

THE CANON

SPRING 2005

• THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE'S
MEMBER AND ALUMNI MAGAZINE

INSIDE:

THE AMERICAN CAUSE

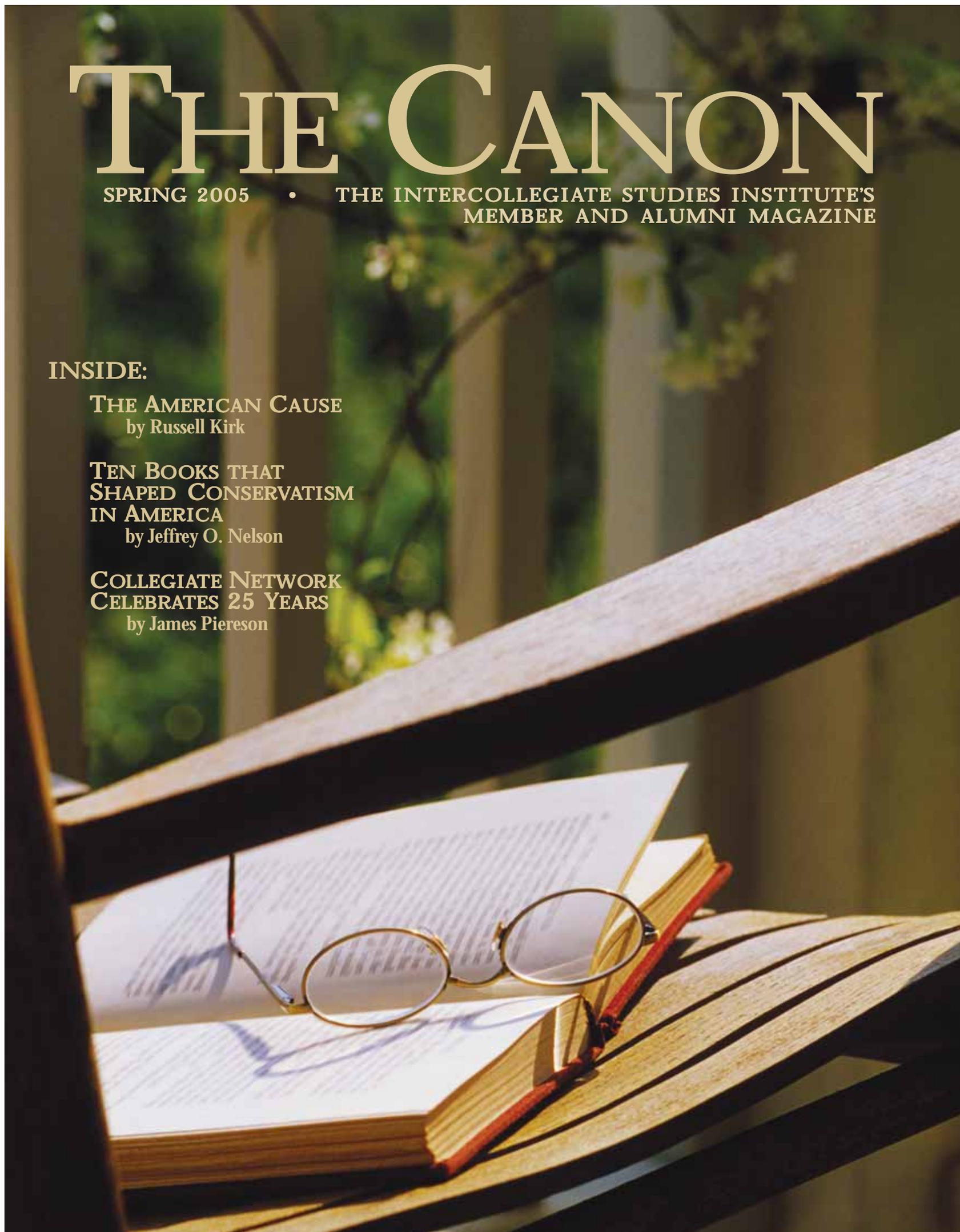
by Russell Kirk

TEN BOOKS THAT SHAPED CONSERVATISM IN AMERICA

by Jeffrey O. Nelson

COLLEGIATE NETWORK CELEBRATES 25 YEARS

by James Piereson



ISI AT A GLANCE

Theologian, author, and former U.S. ambassador Michael Novak, right, spoke at ISI's F. M. Kirby Campus in December. The topic of his lecture, "On Two Wings: Humble Faith and Common Sense in the American Founding," is also the title of one of his books, published in 2001 and reprinted in 2003.



Fred Barnes of the Weekly Standard, pictured above with two of ISI's Collegiate Network student journalists, was one of the many special guests at the CN's twenty-fifth anniversary celebration in Washington, D.C., last December. Above right: Students, including those pictured with CN program officer Kellie Smith, traveled to the nation's capital from campuses across the country. Right: Also attending the event were Roger Ream of the Fund for American Studies, Annette Kirk of the Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal, Stanley Kurtz of the Hoover Institution, and Matthew Spaulding of the Heritage Foundation.



In January, twelve outstanding undergraduate students gathered in San Jose, California, to discuss the relationship between liberty and community as part of the colloquium, "American Universities and Principles of Liberty in the Twenty-First Century," co-sponsored by ISI and Liberty Fund, Inc.



THE CANON • SPRING 2005

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE

CONTENTS

FEATURES

- 10 THE AMERICAN CAUSE: THE NEED FOR PRINCIPLES • Russell Kirk
A short reflection on the role principles play in the governance of a nation and the political, economic, and religious principles that uphold our nation.
- 20 RECALLING A TRADITION: TEN BOOKS THAT SHAPED CONSERVATISM IN AMERICA • Jeffrey O. Nelson
Ten foundational texts of modern American conservatism and a brief history of the conservative movement since World War II.
- 26 COLLEGIATE NETWORK CELEBRATES 25 YEARS OF CONSERVATIVE COLLEGE JOURNALISM
Remarks by Dr. James Piereson, executive director of the John M. Olin Foundation, from the Collegiate Network's twenty-fifth anniversary celebration.



THE CANON

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PROGRAMS

- 7 WHAT IS THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN A FREE SOCIETY?
ISI INAUGURATES NEW DEBATE SERIES
- 8 WESLEYAN REVEALED: COLUMNIST JOHN LEO ON
COLLEGIATE DECADENCE

DEVELOPMENT

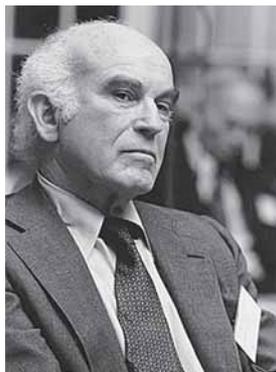
- 16 LEGACY GIFT MEMORIALIZES EMINENT CONSERVATIVE
HENRY PAOLUCCI AND ENDOWS NEW ISI BOOK AWARD

ALUMNI

- 18 RECLAIMING HIGHER EDUCATION: ISI FACULTY ASSOCIATE
THOMAS CAVANAUGH SERVES THE GREATER GOOD
- 33 THE LAST WORD • Jeremy Beer

DEPARTMENTS

- 3 PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
- 4 ISI IN ACTION
- 6 CALENDAR OF EVENTS
- 31 THEN AND NOW: ISI THROUGH THE YEARS



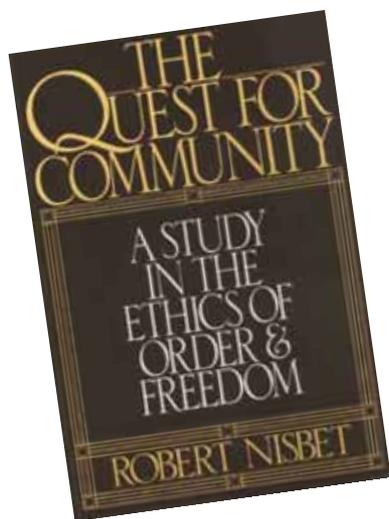
THE QUEST FOR COMMUNITY:

ROBERT NISBET AND THE
SEARCH FOR AMERICAN ORDER

The Intercollegiate Studies Institute invites you to the
2005 ISI ANNUAL SPRING LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
The Columbia Club • Indianapolis, Indiana

SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 2005

- 8:00 a.m. Registration
- 9:00 Welcome and program overview, Chad Kifer, ISI
- 9:15 *"Robert Nisbet and the Conservative Intellectual Tradition"*
Brad Lowell Stone, Oglethorpe University
- 10:30 *"Putting Locke Back in the Locke Box: Nisbet and the Emerging
Communitarian Coalition in America"*
Peter Augustine Lawler, Berry College
- 12:00 p.m. Lunch with presentation
"A Radical Economics?: Capitalism and State in Quest for Community"
Allan Carlson, Howard Center
- 2:30 *"Robert Nisbet and the French Conservative Tradition"*
Christopher Blum, Christendom College
- 3:45 *"The New Communitarians and the Crisis of Modern Liberalism"*
Bruce Frohnen, Ave Maria Law School
- 4:45 Closing remarks and panel questions, Rear Admiral Michael Ratliff, ISI



PROGRAM OVERVIEW

In his seminal work, *Quest for Community* (1953), Robert Nisbet asserted that the twentieth century's preoccupation with community is a result of the erosion of intermediate institutions—the family, neighborhoods, religious associations, and voluntary groups—precipitated by the structure and activities of the modern state. Such intermediary institutions traditionally served as a protective social layer between the individual and the power of the state, providing a foundation for genuine freedom.

Join ISI's best and brightest students and faculty for this day-long networking and leadership conference on *Quest for Community*. Seating is limited, so register today by calling Kelly Heinz at (800) 526-7022.

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LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT



In “The Need for Principles,” a chapter in Russell Kirk’s *American Cause*, Kirk reminds us that “nearly everything we have is produced and sheltered by the moral and intellectual assumptions that people take for granted.” Often we are made aware of these ideas and assumptions only through the written word, through books informed by the ages. Whether they recall fictional stories or historical facts, good books, as Jeremy Beer notes in “The Last Word,” “bring us out of ourselves...making us listen.” When we listen, we learn, and upon learning, we act.

