting. “Thankfully, he got it right back to me within a day or two,” Hoeflich chuckles.



Hoeflich has lived on Elderberry Farm for almost fifty years, preserving the original house, which dates back to 1711, and cultivating the fields and gardens.

When asked if there are any ISI programs that he has been particularly fond of over the years, Hoeflich replies immediately: “Yes, all of them. There’s no ISI project that I have not been fond of.” He gives three primary reasons for his devotion to ISI. First, because it promotes conservative principles. Second, because its mission is spiritually oriented. “I pray every night,” he says, “that everything ISI says, does, and prints will be godly.” Finally, he says, “ISI does what it says it’s going to do. I can depend on ISI to go down the road I want it to go and to teach young people what they need to know to move this country forward. At ninety-five, I’m placing my bet on the new generation through ISI.”

In recognition of his invaluable contributions to the Institute, Hoeflich was awarded ISI’s lifetime achievement award in 2000. At the same time, the board unanimously resolved to rename the award in his honor. Subsequent recipients of the Charles H. Hoeflich Lifetime Achievement Award include: Gerhart Niemeyer, author and political philosopher; William F. Buckley Jr., founder of *National Review*; Richard A. Ware, longtime president of the Relm and Earhart foundations; M. Stanton Evans, author and founder of the National Journalism Center; and most recently, Edwin J. Feulner Jr., president of the Heritage Foundation.

These days, when he’s not still serving Univest or ISI in some capacity, Hoeflich enjoys reading, entertaining visitors at his forty-acre Elderberry Farm (with a house dating back to 1711), and spending time in prayer in the gardens that he has been cultivating for over forty years. “There’s nothing more joyful to me than to sit where I’m sitting right now,” he says from a shaded bench surrounded by cornfields and an assortment of rhododendron, holly, aspens, and other varieties of his favorite trees and plants. After a lifetime of service and support to Univest, ISI, and countless other good causes, Hoeflich has undoubtedly earned every moment of peace he now finds at Elderberry Farm.

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THE EPITOME OF AN ISI FACULTY ASSOCIATE: DR. ANDREW TADIE

“Almost everyone remembers a professor in college who had a transformational impact on your life. The professor’s questions stimulated some of your most profound thoughts; his erudition was comprehensive; even his turns of phrase were small works of art. But more than that, the professor’s whole manner communicated an ethos: the nobility and



Tadie spoke on Roman virtues in Cicero and Virgil at a 2006 ISI conference on “The Classical Spirit: Greece, Rome, and America” in Southern California.

elevation of the life of the mind. Well, for hundreds of students at Seattle University, Dr. Tadie has been that professor. And through the ISI Honors Program, he has been that professor for dozens and dozens of top-flight students around the country as well.”

So states Mark C. Henrie, ISI’s senior vice president and chief academic officer, when reflecting upon the influence of Dr. Andrew Tadie, professor of English at Seattle University. For over forty years, Tadie has been involved with ISI, first as a student member and then as a Faculty Associate—mentoring ISI Honors Fellows, lecturing at ISI conferences, hosting ISI events, and introducing hundreds of new students to the Institute’s programs and publications.

A native of Illinois, Tadie earned a bachelor’s degree in classics from John Carroll University before graduating from Bradley University with a master’s

degree in English. It was his mentor at Bradley who first introduced him to ISI. “In 1967, he gave me a copy of the *Intercollegiate Review*,” recalls Tadie, “and I have been a subscriber ever since.” In 1972, he completed his Ph.D. in English literature—with emphasis on Renaissance, nineteenth-century, and twentieth-century literature—at St. Louis University.

Soon after his first teaching appointment, Tadie was invited to become an ISI Faculty Associate. These faculty are more than just ISI members—they play an active role in promoting ISI’s mission on their campuses (and others nearby), and they often attend numerous national ISI events. For decades, Tadie has been the epitome of an ISI Faculty Associate.