This issue of THE CANON explores the relationship between ideas, books, and action in a variety of ways. For over fifty years, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute has promoted the ideas that animate a free society, and we have put these ideas into action through student seminars, campus lecture programs, debate series, graduate fellowships, and the publication of high-quality books and journals. These programs work together to “Educate for Liberty.”

One core element of our educational program, the Collegiate Network, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 2004. Through the years, thousands of CN student journalists have “raised the banner of liberty and reason” on college campuses, as James Piereson explains in his remarks from the anniversary celebration, which appear in this issue. To have served this mission for so long is a great accomplishment, evidenced by the comments of CN students who attended the celebration:

- “I cannot express how valuable the CN has been to me and my campus publication. Without the CN’s support, our publication wouldn’t exist.”
- “Without the Collegiate Network, conservatism—our voices—and true intellectual diversity would have no place on our campus. Our paper literally would not exist without the support of the CN.”
- “As a senior editor this year, I’ve become only more and more aware of how important the CN’s coaching is to us—and more motivated to use the resources they provide and be grateful to those who are investing so much into our success.”

As ISI continues in our 50th Anniversary Campaign to renew the American tradition of teaching each generation of college students the principles that sustain a free and humane society, we thank you, our supporters, for your contribution to the success of these students.

Sincerely,

T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr.
President

ISI IN ACTION

ISI'S JACK MILLER CENTER TEACHES AMERICA'S FIRST PRINCIPLES

Chicago businessman and philanthropist Jack Miller has pledged a major gift to ISI for a new national center that will promote the teaching of America's founding principles on college campuses across the country. The Miller Center will support professors who are committed to civic literacy by providing them with the training they need to overcome university politics, the time they need to design and implement educational programs in America's first principles, and the financial support they need to bring these plans to fruition. For more information about the Miller Center and its programs, contact Mike Ratliff, ISI's vice president of programs, at (800) 526-7022.

ISI BOOKS IN TRANSLATION

The publication in late 2004 of the Italian edition of ISI Books' *West and the Rest* by Roger Scruton was the latest in a string of translations of this important and timely book. It has now been published in five foreign countries, including the United Kingdom, Poland, Romania, and Belgium.

Other ISI Books titles translated and published



The Italian edition of *West and the Rest*.

abroad include: Brad Lowell Stone's *Robert Nisbet*, John Zmirak's *Wilhelm Ropke*, Robert George's *Clash of Orthodoxies*, and Russell Hittinger's *First Grace*, which are all being translated into Italian by two different publishers. Doug Bandow and David L. Schindler's edited collection, *Wealth, Poverty, and Human Destiny*, is being translated into Portuguese and will be

published by a Brazilian press. Currently, publishers in China, Japan, Spain, the Czech Republic, and Denmark are considering publishing other ISI Books titles.

ISI IN THE NEWS

Last July, the *New York Times* cited ISI as the most prominent conservative organization working "to train young members of the movement." In August, *Time* featured an article on "The Right's New Wing" which listed ISI as one of the "three main conservative groups [to] have reshaped student politics." In September, the *Boston Globe* referenced ISI and its support for conservative student publications and programs in a piece on "Illiberal Education." The *Chronicle of Higher Education* also mentioned ISI in the September 21 article "Conservatives in a Leftist Landscape," and the Winter 2005 edition of *City Journal* featured an article on campus conservatism by senior editor Brian Anderson, which was reprinted on the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal* in January.

ISI also received considerable coverage related to the Collegiate Network's twenty-fifth anniversary and the release of several new books, especially the 2005 edition of the college guide, *Choosing the Right College: The Whole Truth about America's Top Schools*. To read more about ISI's recent appearances in the media, please visit www.isi.org or contact ISI Communications Director Sarah Longwell at (800) 526-7022.

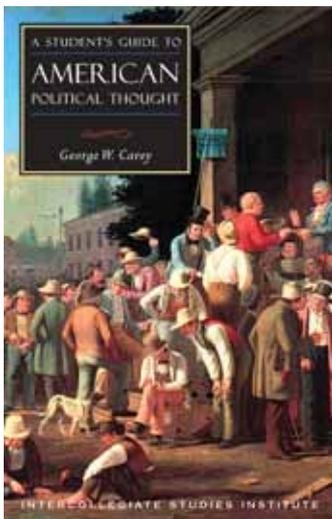
FREEDOM AND FREE MARKETS IN NORTH CAROLINA

With the generous support of the John William Pope Foundation, ISI will bring a specially focused membership and education program, "Freedom and Free Markets," to students and faculty across North Carolina. Modeled on existing national programs, ISI staff will distribute over 15,000 books, journals, and other literature and will conduct a statewide conference at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill celebrating the life of Austrian economist and Nobel Laureate F. A. Hayek.

Former ISI Honor Fellow and current ISI Weaver Fellow Bill English will direct efforts in North Carolina. Bill has been involved with ISI since his undergraduate days at Duke University, through graduate school at Oxford University, and now as a graduate fellow back at Duke. Contact him at (800) 526-7022 for more information on the “Freedom and Free Markets” program.

ISI BOOKS PUBLISHES STUDENT GUIDE ON AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

In its continuing effort to provide reader-friendly introductions to the most important fields of knowledge in the liberal arts, ISI Books has published *A Student's Guide to American Political Thought* by George W. Carey, professor of government at



Georgetown University and editor of the *Political Science Reviewer*. Carey's primer instructs students on the fundamental matters of American political theory while also directing them where to turn to obtain a better grasp of the ideas that have shaped the American political heritage. The guide addresses such questions as: Who are

the most influential thinkers, and what are the most important concepts, events, and documents, in the study of the American political tradition? How ought we regard the beliefs and motivations of the Founders, the debate over the ratification of the Constitution, the historical circumstances of the Declaration of Independence, the rise of the modern presidency, and the advent of judicial supremacy? To order this guide, or to learn more about the additional titles in the series, log on to www.isibooks.org or call (800) 526-7022.



ISI CAMPUS GROUPS MULTIPLY

In addition to the thousands of individual student members that ISI supports on campuses across the nation, the Institute also sponsors over seventy ISI student groups, including multiple affiliated groups at Yale, Princeton, and Harvard. These ISI groups concentrate on a variety of issues, ranging from pro-life causes, Southern agrarianism, and federalism to family values, free markets, and the war on terrorism. Several groups study the ideas of Russell Kirk, Alexis de Tocqueville, G. K. Chesterton, Wendell Berry, C. S. Lewis, Edmund Burke, Walker Percy, J. R. R. Tolkien, or Orestes Brownson and have named their groups after these great thinkers.

Most ISI groups are reading groups that meet two to four times a month, while others serve primarily as forums for speakers. All ISI groups have priority access to ISI's lecture programs, and most have held at least one ISI lecture on their campus in the past year. Others organize debates among their own faculty members or students, as well as additional campus activities which serve their mission.

To learn which campuses have ISI groups, or how to start a new one, visit www.isi.org or call Francisco Gonzalez at (800) 526-7022.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT ANY “ISI IN ACTION” EVENT, VISIT WWW.ISI.ORG OR CALL KELLY HEINZ AT (800) 526-7022.



ISI SPRING 2005 CALENDAR OF EVENTS

March 9 • 7:30 p.m. • University of Washington • Seattle, Washington
Cicero's Podium: Should Government in a Free Society Define Marriage?
Maggie Gallagher, President, Institute for Marriage and Public Policy vs.
Jonathan Rauch, Columnist and Author



March 10-13 • Seattle, Washington
Liberty and Order in the American Founding • An Undergraduate Colloquium*

March 31 • 7:00 p.m. • Berry College • Mount Berry, Georgia
Cicero's Podium: Conservatism vs. Liberalism: Which Philosophy Best Supports Government Reform in a Free Society
Harvey Mansfield, Harvard University vs. William Galston, University of Maryland



April 7-10 • Piety Hill • Mecosta, Michigan
Constitutional Economics and Public Choice • A Graduate Colloquium*

April 15 • 7:30 p.m. • University of Washington • Seattle, Washington
Books and the Founding Fathers • George Nash, Author

April 16 • Indianapolis, Indiana
The Quest for Community: Robert Nisbet and the Search for American Order
ISI Annual Spring Leadership Conference

April 20 • Bemidji State University • Bemidji, Minnesota
Law Enforcement and American Liberty • Gerard Bradley, Notre Dame Law School



April 19 • University of Minnesota • Minneapolis, Minnesota
Natural Law • Robert George, Princeton University

April 25 • 5:30 p.m. • ISI's F. M. Kirby Campus • Wilmington, Delaware
Confessions of an Original Sinner • John Lukacs, Author

April 26 • Kent State University • Kent, Ohio
The Conservative Movement in America and Free Market Economics • George Nash, Author

May 5 • 7:30 p.m. • University of Washington • Seattle, Washington
The Bitter Harvest of Modern Ideologies: A Christian Humanist Perspective on Marxism, Nazism, and Fascism • Brad Birzer, Hillsdale College



May 11 • 5:30 p.m. • ISI's F. M. Kirby Campus • Wilmington, Delaware
Climbing Parnassus: A New Apologia for Greek and Latin • Tracy Lee Simmons, Author

June 23-29 • Princeton University • Princeton, New Jersey
Order and History in the American Tradition • ISI Honors Fellowship Conference*
Application deadline March 15



July 14-20 • St. Edmund's College–University of Cambridge • Cambridge, England
Order and History in the American Tradition • ISI Honors Fellowship Conference*
Application deadline March 15

* By invitation or application only. For more information on any event listed here, or to learn about additional events, please visit www.isi.org or call Rebecca Coffin at (800) 526-7022.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN A FREE SOCIETY? ISI INAUGURATES NEW DEBATE SERIES

One of the perennial questions regarding human freedom asks: What is the proper role of government in the lives of free people? The answers to this question, which span the philosophical and political spectrum, are varied and contentious. Yet how a person or a society answers it correlates to the type of government they will tolerate or come to expect.

With this in mind, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, with the support of the Arthur N. Rupe Foundation, initiated a new collegiate debate series, “Cicero’s Podium: A Great Issues Debate Series,” in the fall of 2004. The series provides a public forum where prominent intellectuals, authors, and opinion makers debate topics central to the lives of college students, citizens, and leaders in a free society. The debates aim to elevate and exemplify civil discussion, promote genuine intellectual diversity on college campuses, and encourage and inspire students and the general public to read and become actively engaged with the books and ideas that have shaped the American experiment in ordered liberty.

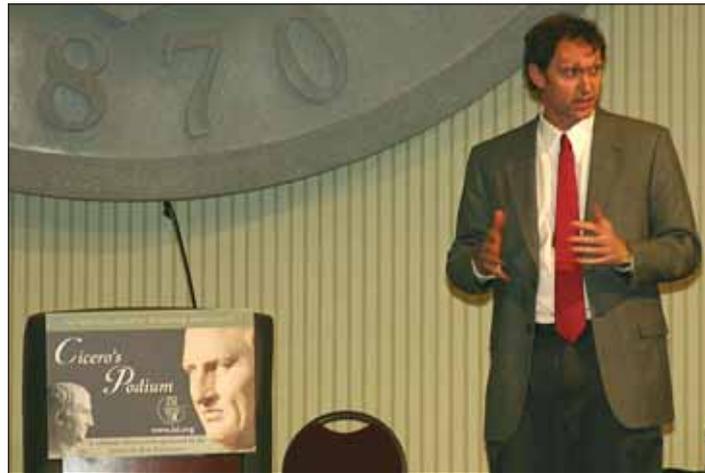
The series began at Ohio State University, the largest land grant university in the country, with a spirited debate on gun control: “Should Government in a Free Society Limit the Right to Bear Arms?” A crowd



Mark Bauerlein represented the National Endowment for the Arts at Columbia.

of nearly 200 students, faculty, and non-academics filled the Ohio Union Building to hear John Lott of the American Enterprise Institute square off against Jim Kessler of Americans for Gun Safety. Lott made a comprehensive argument deconstructing the distorted mes-

sage the public receives via the media regarding firearm safety, noting that newsmen have a penchant for bloody stories and that accidental gun deaths are statistically rarer than most people think. For his part, Kessler, a self-professed moderate on gun control issues, argued primarily for greater enforcement of anti-gun trafficking laws.



John Lott, a former ISI Weaver Fellow, participated in the Ohio State University debate on gun control.

Two weeks later, the debate series hit the road for Columbia University in New York City. Mark Bauerlein of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) faced off with the *New Criterion’s* James Panero, debating whether or not the NEA is good for America. Roger Kimball, who moderated the event, summarized the issue well when he said that government support of the arts concerns the promotion of decent culture, rather than the work of the pseudo-*avant garde*; it should encourage discrimination, something inescapable from taste, and it should emphasize the role of democracy.

In all, six Cicero’s Podium debates will be held at prominent universities throughout the country during the 2004–2005 academic year. Videos of the debates are available online at www.isi.org.

For more information on this debate series, please contact Chad Kifer, ISI’s director of education, at (800) 526-7022 or cicerospodium@isi.org.

WESLEYAN REVEALED: COLUMNIST JOHN LEO ON COLLEGIATE DECADENCE

In a previous issue of THE CANON, ISI president T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr., wrote about the decline of traditional education (See “Giving Higher Education a Higher Purpose,” Winter 2005). John Leo, contributing editor at U.S. News & World Report and an ISI lecturer, describes in this reprinted column what happened at one of America’s most prestigious colleges when tradition gave way to fashion. Sadly, the cultural and academic climate that Leo describes at Wesleyan is all too characteristic of the situation today at our nation’s “best” schools. Each year, ISI reports on the academic, cultural, and political climate of America’s top schools in Choosing the Right College: The Whole Truth about America’s Top Schools, available at www.isibooks.org.



In the fall of 2000, I promised my daughter the freshman that I wouldn’t write about Wesleyan University (Middletown, Connecticut) until she graduated. As a result, you readers learned nothing from me about the naked dorm, the transgender

dorm, the queer prom, the pornography-for-credit course, the obscene sidewalk chalking, the campus club named crudely for a woman’s private part, or the appearance on campus of a traveling anti-Semitic roadshow, loosely described as a pro-Palestinian conference.

Instead of hot news items like these, you usually just hear that Wesleyan is very “diverse.” *Newsweek* once hailed the school as the “hottest” diversity campus

in America, apparently using the word diversity in its normal campus meaning of “no diversity at all.” A one-liner about the campus is that “Wesleyan is so diverse that you can meet people here from almost every neighborhood in Manhattan.” And the students tend to have opinions from every known corner of MoveOn.org.

After the 2000 election, my daughter told me that eighty percent of the students had voted for Al Gore. “Bush got only twenty percent of the vote?” I asked. “No, Dad,” she explained, “the twenty percent was for Nader.” Visiting speakers who challenge any aspect of campus orthodoxy are as rare as woolly mammoths. However, columnist Nat Hentoff, whose son had gone to Wesleyan, showed up in 2002 and criti-

cized the lack of intellectual diversity and free speech.

At a Manhattan holiday party last week, hosted by a friend with Wesleyan ties, I overheard my daughter explaining that no real debate takes place on campus. This was a major frustration, since she is feisty and brilliant and loves to argue ideas. She is politically liberal but wonders how Democrats of her generation will be able to speak convincingly to the middle of the political spectrum when so many of them shun the complexity of arguments and simply spout the party line.

Two years ago the *Argus*, the student newspaper, ran a survey and found that thirty-two percent of the students feel “uncomfortable speaking their opinion.” Orthodoxy plays a role, of course, but so does an exaggerated fear of giving offense. Identity politics is so strong that criticizing other students’ ideas can seem like a *faux pas*, if not a challenge to their core identity. Better to keep your head down and stick to standard opinions.

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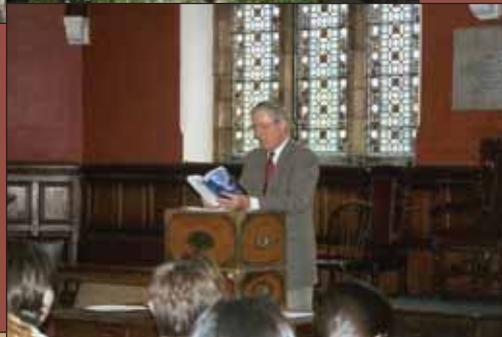
The naked dorm and the porn course were both examples of Wesleyan's determination to accommodate as much sexual confusion as possible. The porn course, which had some students filming S&M scenarios, ended when the teacher died. The popularity of the naked dorm, which featured nude wine and cheese parties, seems to have faded. "I just sometimes feel the need to be nude," a Wesleyan male told the *New York Times* in 2000. "If I feel the need to take off my pants, I take my pants off." The obscene chalkings, which included colorful references to the sexual practices of professors, are now forbidden, possibly because they were upsetting donors and enraging some faculty.

But the Wesleyan campaign to stamp out diversity continues, this time in a move against fraternities. The university is pressuring its frats to accept women as members or pay a stiff financial price. The anti-fraternity campaign is standard on the politically correct campus these days, usually with an announced aim of reining in a boozy, sex-

ist, right-wing culture. But this is Wesleyan, which has no right-wing culture and no sexist, out-of-control frats. The *Argus* has quoted gays and women saying mild and kind things about the Wesleyan frats, some of which are receptive to gays and set rooms aside for female residents. Much of the opposition to the frats seems to depend on the gross national image of fraternities, not the essentially harmless frats at Wesleyan. The administration and radical feminists oppose the frats for violating the campus non-discrimination rule by not allowing women as members. However, they don't bother to apply the same objection to Womanist House (a residence for females) or Malcolm X House, which caters to blacks.

I should add that I think my daughter got a decent education at Wesleyan. You can do this if you are strong-minded, independent, and willing to pick your courses very carefully. But admission to the university should come with a warning label: If you are fainthearted, go somewhere else.

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ORDER AND LIBERTY IN THE AMERICAN TRADITION

The 2005-2006 ISI Undergraduate Honors Fellowship Program

2005 ISI Honors Fellows will attend a week-long, expenses-paid summer colloquium to explore the founding ideas of American conservatism and participate in the academic and cultural life of Princeton University or the University of Cambridge. Fellows will also be paired with an ISI faculty mentor who will offer intellectual and career guidance, as well as other benefits, throughout the preceding academic year.

Princeton University, June 23-29

St. Edmund's College—University of Cambridge, July 14-20

Undergraduates in all disciplines, as well as college-bound seniors, are invited to apply by March 15, 2005. For more information, call (800) 527-7022, visit www.isi.org, or email honorsapp@isi.org.

THE AMERICAN CAUSE

THE NEED FOR PRINCIPLES

By Russell Kirk

Editor's Note: This essay was excerpted from chapter two of Russell Kirk's American Cause, first published in 1957 and reissued in 2002 by ISI Books. The book, and other titles by Kirk, is available at www.isibooks.org.

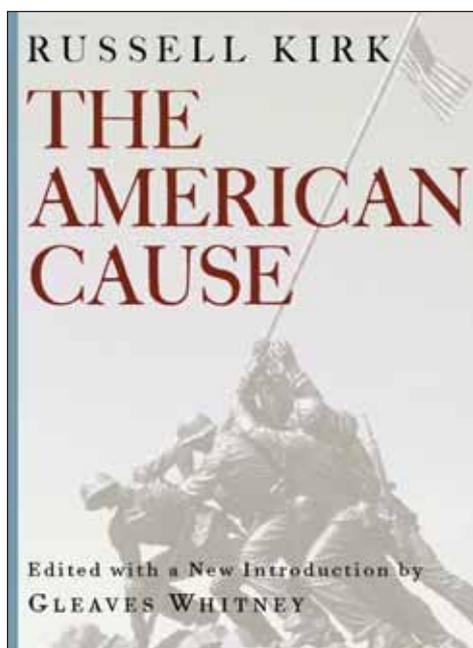
Most Americans do not wish to turn the world upside down. By and large, the American people have shown a conservative cast of mind ever since they achieved their independence. Struggle among classes rarely has been fierce in the United States; Americans have been content with their domestic pattern of life and politics. And, except for a few brief interludes, we have inter-

vened in the affairs of other states only reluctantly; we have built no great American empire, and have not attempted to impose American patterns of life and forms of government upon the rest of the world.