He is a staple in the ISI Honors Program, having participated in the year-long mentorship program since its very first year. He is a frequent ISI lecturer, has hosted numerous ISI events on his campus, and has helped organize two national conferences. As a member of the awards committee, he annually reviews applications for ISI’s Richard M. Weaver Fellowship. He also is a founding director of the Seattle Chesterton Society, which is sponsored in part by ISI. And Tadie has continued the tradition of his own academic mentor, distributing copies of the *Intercollegiate Review* to his students for more than three decades. He has led hundreds of students to ISI, some of whom have even become ISI employees.

“BECAUSE OF ISI, STUDENTS
DISCOVER INTELLECTUALLY
STIMULATING ALTERNATIVES,
PERENNIAL IDEAS WORTHY OF
REFLECTIVE ENGAGEMENT
AND SERIOUS DEBATE.”

“In my experience, two types of students find their association with ISI invaluable,” states Tadie. “First, there are those who come to the university as freshmen already convinced of the importance of pursuing the intellectual life and of developing further their own character; because of ISI, they discover that their undergraduate years need not be a solitary, lonely enterprise. Second are those who come to their chosen university eagerly, but without direction. Thus, they are susceptible to drifting in that ever-present and ever-passing stream of fashionable but momentary enthusiasms; because of ISI, they discover intellectually stimulating alternatives, perennial ideas worthy of reflective engagement and serious debate.”

Tadie is a member of Seattle University’s English faculty, and he also teaches courses for the university’s Honors Program, Matteo Ricci College, and the Faith and Great Ideas Program, which he founded in 1993 (and directed until three years ago). He also founded and still leads the university’s marksmanship club, which is one of the oldest and largest continuing student groups on campus. A G. K. Chesterton scholar, he has coedited with Michael Macdonald *G.K. Chesterton and C.S. Lewis: The Riddle of Joy*, as well as a popular collection of essays titled *Permanent Things: Toward the Recovery of a More Human Scale at the End of the Twentieth Century*.

ISI twice has recognized his contributions both to



Since the program’s inception in 1995, Tadie (front right) annually has served as an ISI Honors Program lecturer and mentor. This 2004 conference was in Oxford, England.

ISI and to the Seattle University campus, first with the Will Herberg Award for Outstanding Faculty Service and then with the Richard and Helen DeVos Freedom Center Leadership Award. As much as ISI is grateful for Tadie, Tadie is grateful for ISI: “As the Roman poet Horace said famously, the purpose of a superior poem

“ISI IS THE PLACE WHERE I MEET
COLLEAGUES FROM MANY DISCI-
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BY NORMS OF POLITICAL
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is to teach and to delight; my association with ISI is much like experiencing a great poem. Because of ISI I have learned much—from books and articles I would not have otherwise read—and I have delighted much, conversing with fellow faculty, promising students, and ISI personnel I would not have otherwise met.”

“Perhaps even more than at my own university,” he continues, “ISI is the place where I meet colleagues from many disciplines to discuss freely, respectfully, and intelligently ideas—both ancient and modern—in a milieu unrestricted by norms of political correctness.”



Tadie speaking with an ISI donor at a 2008 seminar in Seattle.