For a great power—today the greatest of the powers—the United States has been an astonish-

ingly tranquil and unbelligerent nation. We have known only one violent internal conflict, the Civil War, and that more than a century ago. We have prospered exceedingly in a material way. We have maintained a degree of order and justice and freedom very rare in history. And behind these outward marks of success lie certain enduring principles of thought and action which, in very considerable part, have created and protected our national life. Certain concepts in Americans' minds are responsible for our private rights, our sound government, and our worldly prosperity.

Though most men and women, in any age and any country, live almost unaware that they are governed by certain general ideas, nevertheless nearly everything we have is produced and sheltered by the moral and intellectual assumptions that people take for granted. One cannot see or feel or taste or hear ideas; yet without the existence of great ideas, human beings would be only animals, and could exist only as animals live. Only mankind possesses ideas. The success or failure of any human society depends upon how sound and true its ideas are. That a nation has prospered a great while—that it has been orderly and free and just and wealthy—is one very good proof that its ideas have been sound and true.



One cannot see or feel or taste or hear ideas; yet without the existence of great ideas, human beings would be only animals, and could exist only as animals live. Only mankind possesses ideas.

THREE BODIES OF PRINCIPLE
CONTROLLING ANY PEOPLE

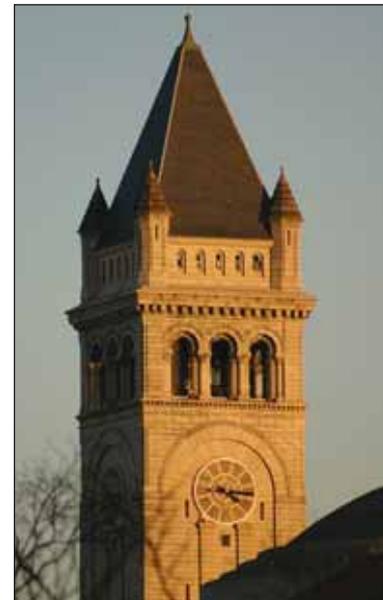
At least three groups of ideas, or bodies of principle, invisibly control any people, whether those people are Australian bushmen or highly civilized modern nations. The first, and most important, of these bodies of principle is the set of moral convictions which a people hold: their ideas about the relationship between God and man, about virtue and vice, honesty and dishonesty, honor and dishonor. The second of these bodies of principle is the set of political convictions which a people hold: their ideas about justice and injustice, freedom and tyranny, personal rights and power, and the whole complex problem of living together peaceably. The third of these bodies of principle is the set of economic convictions which a people hold: their ideas about wealth and property, public and private responsibilities in the affair of making a living, and the distribution of goods and services.

Out of the development of these bodies of principle there grows what we call civilization; and when these bodies of principle are weakened, and a people lose faith in the ideas by which they live, civilization decays. When these bodies of principle are increasing in strength and richness, we say a people are progressive; but when these bodies of principle are decaying in their influence upon men and women, we call such a people decadent. It is by the healthiness of our principles that we measure the success or failure of any society.

These bodies of principle have come into existence among us by a long and mysterious process. Only man recognizes principles, and only man knows civilization. These principles have been built up over a great many centuries, most of them; they are the accumulated ac-

complishment of countless generations of human beings. We do not know how or when most of them first were recognized by men. Occasionally, in the procession of history, a man of genius contributes something new to these principles, or revives and improves some principle long neglected. But for the most part these ideas are the product of innumerable thinking and working men and women, who come to agree that a particular concept is true. By an age-long process of trial and error—straining people’s notions through the sieve of history—some human beliefs are found to be sound and enduring, while others are found to be erroneous and obsolete. Yet a number of human convictions have persisted ever since civilization began, little changed by the passage of time; these seem to be permanent truths, which any civilized nation must reckon with or else decay.

Most Americans are convinced that certain of these enduring truths were revealed to humankind by God: among these principles are the necessity for worshipping the Creator, the essence of private morality, and the nature of love which teaches us our duties toward other men and women. The powers and the limits of human nature, Americans have felt, have been implanted in our minds by divine revelation.



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Our danger at home is that a great part of the American people may forget that enduring principles exist. Our danger abroad is that the false principles of revolutionary fanaticism may gain such an influence as to wound us terribly.

But the majority of the principles by which we live, Americans generally seem to agree, are the product of human experience through the ages, as man struggled up from savagery toward civilization: now making progress, now slipping into decadence. Our convictions about the administration of justice, for



instance, and the better patterns of government, and the proper functioning of the economy, are derived from the “wisdom of the species,” the trial-and-error lessons of history—though, it should be added, even our system of justice, our forms of law and order, and our economic ways seem to most Americans to be our imperfect human attempts to reproduce in society certain natural laws for human conduct that a divine intelligence decreed.

ORIGIN OF OUR MORAL,
POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC IDEAS

Now these general principles to which most Americans are attached are not themselves—with very few exceptions—of purely American origin. Our religious and moral convictions had their origin in the experi-

ence and thought of the ancient Jews and Greeks and Romans. Our political ideas, for the greater part, are derived from Greek, Roman, medieval European, and especially English practice and philosophy. Our economic concepts, some of them, can be traced back to the age of Aristotle and beyond; and even the more recent of these economic ideas were first expressed in eighteenth-century Britain and France, rather than in America. American civilization does not stand by itself: it is part of a great chain of culture which we sometimes call “Western civilization,” or “Christian civilization,” yet which in some particulars is older even than the culture of Western Europe or the history of Christianity.

Americans, nevertheless, have adapted these ancient principles to the circumstances of life in their country, and often have improved the practical application of these ideas to the workaday world. The Americans, like the Romans, have been conspicuously a people of practical talents. Sometimes they have been so much

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AS A TYPE, IS NOT A VISIONARY,
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occupied with practical matters that they have almost forgotten how everything practical really is the application of a general principle. Yet even our immense industrial and technological achievements are possible only through the application of certain scientific theories to achieve material results. The more civilized people become, the more do they depend

A MAN WITHOUT PRINCIPLES
IS AN UNPRINCIPLED MAN. A
NATION WITHOUT PRINCIPLES
IS AN UNCIVILIZED NATION.

upon general ideas. Only the primitive savage manages to get along, after a fashion, in a “practical” way, without much reference to moral and intellectual concepts. (But even the savage recognizes and obeys some general ideas, if expressed only as taboos and ancient customs.) The savage remains a savage if he does not acquire general principles about which to form his life. The civilized man sinks back into savagery when he forgets the principles that have made possible his material accomplishments.

We cannot understand our American cause, therefore, unless we first understand the principles—moral, political, and economic—upon which the American people have formed their complex society. The American cause, the purpose and duty and mission of the United States in the contemporary world, has grown out of these bodies of principle and out of the practical American experience in the application

of these principles. The American, as a type, is not a visionary, a dreamer: he acts upon long-established principles

that have been confirmed as valid by the American historical experience. And the American cause is not some vague aspiration toward turning the world upside down, but a sober and prudent defense of beliefs and rights and institutions—the legacy of civilization—which today are threatened by violent and disastrous forces that would destroy not just our citizens but also our culture.



Russell Kirk

PRINCIPLES AND CIVILIZATION

A man without principles is an unprincipled man. A nation without principles is an uncivilized nation. If a people forget their principles, they relapse into barbarism and savagery. If a people reject sound principles for false principles, they become a nation of fanatics. The thinking American nowadays has to defend sound principle on two fronts: one, the neglect of all principle, which leads to social and personal decadence; the other, the adoption of false principles, which plunges the world into anarchy.

Our danger at home is that a great part of the American people may forget that enduring principles exist. Our danger abroad is that the false principles of revolutionary fanaticism may gain such an influence as to wound us terribly.

The American cause, then, is the defense of the principles of a true civilization. This defense is conducted

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No cause can be maintained long unless a considerable proportion of a people understand the meaning of that cause.

by renewing people’s consciousness of true moral and political and economic principle, and by applying true principle to the institutions of society and private life.

AMERICANISM AND AMERICAN BELIEF

Thus, the goal is not to convert Americans into political fanatics, zealous for a vague “Americanism” to be extended over the whole world. Nor is it to persuade



other peoples that everything American is perfect. One of the most important and beneficial aspects of our American tradition, indeed, is toleration: and this toleration extends to a sympathetic approval of variety, national and private rights, and freedom of choice, both at home and throughout the world. The American mission is not to

make all the world one America, but rather to maintain America as a fortress of principle and in some respects an example to other nations. The American cause is not to stamp out of existence all rivals, but simply to keep alive the principles and institutions which have made the American nation great.

CONFUSED FOREIGN IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA

No cause can be maintained long unless a considerable proportion of a people understand the meaning of that cause. It seems to us that the number of people who truly understand the complexity of the American cause has grown dangerously small. There are many symptoms. Some of our official representatives abroad, and

many of our travelers, are unable to explain American things to Europeans and Asians and Africans: sometimes they apologize confusedly for things that need no apology, or belligerently assert that all things American necessarily are better than all things foreign, and that “American know-how” might solve all the problems of humanity. Within the United States, a dismayingly large number of people seem to assume that our order and justice and freedom and prosperity will continue forever, with no need of their help; if they think at all about the forces which keep American society vital, they seem to think of the nation’s life as a kind of machine, tended by someone in Washington, from which they have an absolute right to benefit but to which they are obliged to contribute nothing.

And among other people, the impression has been gaining strength—encouraged by the deliberate agitation of militant fanatics—that America is a prosperous barbarian nation, swaggering and covetous, engaged in some design to extend its power over the universe. Or, in a different vein, some men and women in other countries think dreamily of the United States as a place of unbounded resources and endless amusements—and are envious accordingly. There is need for reminding the rest of the world that America is not merely an abstraction, a work of nature: for America really is a highly civilized nation whose achievement has been made possible by the union of enduring traditions with private energies and public responsibilities.