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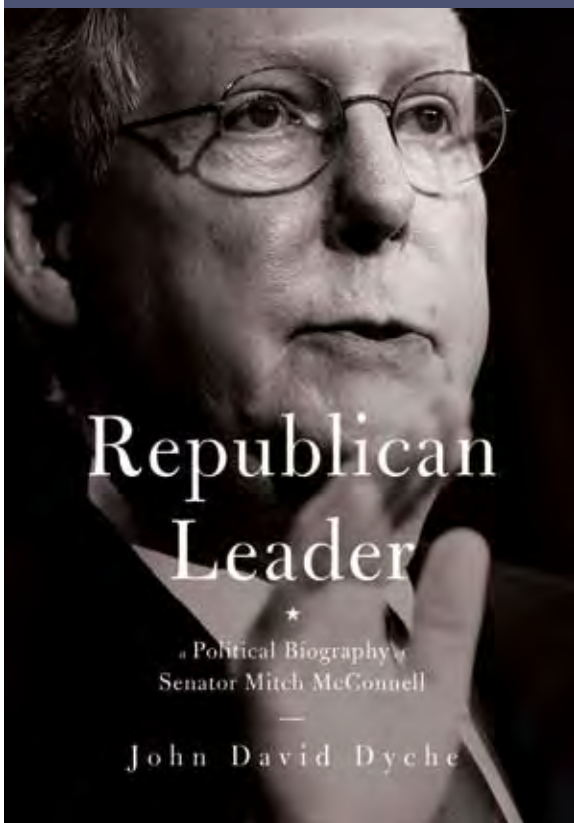
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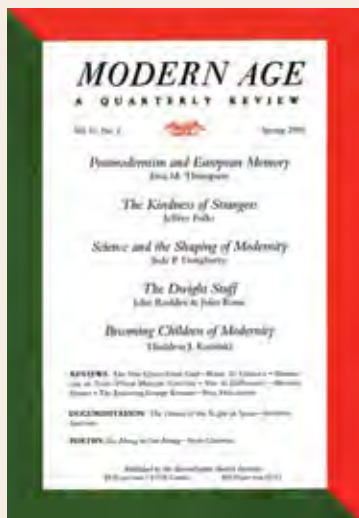
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Our Sacred Honor

BY SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS

For many, the phrase “our sacred Honor” is a concept from another time and another culture, like binding the feet or entombing a pharaoh in a pyramid, so remote as to have little personal significance two centuries later. But to those fifty-six who signed the Declaration, there was great personal future significance.

I have entitled my address “Our Sacred Honor” and the text lies in our country’s Declaration of Independence: “And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence we mutually pledge our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.”

This earnest oath which concludes the Declaration of Independence may sound strange to our ears today. To be sure, we still go through the ritual of making vows in various ceremonies—the pledge of fidelity in taking the oath of public office; the assertion with a hand on the Bible that we will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth in court; and the promise to forsake all others until death do us part in the wedding rites—but the news and social statistics suggest that many people do not really take these vows seriously.

As for pledging one’s life and one’s fortune and really meaning it, most of us would probably have difficulty identifying any fifty-six living Americans who would seriously volunteer such a commitment despite the fact that the population from which we would choose the fifty-six is almost a hundred times more numerous. Turning to that final phrase, “our sacred Honor,” it is for many a concept from another time and another culture, like binding the feet or entombing a pharaoh in a pyramid, so remote as to have little personal significance two centuries later. But to those fifty-six who signed, there was great personal future significance.



Right: John Trumbull's painting, Declaration of Independence, depicting the five-man drafting committee of the Declaration presenting their work to Congress.

As T. R. Fahrenbach recounts in *Greatness to Spare*, nine signers died of wounds or hardships during the Revolutionary War. Five were captured or imprisoned, in some cases with brutal treatment. The wives, sons, and daughters of others were killed, jailed, mistreated, persecuted, or left penniless. One was driven from his wife's deathbed and lost all his children. The houses of twelve signers were burned to the ground. Seventeen lost everything they owned.

Every signer was proscribed as a traitor; every one was hunted. Most were driven into flight; most were at one time or another barred from their families or their homes. Most were offered immunity, freedom, rewards, their property, or the lives and release of loved ones to break their pledged word or to take the king's protection. Their fortunes were forfeit, but their honor was not. No signer defected or changed his stand throughout the darkest hours.

It is cruelly evident that the pledge they made was not a perfunctory assent to a rhetorical flourish of Thomas Jefferson's pen; it was an earnest commitment entered into by thoughtful, pious, and intrepid men.

Let us return now to the last phrase, "our sacred Honor," and try to understand what it meant to them. First of all, the term refers to a concept of virtue and the sincere effort to live and act according to the concept. Although the leaders of the American Revolution came from vastly differing backgrounds, they had a remarkable commonality in what they regarded as the components of virtue. Aristocrats and commoners, plantation-owners and city dwellers, members of diverse churches and varying professions, they held similar views about the code of conduct that should guide one's life.

Religion played a dominant part in their personal as well as their political philosophy.

Washington's public speeches and private correspondence are interwoven with sincere religious supplications. Indeed, most of the leaders of the revolutionary period made genuine and devout reference to God in their various statements, almost as frequently as some of today's leaders use God's name irreverently and profanely in their daily language.

Patrick Henry listed the principles that guided his life, taken in large part from the *Book of Common Prayer*:

- To be true and just in my dealings.
- To bear no malice or hatred in my heart.
- To keep my hands from picking and stealing.



Shelby Cullom Davis (1909–94) was a New York investment banker, philanthropist, and United States ambassador to Switzerland under presidents Nixon and Ford (1969–75). He heartily believed that "democracy is something you don't take for granted" and devoted his life to promoting free enterprise and traditional American values. Through the Kathryn W. Davis Foundation and the Shelby Cullom Davis Fund, the Davis family has awarded millions of dollars to organizations and causes that support these beliefs. "Our Sacred Honor" was presented by Mr. Davis at Windsor Castle.

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- Not to covet other men’s goods, but to learn and labor truly to get my own livings, and to do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call me.

John Adams wrote in his diary at the time he began his legal training, “The study and the practice of law, I am sure, does not dissolve the obligation of morality and religion.”

Such comments, in our era of cynicism, may sound stilted and self-conscious and self-righteous, but in those days the cultivation and preservation of character was a paramount goal of both religious and secular education, accepted and fervently supported by most of the leadership of the society. Alexander Hamilton reflects this orthodoxy in a letter to a friend. Having had to go to work at the age of eleven, he hoped for better things than he found in his modest job at an accounting firm. “I condemn the groveling existence of a clerk,” he wrote, “and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my station.”

The concern for righteous conduct was even embodied in the Virginia Bill of Rights adopted by the Virginia Assembly in June 1776. Included was the statement, “No free government or blessing of liberty can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue.”

Far easier, we suppose, to expect the government to impose such virtue as we must have than for each citizen to take upon himself the strenuous burden of a virtuous life.

It is time to recognize that doing one’s own thing is totally incompatible with responsible liberty. This, I believe, is what Solzhenitsyn had in mind when he said, “I insist that the problems of the West are not political.

They are psychological and moral.”

Before offering some thoughts about the significance of this concept for us today, it may be useful to identify certain key elements within the colonial conception of honorable conduct which were believed indispensable to the existence of responsible freedom. They are self-discipline, self-reliance, respect for the law, and respect for private property, all pervaded by an unselfish concern for the public good.

Times unfortunately have changed. Morality has been scoffed and scorned into a small corner. Certainly no responsible observer of this society would judge any of the four—self-discipline, self-reliance, respect for the law, or respect for private property—to be a dominant characteristic of our nation today. These traits are on the wane.

As Milton, the great poet, wrote several hundred years ago:

But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt
And by their vices brought to servitude,
Than to love bondage more than liberty—
Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty.

Far easier, we suppose, to expect the government to impose such virtue as we must have than for each citizen to take upon himself the strenuous burden of a virtuous life. It is time to recognize that doing one’s own thing is totally incompatible with responsible liberty. This, I believe, is what Alexander Solzhenitsyn



This John Trumbull painting depicts the British major general Charles Cornwallis surrendering to French and American forces after the Siege of Yorktown during the Revolutionary War.

had in mind when he said, “I insist that the problems of the West are not political. They are psychological and moral.” And Solzhenitsyn continued: “A loss of courage may be the most striking feature in the West in our days. The Western world has lost its civil courage, both as a whole and separately, in each country, each government, each political party, and of course in the United Nations.... Should one point out that from ancient times decline in courage has been considered the beginning of the end?”

In higher education today, the reigning philosophy is governed by a value-free concept. How the student, and everyone else, behaves is his own business. Every view of everything is granted equal status and the only offense is to insist that one view is more important than the others. The results of such a philosophy are predictable. Self-discipline lapses if there are no acknowledged evils to avoid.