 *Russell Kirk (1918-1994) is regarded as one of the twentieth century’s most important men of letters, and is ranked high among the principal architects of the postwar conservative intellectual movement. A columnist, essayist, novelist, historian, and critic, Kirk’s best-known works are *the Conservative Mind: From Burke to Eliot*, *Roots of American Order*, and *Politics of Prudence*. These books, as well as *American Cause*—from which the above essay was excerpted—are available at www.isibooks.org.*

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LEGACY GIFT MEMORIALIZES EMINENT CONSERVATIVE HENRY PAOLUCCI AND ENDOWS NEW ISI BOOK AWARD

Henry Paolucci lived an extraordinary life. As an aviator in World War II, he flew numerous combat missions over Africa and Italy. After the war, he taught courses at Columbia and St. John's College on subjects ranging from Greek and Roman history to Dante and modern science. He wrote, translated, and edited hundreds of scholarly



Dr. Anne Paolucci, center, joined ISI's Jeff Nelson, family friend Frank Grande, award-winner Derek Beales, ISI's Jeff Cain, and New York State Senator Serphin Maltese on the night of the book award presentation honoring her late husband.

papers and books, most notably *War, Peace and the Presidency* and the *Political Writings of St. Augustine*. A frequent contributor to the editorial pages of the *New York Times* and *National Review*, Professor Paolucci actively participated in politics, running against Robert F. Kennedy for the U.S. Senate in 1964 on the New York Conservative Party ticket. Until his death in 1999, Professor Paolucci remained a vigorous force in New York politics and a prominent conservative intellectual.

Last year, Anne Paolucci, Henry's widow—herself an internationally acclaimed scholar, teacher, playwright, author, translator, and poet—decided to honor her husband's achievement through a memorial gift. For decades, she had labored with him on numerous academic, political, and cultural projects. Establishing an endowment at a major university seemed like the logical way to preserve their legacy, but she worried

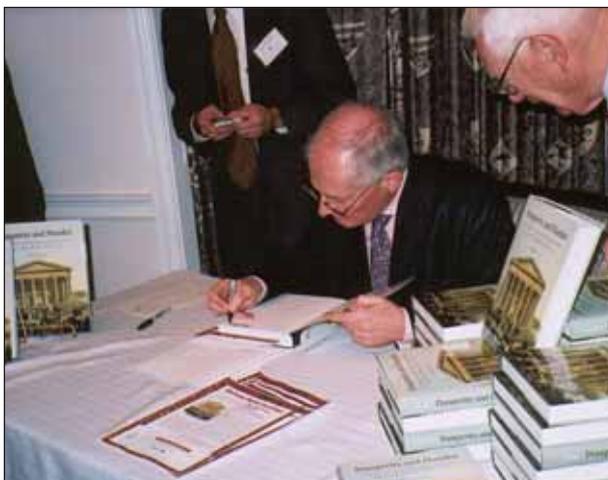
that the intent of her gift would eventually be lost among a large university's other priorities and ever-changing political commitments.

Because of this, Anne Paolucci turned to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, whose first president—William F. Buckley, Jr.—had been a close friend of her husband's. ISI also had a well-known reputation for defending liberty, honoring donor intent, and exposing universities when they played fast and loose with donor funds. Moreover, because Henry Paolucci was a prominent man of letters, ISI's publishing enterprise, ISI Books, was a fitting place to preserve his memory.

ISI Books was launched in 1994 with the hope of leavening the publishing industry with books that were conservative and humanist in orientation. ISI Books has since published dozens of such volumes, offering quality titles that might endure, or at least argue afresh some enduring truths: the kind of books that stand out from the constant flood of meaningless words the public is subjected to each day. With a deep interest in perennial ideas, ISI Books demonstrates respect not merely for words, but for the truth embodied “from the beginning” in *The Word*—a commitment that ISI Books shares with Anne Paolucci and with the great tradition represented by the name of her husband.

These reasons led Anne Paolucci to select ISI and ISI Books to administer her legacy gift. Working with Dr. Jeff Cain, ISI's director of Institutional Advance-

ANNE PAOLUCCI'S LEGACY
GIFT BOTH ADVANCES THE ISI
MISSION AND HONORS HER
HUSBAND: AN EMINENT AMERICAN
CONSERVATIVE THINKER,
POLITICIAN, AND TEACHER.



Derek Beales, author of Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815, won the 2004 Walter Bagehot/Henry Paolucci Book Award.

ment, and Jeffrey O. Nelson, vice president of ISI Books, Dr. Paolucci helped craft her gift in a way that enables ISI to recognize and reward a scholar or public intellectual who has exemplified in their work the ISI idea of educating for liberty through an annual cash prize of \$5,000. The name of the award, the Walter Bagehot/Henry Paolucci Book Award, also honors the great British political economist and man of letters Walter Bagehot, whom Henry Paolucci long admired and studied.

On November 11, 2004, the very first Walter Bagehot/Henry Paolucci Book Award was presented to Derek Beales, author of *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650-1815*, at a full ceremony at ISI's national headquarters in Wilmington, Delaware.

As Jeff Nelson noted in his presentation of the award that evening, the core mission of ISI is to articulate for new generations the importance of the foundations and principles of Western civilization and of the American experience within it. The late Russell Kirk, himself a great admirer of both Walter Bagehot and Henry Paolucci, recalled in his last work: "We Americans live in an era when the general outlines and institutions of our inherited culture still are recognizable; yet it does not follow that our children or our grandchildren will retain a great part of that old culture."

In an effort to promote this culture throughout the generations, Anne Paolucci's legacy gift advances the ISI mission while also honoring her husband.

HOW TO ESTABLISH YOUR LEGACY TO LIBERTY

Have you ever wondered what you can do to transmit America's founding principles to future generations? Would you like to help young people understand and appreciate the ideas that made our country great, but feel like you see little chance of this happening in America's colleges and universities?

If so, consider establishing an enduring legacy to liberty through an estate gift to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. By making a bequest of cash or other assets in your will or living trust, you can secure ISI's future and guarantee our ability to pass on the ideals of a free society to successive generations of young people—all without reducing your current cash flow. Additionally, your estate will receive a tax-saving deduction for the value of the assets gifted to ISI once the transaction has taken place. Moreover, a charitable bequest is totally revocable if you change your mind prior to your death.

In addition to cash, charitable bequests can be funded with securities, real estate, savings bonds, or other personal property. You may leave a specific amount to ISI or direct that ISI receive a percentage or residuum of your estate.

As the donor, you may also decide how your gift will be used. Whether you choose to sponsor an ISI conference or lecture series, support one of our fellowship programs, strengthen conservative college newspapers, or improve civic literacy among our nation's youth, a gift to ISI can make a significant difference in the lives of thousands of young people across the country.

Please consider the following language with your attorney: *I give, devise, and bequeath to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 3901 Centerville Road, P.O. Box 4431, Wilmington, DE 19807-0431 (insert amount, percentage, or remainder of estate) to be used for general purposes (or for your designated area of interest).*

Make sure that your assets are used to support your principles and belief—create an enduring legacy to liberty today! For more information, please call Carolyn Kley Fanning or Jeff Cain at (800) 526-7022.

If you have already included the Intercollegiate Studies Institute in your will or other estate plans, please let us know so that we may recognize your generosity and commitment to America's youth.

RECLAIMING HIGHER EDUCATION: ISI FACULTY ASSOCIATE THOMAS CAVANAUGH SERVES THE GREATER GOOD

Lovers of Wisdom” is one of the philosophy courses that Dr. Thomas Cavanaugh teaches at the University of San Francisco (USF). A requirement in USF’s core curriculum, first-year students in this class read great thinkers such as Plato,



Thomas Cavanaugh, a professor in the philosophy department of the University of San Francisco, was an ISI Weaver Fellow in 1993 and now serves as a faculty associate, leading ISI student seminars such as this one in 2004.

Augustine, Boethius, and John Henry Cardinal Newman, exploring how each loved wisdom and incorporated it into their daily lives. “Students learn about these philosophers while also contemplating what it would mean today to have such a disposition—to love wisdom and be guided by it,” explains Cavanaugh, a former ISI Weaver Fellow and current faculty associate. Through this course and several others, Cavanaugh presents the perennial ideas of the Western tradition—the Good, the True, and the Beautiful—to hundreds of students each year.

Cavanaugh’s four years as an undergraduate at Thomas Aquinas College sealed his interest in philosophy, and it was there that he learned about ISI. “There were always ISI publications in the library and lounges, and I avidly read them,” he explains. “I was grateful and supportive of ISI’s mission and attended ISI-sponsored lectures.”

After moving on to the Ph.D. program in philosophy at the University of Notre Dame, Cavanaugh became more actively involved with ISI, earning one of ISI’s prestigious Richard M. Weaver Fellowships in 1993. Since 1964, ISI has awarded over 500 of these fellowships to doctoral students who intend to become college professors. In this way, ISI supports the aspiring professor as well as the students he will one day teach.

“The Weaver Fellowship was an honor that allowed me to more fully pursue my research, which was of great benefit to me,” states Cavanaugh. “I also was able to attend ISI graduate seminars, which provided excellent learning and networking opportunities.” In 1994, Cavanaugh began teaching in the philosophy department at USF, and in 1995 he received his doctoral degree from Notre Dame.

Today, Cavanaugh continues to be involved with ISI as a faculty associate. Over the past three years, he has directed a number of ISI seminars for undergraduate students in the San Francisco area. Ranging from one to three days, these seminars have addressed such topics as liberty and virtue, the libertarian/conservative debate, and liberal education. “These have been inspiring events,” says Cavanaugh. “It’s wonderful to offer students the chance to read and study great texts—an opportunity they naturally desire.”

IT’S WONDERFUL TO OFFER
STUDENTS THE CHANCE TO READ
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AN OPPORTUNITY THEY
NATURALLY DESIRE.

-PROFESSOR THOMAS CAVANAUGH

Indeed, Cavanaugh states that the challenge he faces is not getting students interested in philosophy, but satisfying their innate interest by placing the great ideas and greatest thinkers before them. “Students find the material that I teach compelling by its very nature,” he explains. “Socrates engages a student right off the bat. The task is putting the texts before the students and getting them to understand and then judge the ideas being presented.” The ISI seminars have enabled him to do this outside of the everyday classroom, an opportunity for which he, and the seminar students, are grateful.

Cavanaugh also has attended ISI faculty seminars, which he deems “invigorating.” “They are intellectual retreats,” he explains, “after which I return to the classroom rejuvenated, inspired to do better.”