There is no incentive to self-reliance if there is no acknowledged concept of human dignity. If a law is found inconvenient, one simply disregards it. Value-free education simply annuls virtue, for virtuous conduct requires a specific understanding of what is right and what is wrong, and behavior consistent with that understanding. Value-free education leaves everyone free to indulge his whims and his passions without regard to the laws or the general welfare. It is a blueprint for anarchy, and, to some extent, an unintentional training ground for crime.

I think it is useful to try to understand the change in education philosophy that has taken place over the last years. The ascendancy of value-free education was not the result of mere perverseness. It has generated great support precisely because it represents the fulfillment of one of the most fundamental principles of liberty—what might be called the political principle. That principle, reinforced by the First Amendment, asserts that every citizen has the right to his own beliefs, to express them publicly, and to engage in partisan activities on their behalf. This is, and must continue to be, the right of a free citizen.

There is, however, another principle of liberty, of a least equal importance, that sometimes stands in conflict with the political principle. It is the educa-

There is no incentive to self-reliance if there is no acknowledged concept of human dignity. If a law is found inconvenient, one simply disregards it. Value-free education simply annuls virtue, for virtuous conduct requires a specific understanding of what is right and what is wrong, and behavior consistent with that understanding.

tion principle. It assumes that man can learn from experience, that knowledge has something to teach ignorance, that informed judgment should prevail over raw judgment. Unfortunately, the political principle has to a great extent overwhelmed the educational principle and our society finds itself tormented by the moral shambles that have resulted.

It is short-sighted to permit some of the colleges to become moral swamps where the students may defy the law of the land—using illegal drugs with little fear of interference, indulging in promiscuity with the full blessing of the administration—and without reprisal or rebuff engage in organized effrontery to speakers or others who have come to campus on legitimate business. As Bishop Bayne of Washington once said, “There is no such thing as moral neutrality. The person who does not stand firmly in behalf of that which is right, stands effectively in behalf of that which is wrong.”

American historian Andrew Hacker, author of *The End of the Era*, asserts: “Only a few decades remain to complete the era America will have known as a nation. For the United States has embarked on its decline since the closing days of the Second World War.... It is too late in our history to restore order or re-establish authority: the American temperament has passed the point where self-interest can subordinate itself to citizenship.”

Another writer points out that when he was a boy, England was the number one world empire. It never occurred to anyone then that Britain might be living out the last years of its greatness.

A century before that, he noted, France—under Napoleon—was the number one world power. And before that? Spain, Rome, Greece, Egypt, Babylon, and many other nations, once great, some of which are now lost from the face of the earth.

The average span of the world’s great civilizations has been 200 years. It is a sobering fact that the United States is now more than 200 years old. This cycle of decline and decay is not inevitable. It depends on us! How much do we love our country?

Edward Gibbon, the English historian and author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, wrote why Roman civilization withered and died:

- The sanctity of the home was undermined.
- Higher and higher taxes; the spending of public money for free bread and circuses for the populace.
- The mad craze for pleasure; sports becoming every year more exciting, more brutal, more immoral.
- The building of armaments when the real enemy was within...the decay of individual responsibility.
- The decline of religion, faith fading into mere form, losing touch with life, losing the power to guide people.

These nations passed through the following sequence: from bondage to spiritual faith; from spiritual faith to great courage; from courage to liberty; from liberty to abundance to self-indulgence; from self-indulgence to complacency; from complacency to

apathy; from apathy to dependence; from dependence back again to bondage.

The average span of the world’s great civilizations has been 200 years. It is a sobering fact that the United States is now more than 200 years old. This cycle of decline and decay is not inevitable. It depends on us! How much do we love our country?

May I close with a few lines from the sonnet of Josiah Gilbert Holland:

God give us men! A time like this demands
 Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and
 ready hands;
 Men whom the lust of office does not kill!
 Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
 Men who possess opinions and a will;
 Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
 Men who can stand before a demagogue,
 And damn his treacherous flatteries without
 winking;
 Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
 In public duty and in private thinking.

For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn
 creeds,
 Their large professions, and their little deeds,
 Mingle in selfish strife, Lo! Freedom weeps,
 Wrong rules the land, and waiting justice sleeps.