When not teaching, Cavanaugh has been completing a book on double-effect reasoning, an area of philosophy that has always interested him. “Double-effect reasoning is relied upon in medical ethics and in the just conduct of war to distinguish consequentially similar acts with different intentional structures,” he explains. “For example, double-effect reasoning is employed to distinguish euthanasia from aggressive pain relief that results in a patient’s death. In accordance with double-effect reasoning, one may argue that aggressive pain relief resulting in the death of one’s patient is in some cases acceptable while holding that euthanizing one’s patient in those same circumstances is not.” The book is currently under contract with the Clarendon Press of Oxford University.

Cavanaugh also has published numerous articles in a variety of journals on medical ethics and the history of ethics, and he has presented papers at conferences addressing the topics of philosophy and bioethics. Additionally, he has served on medical ethics committees within the community and has debated in public fora. He has brought these research interests into the classroom, teaching courses on medical ethics

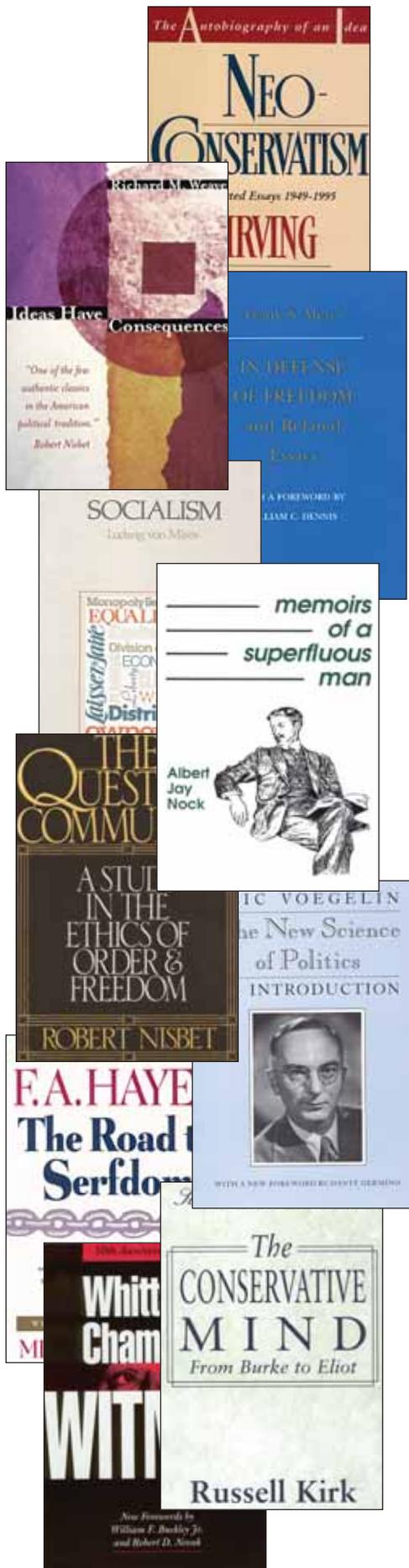


Cavanaugh has led several ISI seminars for students from colleges and universities in and around the San Francisco area.

to nursing students at USF as well as additional students considering a career in medicine.

In a variety of ways, Professor Cavanaugh lives out and contributes to ISI’s mission to “Educate for Liberty.” As he spreads the lasting principles of Western civilization to students, faculty, and other professionals, he “multiplies” his influence, as well as that of ISI and the ideas it supports—which is exactly what the Weaver Fellowship was established to do.

<p>THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE can help you...</p>	
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	<p>REMEMBER a mentor</p>
	<p>CELEBRATE a promotion, retirement, or special event</p>
	<p>all while advancing ISI’s mission of EDUCATING FOR LIBERTY</p>



RECALLING A TRADITION: TEN BOOKS THAT SHAPED CONSERVATISM IN AMERICA

By Jeffrey O. Nelson

A young Yale graduate ushered in the era of American political conservatism fifty years ago this year. In 1955, William F. Buckley, Jr., ended *National Review's* debut editorial with a bold exclamation: conservatives would advance by standing athwart history, yelling “Stop.” That was a losing proposition if there ever was one, or so most on the Left believed. More significantly, most on the Right believed it to be a losing wager, too. Many who rallied to the defense of the “free world,” of the Judeo-Christian West, against the advance of Communist collectivism believed they had joined history’s losing side. But it did not work out that way. Buckley and the conservatives did hold a winning, or at least a winnable, hand. While conservatism may not have brought a halt to political and social modernity, it certainly slowed its advance. It did so by achieving improbable victories on two fronts. Domestically, it defeated liberalism at the polls. Internationally, it vanquished a mortal threat to our civilization.

And so, with the end of the Cold War, conservatives settled in for the hard task of *governing*. However, political success has at least as many consequences as the ideas that lead to victory. One such consequence has been a subtle shift in the conservative movement’s psychic view of itself—from history’s adversary to destiny’s child. Fifty years on, how many in today’s conservative movement would be willing to risk political defeat in a wager to stop the march of history? Very, very few.

Indeed, it seems we now live in a moment when conservatism is being redefined right before our eyes. To what extent, it is fair to ask, are today’s conservative policy makers and pundits really the descendants of the conservatism of Bill Buckley, or of other founding fathers of modern American conservatism? To what extent are they instead merely the descendants of an older liberalism?

The answer at this point, I think, is that we do not really know. A few years ago, it seemed plausible to many that there were no longer hyphenated conservatives, just conservatives simply. But after two decades of political success, how is it that conservatives are now associated in the popular mind with Franklin “Rooseveltism” on the domestic front and “Wilsonianism” on the international stage? As William Safire noted with satisfaction in the pages of the *New York Times*, today’s successful political conservatives are “interventionists at home and abroad.” The irony of this development hasn’t escaped every historian and political observer. For what we appear to be witnessing is the ascendancy of a particular kind of conservatism that draws on some strains of the older conservatism, but excludes others. Conservatism of the old *National Review* variety, while seemingly at the pinnacle of political success today, is in need of rejuvenation if its principles are to be a potent force for cultural reform along traditional lines in the future.

But where will it find such rejuvenating energy? To start, conservatives need to recall their own best tradition and re-conceptualize their mission. In that effort, a return to some of the foundational texts of modern American conservatism will aid in the re-orientation of cultural and political conservatism. What follows are ten recommendations on where to start, following the typology—libertarian, anticommunist, traditionalist, and neoconservative—established by George H. Nash in his landmark history, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945* (available from www.isibooks.org and the single best source book from which to begin an education in conservatism).

LIBERTARIANS

Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, conservatives of all stripes have denounced the growth of the American welfare state. After World War II in particular, many conservatives were increasingly alarmed by the decrease in economic freedom and the cultural deterioration that they saw being wrought by this new American “superstate.” It was the so-called libertarians who first responded to these unwelcome changes. How far have conserva-

tives come since then? Today, federal spending per capita is at its highest point since the birth of the postwar conservative movement; and conservatives are increasingly in the disorienting position of apologizing for the creation of huge new entitlement programs, increased federal spending on the arts and education, decreasing spheres of autonomy for the fifty states, reversals on affirmative action, pork-filled budgets, and more. Conservatives have come full circle, now riding the temptations of modernity forward rather than standing athwart it yelling, “Stop.” What follows are descriptions of three books that characterized the early libertarian impulse.

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM

F. A. HAYEK

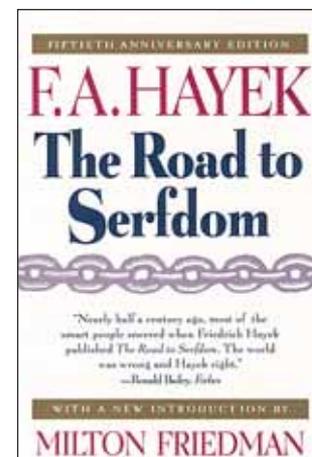
After witnessing World War II as a professor at the London School of Economics, Austrian economist Friedrich von Hayek published *The Road to Serfdom* in 1944. In this short but to-the-point book, Hayek contended that “[a]lthough we had been warned by some of the greatest political thinkers

of the nineteenth century—by Tocqueville and Lord Acton—that socialism means slavery, we have steadily moved in [that] direction.” Arguing that “planning leads to dictatorship,” Hayek proceeded to explain “why and how certain kinds of economic controls tend to paralyze the driving forces of a free society.” He encouraged individuals to “make as much use as possible of the spontaneous forces of society, and resort as little as possible to coercion,” rather than be led down the road to serfdom under the guise of equality.

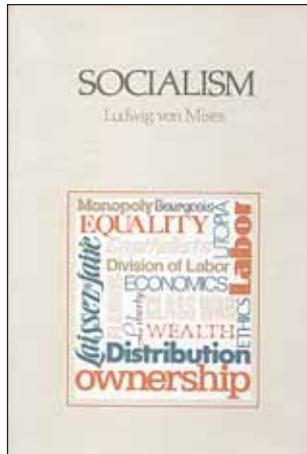
SOCIALISM

LUDWIG VON MISES

Hayek’s former teacher, Ludwig von Mises, was another central libertarian figure of the postwar era. His book *Socialism* shattered the proposition that socialism could and would produce a more just and



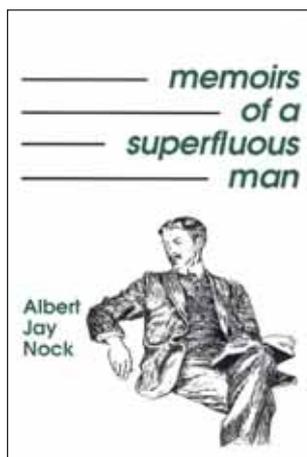
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rational world. Mises powerfully argued that socialist economic thought is not only inherently flawed because it is unable to allocate scarce resources efficiently, but it is also contrary to the very nature of the individual. Far from being a humane alternative to the free market, Mises asserted that socialism denies the “human aspect” of choice—the role each individual plays in communicating vital economic information—and thus was doomed to fail.

MEMOIRS OF A SUPERFLUOUS MAN
ALBERT JAY NOCK

Albert Jay Nock was read by many of the key intellectual figures of the burgeoning conservative movement, including William F. Buckley, Jr., Russell Kirk, and Robert Nisbet. His best-known work is



his autobiography, *Memoirs of a Superfluous Man*. Rather than being a typical “confessional” autobiography, Nock’s is “an autobiography of a mind”—an extended musing on his life and strongly anti-statist prejudices. According to him, the state is “our enemy,” aggressively interfering with the economic and social life of its citizens and arrogantly assuming the right to direct human affairs. He argued that the government must be

administer its operations through “custom and agreement,” rather than “conquest and confiscation.”