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75	6.3%	65	70	5.0%
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TEACHING AMERICAN POLITICS IN THE MODERN UNIVERSITY

Lee Trepanier is an associate professor of political science at Saginaw Valley State University and an academic fellow at the Russell Kirk Center. At SVSU, he teaches courses in political philosophy, as well as the introduction to political science and world politics courses. He received his B.A. in political science and English literature—with a minor in Russian studies—at Marquette University. He then earned his M.A. and Ph.D. in political science at Louisiana State University.

There is a growing movement to dispense with the study of American politics as a distinct subfield of political science. Citing the increasingly global integration of politics, economics, and culture, a significant number of political scientists



argue that faculty should no longer study regimes as their own separate subfields, but rather as part of a broader nexus of transnational institutions and actors. The United States, accordingly, should be studied as one of many types of regimes that participate in a globalized community. In other words, the subfield of American politics should be abolished, with its subject incorporated into the broader field of compara-

tive politics. Such is the current pedagogical trend in political science.

At the September 2009 national meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), four alumni of ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center presented a counter-perspective about the role of American politics in political science pedagogy. Gerson Moreno-Riano of Regent University, Joseph Fornieri of the Rochester Institute of Technology, Rouven Steeves of the U.S. Air Force Academy, and I conducted a four-hour seminar examining the importance of American politics as a distinct subfield. At the same time, we demonstrated the relevance of American politics to the dynamic and global nature of contemporary politics and the discipline of politi-

cal science as a whole. We argued that the teaching of American politics should instill a strong understanding of local and national domestic principles and politics while recognizing the reality of globalization and its impact on American politics. Contrary to the pedagogical trend within the broader discipline, we made the case that the distinctive nature of the American regime requires a separate subfield in the study of political science.

Political scientists have always carved out a special place for the study of particular regimes. In the first chapter of Book IV of the *Politics*, Aristotle categorizes the study of regimes into four types: the best regime itself, the best regime generally, the best regime for the circumstances available, and the best regime based on a presupposition. These four categories correspond to the four traditional subfields in the pedagogy of American political science: political theory, international politics, comparative politics, and American politics. The study of the best regime is the purview of political theory; the study of the best regime generally is the realm of international politics; the study of the best regime for the circumstances available is the subject of comparative politics; and the best regime based on a presupposition is the field of American politics.

The fact that Aristotle lists the best regime based on a presupposition as a subject of study for political scientists reveals something important about the nature of the social sciences. Like the physician, the political scientist must have experience particular to individuals as well as general knowledge: An adequate social science requires both a class of cases and a general theory, with neither reduced to the other. The reason one needs both particular cases and a general theory is that the social sciences are relatively imprecise when compared to the natural sciences. Rather than relying

upon mathematical formulas, the social scientist must rely upon the proper habituation of his character and judgment to evaluate social and political phenomena. To learn about a regime rooted in a particular presupposition requires maturity and judgment, preferably developed through direct experience of that regime, and not merely quantitative analysis.

American politics, therefore, cannot be studied like any other regime, because its presupposition—its ideological character, its unique culture, its peculiar historical and political development—makes it non-quantifiable and to a certain extent noncomparable. American politics falls into the class of cases rather than general theory. This is neither to deny the influence of globalization upon the American regime nor to suggest that the American regime exists as an isolated wonder. Of course, the effects of globalization impact the United States, but it will be felt differently here than in other countries because of its distinctive character; and of course, the American regime exists within a tradition stretching back to classical antiquity. Thus, how certain ideas are translated into the American experience is peculiar and particular to the regime. In essence, what is needed is a study of globalization and tradition through the lens of the American regime.