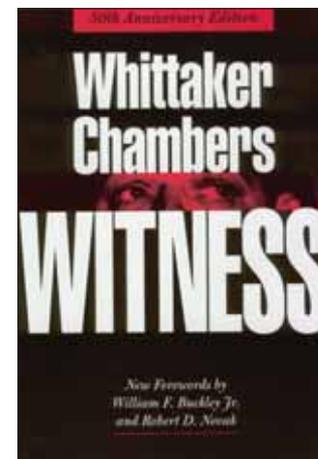
ANTICOMMUNISTS

Anticommunism, especially opposition to Soviet imperialism, was another powerful force affecting the development of American conservatism after 1945—and reading the classic literature that emerged from this impulse is still instructive. For one, it teaches us that there is no “inevitability” in history, no assured progress either forward or back. There were really two grand narratives of history during the Cold War: that which antici-

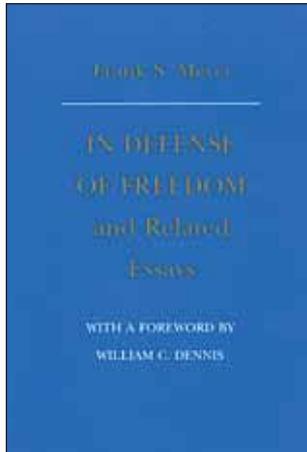
pated inevitable Soviet victory and that which predicted a gradual convergence of Communist and capitalist societies into a progressive administrative hybrid. Neither happened. Instead, the “impossible” happened. That is still true today, and the following three books are wonderful repositories of this lesson.

WITNESS
WHITTAKER
CHAMBERS

There are few stories as gripping as Whittaker Chambers’ account of his days as a Communist agent, his transition to conservatism (becoming, as he called himself, a “counterrevolutionary”), and his role in exposing Alger Hiss, a high-ranking State Department official, as a Soviet spy in 1948. In a haunting tone, Chambers described his personal experience of the conflict between “the two irreconcilable faiths of our time—communism and freedom.” Ultimately, Chambers argued, “the crisis of the Western world exists to the degree it is indifferent to God. It exists to the degree in which the Western world actually shares communism’s materialist vision, [and] is so dazzled by the logic of the materialist interpretation of history, politics, and economics that it fails to grasp that, for it, the only possible answer to the Communist challenge ‘Faith in God or Faith in Man’ is the challenge ‘Faith in God.’”



**BEFORE THE ADVENT OF
CONTEMPORARY “CULTURE WARS,”
THE SEARCH TO RECOVER SOCIETY’S
“MORAL NORMS” WAS CONDUCTED
PRINCIPALLY BY THE TRADITIONALIST
WING OF THE POSTWAR AMERICAN
CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT.**

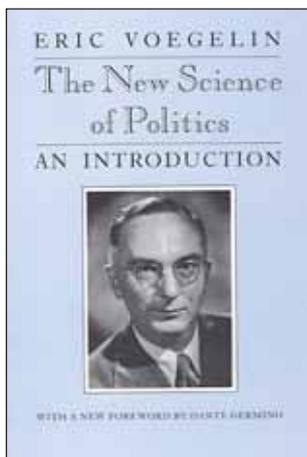


IN DEFENSE OF FREEDOM

FRANK MEYER

As another former Communist turned conservative, Frank Meyer was an unyielding opponent of communism and the Soviet Union in post-World War II America. His *In Defense of Freedom*, con-

sidered to be the “defining statement” of his belief, explored the dominant threads of conservative thought and called for a “fusion” between libertarians, with their emphasis on freedom as the end of society, and traditionalist conservatives, who argued that order and virtue were the ultimate social ends. Meyer asserted that “the freedom of the person” was “the central and primary end of political society” and that there was an “integral relationship between freedom as a political end and the basic beliefs of contemporary conservatism.”



THE NEW SCIENCE OF POLITICS

ERIC VOEGELIN

In 1952, Austria-native Eric Voegelin published *The New Science of Politics*, a book composed of a series of lectures on “Truth and Representation” which he first gave in 1951.

Seeking to introduce

the reader to the development of political science, Voegelin discussed several symbolizations of the truth and then contrasted them with gnosticism and modern ideologies that claim to be able to promise happiness. Voegelin argued that one of the defining marks of the present age was the popular view that politics was about the pursuit of secular salvation. Transcendent objectives and standards, he asserted, no longer defined and guided political existence, and he thus sought a restoration of political science, a return to the consciousness of principles.

TRADITIONALISTS

Before the advent of the contemporary “culture wars,” the search to recover society’s “moral norms” was conducted principally by the traditionalist wing of the postwar American conservative movement. Believing that conservatives should be the custodians of the cultural past, they were critical of mass culture and moral relativism. They are among our best guides today as a new generation of conservatives confront a host of thorny moral issues forging ahead in the public square, many of which strike at the very heart of the integrity of human nature itself and the nature of social institutions that have developed in response to it. To resist the false promises of radical autonomy, conservatives can do no better than to enliven for a new generation the history and philosophy contained in the next three books.

THE CONSERVATIVE MIND

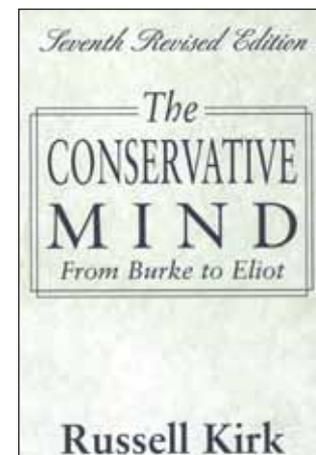
RUSSELL KIRK

Published in 1953, Russell Kirk’s *Conservative Mind* is often considered the seminal work of the conservative movement.

In it, Kirk argued that there is no conservative blueprint or “system”—that is, no ideology.

Instead, he presented conservatism as a disposition, a way of living and viewing life. He outlined six “canons of conservatism” to suggest a coherent philosophical vision, and he traced a detailed intellectual genealogy of Americans and Britons that embodied this vision.

Speaking to his fellow postwar conservatives, Kirk asserted that they must concern themselves primarily with “the regeneration of spirit and character—with the problem of the inner order of the soul, the restoration of the ethical understanding, and the religious sanction upon which any life worth living is founded.” This, for Kirk, was “conservatism at its highest.”

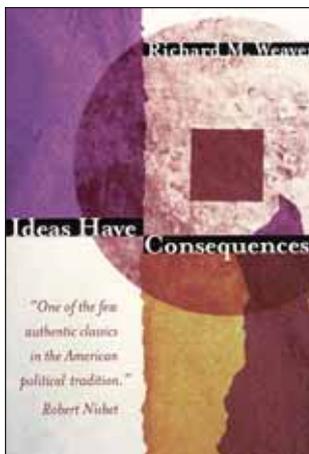


IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES

RICHARD WEAVER

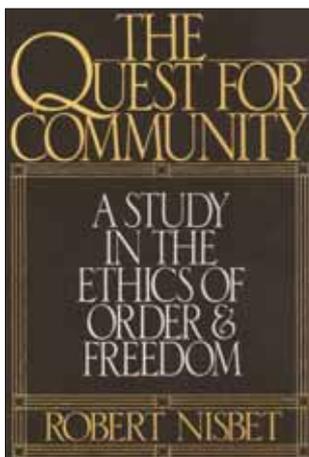
Richard Weaver’s *Ideas Have Consequences*, published in 1948, is another “authentic classic in the Ameri-

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can political tradition,” as Robert Nisbet said. Alarmed by the cultural deterioration he witnessed around him, Weaver was inspired to write “another book about the dissolution of the West.” Weaver traced the nominalist controversy of the fourteenth century, which centered upon a dispute over the existence of universals, to what he saw as the prime malady of the

Western world: moral relativism. “Denial of everything transcending experience means inevitably... the denial of truth,” he argued. “With the denial of objective truth, there is no escape from the relativism of ‘man is the measure of all things.’”



THE QUEST FOR COMMUNITY
ROBERT NISBET

Today, the dissolution of the bonds of family, church, and neighborhood is perhaps the greatest threat to ordered freedom that we face in America. The sociologist Robert Nisbet demonstrated in *The Quest for Community* that such a deterioration of the social fabric of our culture has not been liberating for the

individual, but rather has been a force of individual isolation and alienation. And he alerted postwar conservatives, many of whom were uncompromising individualists, that “[t]he quest for community will not be denied, for it springs from some of the powerful needs of human nature—needs for a clear sense of cultural purpose, membership, status, and continuity.”

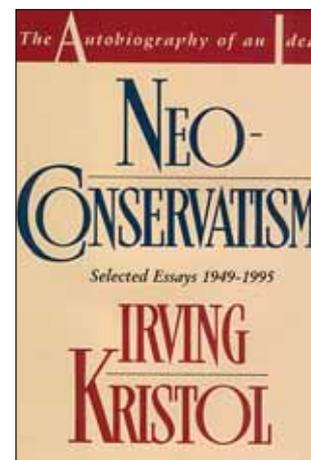
NEOCONSERVATIVES

After the 1964 election, and especially after the implementation of Lyndon Johnson’s “Great Society” programs, the conservative movement welcomed what was to become the fourth component of its intellectual coalition. Popularly known as “neoconservatives,” this group of disillusioned liberals realized that good intentions do not guarantee good or effective government, and after witnessing this one time too many, they migrated

to the conservative cause. Neoconservatism is today one of the most widely analyzed—and wildly characterized—tendencies within the conservative mainstream. Most current commentary on the subject obscures more than enlightens one’s understanding of the neoconservative mind. The tenth, and final, book recommended here is thus a collection by the father of neoconservatism in America, Irving Kristol.