To study globalization and tradition from the perspective of the United States makes not only theoretical sense; it also serves the proper end of education. For Aristotle, the purpose of social science is not merely to gain understanding of a regime or regimes, but to undertake an inquiry for the sake of acting and living well. If one expects one's students to live good and noble lives—not to mention to become good citizens—then they must learn about the particular and unique nature of their regime. To learn American politics only as part of a comparative study of regimes



Lee Trepanier, second from left, gathered with other political theorists and historians during the Lehrman American Studies Center's fifth annual Summer Institute at Princeton University.

is to deny students knowledge of how to become good citizens and good people in their own regime: For if the American regime is simply one of many, why should anyone adhere to its founding principles? Every regime has founding principles. Why should one become a good citizen when he can become a cosmopolite instead? What is the point of living in America when one can move somewhere else?

If teachers sincerely want their students to become good citizens and virtuous people, then they must

TO LEARN AMERICAN POLITICS
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STUDY OF REGIMES IS TO DENY
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OWN REGIME.

teach about their regime as a peculiar entity, while at the same time revealing its global and traditional context. American politics must remain a separate subfield within the discipline of political science, not only for theoretical and pedagogical reasons, but also to cultivate virtue and good citizenship.

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AND ONLINE PROGRAMMING IS A
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PRESSING CONCERNS.

Despite mounting resistance, the study of American politics is still alive. Presentations like the one sponsored by the Lehrman American Studies Center at the meeting of the APSA provide a sorely needed counter-perspective about what constitutes American

politics and how it should be taught. Contemporary trends that deny the American regime's unique pre-suppositions make our efforts all the more important. Fortunately, the Lehrman Center's combination of in-person and online programming is a great help to faculty teaching the American regime within the context of an enduring tradition and pressing concerns. Approaching the study of the American regime from an interdisciplinary perspective—history, politics, philosophy, and economics—the Lehrman Center provides college teachers with a context to discover what is unique about the American regime and how best to teach the foundational principles of ordered liberty. We need this help now more than ever.



Photo by Richard Masloski


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THE LAST WORD

by Jeffrey O. Nelson

Economic education has come increasingly under scrutiny in the wake of perhaps the greatest financial crisis since the Great Depression. Modern economic and finance theory is largely to blame for fostering the conditions that led to the recent financial meltdown. The overblown significance placed on abstract modeling and propositional knowledge that is the hallmark of contemporary economic education has led to much mischief in the public realm.


One of the most widely read critics of this kind of business education is Nassim Taleb, author of the best-selling book *The Black Swan*. It was once dogmatically believed, and empirically demonstrated, that all swans were white; that is, until the sighting of a black swan in Australia. The limitedness of human knowledge was demonstrated by the improbable appearance of a black swan. For Taleb, modern economic theory does not take into account randomness, improbability, unpredictability. And yet the impact of such black swans can be massive. After the fact, says Taleb, the theorists generally regroup and develop explanations that attempt to make the event seem less random than it appeared.

Modern economic and finance theory has been premised on predictability, on the view that economics is a science much like engineering. It is thought that markets can be theorized, that a general overarching model can capture human behavior and predict human action. Incredibly, many academics and their “practitioners” teach that

their theories, their models should not be judged on how realistic their assumptions are. It is not hard to imagine how the recent credit and financial crisis was instigated.

ISI has always moved against this tide. It has argued that economics must be grounded in an understanding of the complexity of human nature and the finitude of our knowledge. Against the utilitarians, ISI has sought to advance a view of man as something more than a self-interested economic agent. Against the positivists, ISI has warned against viewing man as a statistical unit, a mathematical category, which denies the premises of human nature and leads, in one instance, to biological tampering with man’s very nature in a Petri dish. Ironically, the drive toward math management of the economy, espoused by many freedom-loving economists, often forms collectivist minds with the powerful myth that in models lay control and planning for man, economy, and state. (Think Larry Summers!)

ISI was born in the early 1950s to counter economic errors and sophisms. Today, it is redoubling its commitment to sound economic education. A circumscribed role for the state follows from a proper appreciation of the complexity of human nature. Man cannot be reduced to formulas. A return to economic history, for example, would be one important step in reining in the mad economic pseudo-scientists in our midst and allowing, once again, for black swans.

 *Jeffrey O. Nelson is chief marketing officer and senior vice president of ISI.*

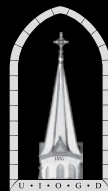
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