NEOCONSERVATISM: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN IDEA
IRVING KRISTOL

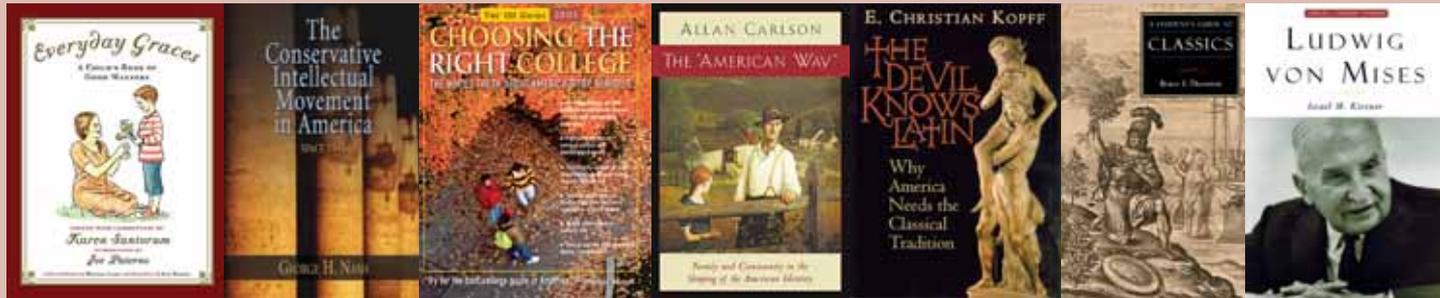
A “memoir” that offers an unsurpassed introduction to the development of neoconservative thought in America, *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea* considers from a variety of angles “the tendency of democratic republics to depart from...their original, animating principles and, as a consequence, precipitate grave crises in the moral and political order.” As Kristol saw it, “[s]elf-government, the basic principle of the republic, is inexorably being eroded in favor of self-seeking, self-indulgence, and just plain aggressive selfishness.” He condemned moral relativism as vigorously as the traditionalists, but was leery of the libertarian’s wholehearted support of capitalism.



CONCLUSION

As this list of books shows, American conservatism has in no way been monolithic. Rather, it is a collection of distinct intellectual groups with distinct intellectual traditions. It is not to be expected that everyone has read or will read all of the books that gave birth to the conservative movement in the postwar years, but it is still important to look back to them. As Richard Brookhiser has noted, today these books can “raise the awkward questions, show us what we missed the first time around.” The rest is left for us to do.

 Jeffrey O. Nelson is vice president of publications at the Intercollegiate Studies Institute and publisher of ISI Books.



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COLLEGIATE NETWORK

CELEBRATES 25 YEARS OF CONSERVATIVE COLLEGE JOURNALISM

The year 2004 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the most influential conservative journalism program on college campuses across the nation: the Collegiate Network, a program administered by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute since 1996. Many people have heard of the college newspapers the Collegiate Network (CN) supports, including the *Dartmouth Review*, the *Virginia Advocate*, the *Harvard Salient*, and the *Stanford Review*. Even more have heard of CN's prominent alumni, including Dinesh D'Souza, Rich Lowry, Laura Ingraham, William Kristol, Terry Teachout, and Ann Coulter. Each of these writers gained training and firsthand experience while on the staff of a CN paper. Today, there are hundreds of students doing the same as they run eighty-nine CN papers on campuses across the country. On December 2, 2004, over 200 of these CN students, past and present, as well as numerous CN and ISI supporters and special guests, gathered at the Capital Hilton in Washington, D.C., to celebrate twenty-five years of conservative journalism on college campuses.

The Collegiate Network was founded by Irving Kristol and the late William E. Simon, Sr., in 1979 under the auspices of the Institute for Educational Affairs. The intent was not only to provide training

for conservative journalists, but also to create an alternative voice on the college campus, one capable of focusing public awareness on the politicization of American college and university curricula and student life—as well as the resulting decline of educational standards. To achieve this mission, the CN provides independent student editors and writers with professional and career guidance, as well as annual operating grants, scholarships to training conferences, individualized mentoring, editorial resources, internship opportunities at prominent media outlets, and entry level job opportunities at select papers.

Over the years, the John M. Olin Foundation has been one of the Collegiate Network's most generous supporters. Among the distinguished guests who spoke at the CN anniversary dinner was Dr. James Piereson, executive director of the Foundation. Following are his remarks, which recall the CN's history as well as its many notable achievements.



James Piereson, Olin Foundation

REMARKS OF DR. JAMES PIERESON, THE OLIN FOUNDATION

On behalf of the John M. Olin Foundation, and also on behalf of my late friend, Bill Simon, warmest congratulations to the Collegiate Network as it celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary. I should also like to thank Kenneth Cribb and ISI for all the work they have done to make this celebration possible.

My colleagues and I are proud of our association with the Collegiate Network—proud, too, of your achievements over a quarter of a century, of the role you play on the contemporary campus, of your distinguished alumni, and of the noble ideals that you defend and advance. Yes, if everything we have done since 1979 were stripped away, leaving only the Collegiate Network as our legacy—we would still proudly say that our work yielded enormous success.

It was, as has been said, Bill Simon, along with his wise friend, Irving Kristol, who was most responsible for the Olin Foundation’s involvement with the Collegiate Network—which at that time in 1979 was but an infant movement, and which operated under different names and acronyms. There was the *Dartmouth Review*, the *Harvard Salient*, the *Counterpoint* at the University of Chicago, and a few other publications.

Bill Simon was heartened to see young students with the courage and moxie to take on the campus establishment, to see them raise the banner of liberty and reason against the close-minded egalitarianism that then, as now, sought to control the life of the mind on the college campus. He was happy to lend his support—financial, moral, and personal. It was a cause close to his heart. He, too, would be proud of what you have

accomplished, but I don’t think he would have been surprised—for he knew that young people, armed with the right principles and a passion to succeed, can accomplish anything. I dearly wish he might have lived to celebrate this anniversary with you this evening.

Bill would often say, when talking about universities, that “the inmates have taken over the institution.” And of course, he was right. During the 1960s and 1970s, the campus reformers and rebels talked endlessly about diversity, participation, relevance, the life of the mind. This is what they said when they were on the outside looking in.

But, in recent decades, as that generation took over the university, as they were appointed to faculties

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YES, IF EVERYTHING THE OLIN FOUNDATION HAS DONE SINCE 1979 WERE STRIPPED AWAY, LEAVING ONLY THE COLLEGIATE NETWORK AS OUR LEGACY—WE WOULD STILL PROUDLY SAY THAT OUR WORK YIELDED ENORMOUS SUCCESS.



One-hundred-and-twenty students from CN papers across the country attended the celebration.



Rich Lowry, National Review



William Kristol, Weekly Standard

and took control of the governing bodies, they began to impose a rigid orthodoxy on those institutions: diversity, as long as everyone agreed with them; participation, for themselves only; relevance, to their objectives only. Everyone, or nearly everyone, stepped aside to let them have their way: trustees, alumni, donors, even the old-time liberal faculty who should have known better as to where this movement would lead.

And, as recent studies have demonstrated, faculties outside the hard sciences are now controlled overwhelmingly by Democrats over Republicans and Independents, and by liberals and leftists over others with conservative or moderate views. There are few conservatives to be found anywhere, which is no accident, since they are purposefully kept out. In a national survey of six academic fields, David Horowitz found that over ninety percent of faculty members were Democrats. That's the good news. The bad news is that the other ten percent were communists!

Thankfully, there was one group that stepped forward to challenge the academic monopoly—namely, you: the student journalists who did in our time what Americans have always done when confronted with challenges of this kind. They stood up, started their own papers, articulated their ideas, and boldly challenged the campus commissars who dared tell them what they were obliged to think about their country, their principles, and their future. They resisted the advancing tide of political correctness.

They wrote about free markets and individual liberty, the rule of law, the heritage and history of our nation. They, nearly alone among groups on the contemporary campus, defend the state of Israel which, because of its religious foundations and its friendship with the United States, is a frequent tar-

get of abuse among campus leftists. They have played an indispensable role in defending the cause of liberty on today's troubled campus.

There are, of course, many emblems and examples of the success and achievement of the Collegiate Network—with more than eighty newspapers operating on campuses across the nation, all of which have established an important role on these campuses, covering news, offering opinions on current affairs, defending timeless principles in unfriendly environments; with many hundreds of active journalists writing articles and seeing to it that their papers are published and read; with many more distinguished alumni, many of whom I have had the privilege to know.

THEY STOOD UP, STARTED THEIR
OWN PAPERS, ARTICULATED THEIR
IDEAS, AND BOLDLY CHALLENGED
THE CAMPUS COMMISSARS WHO
DARED TELL THEM WHAT THEY
WERE OBLIGED TO THINK.

There is still another emblem of your influence and power which you may not have considered. The contemporary university, from an intellectual standpoint, has come to resemble so many medieval fortresses or castles—placed upon elevations difficult to access, defended with moats around moats and steel gates, ringed with stone parapets and ramparts, all for the purpose of warding off any threatening adversary.

Our academics today defend their privileged fortresses with—what?—with their speech codes, with their appointment and tenure committees that ensure that no one with discordant views is allowed inside the gates; with their sophistic version of academic freedom designed to defend their own views and privileges, but no one else's; with their own publications that shamelessly seek to suppress competitors and rivals; and, yes, with hooligans who disrupt lectures they do not agree with and

steal and burn publications that advance views different from their own.

Yes, all these fortifications have been erected as defenses against you, against your ideas, against your growing influence among students and alumni. The elaborate barriers they have built are the clearest signs of your strength and influence. You have, after all, forced them to betray the ideals of their profession, to indulge in hypocrisy on a grand scale, and to avert their eyes when violence is undertaken in their name. And, yet, they will not succeed, for they should know, but apparently do not, that powerful ideas can only be resisted with better ones—and not with the crude instruments they have chosen.

Benjamin Franklin was a founder of the University of Pennsylvania. Thomas Jefferson had placed on his tombstone at Monticello that he was “the founder of the University of Virginia.” James Madison studied at Princeton, where he learned the ideas and the lessons that were later incorporated into the United States Constitution. Alexander Hamilton studied at Columbia, where he studied political history and finance—lessons that also served him well in the decades that followed.

Would these men be proud of those institutions today, and of what they have become?—institutions where, with some important exceptions, ridicule of the Constitution and the Founding Fathers is the norm, where the ideals of liberty and limited government are scorned, where the sympathetic study of our heritage is neglected, where America’s example to the world is rejected? No, I’m afraid they would be astonished and embarrassed that these institutions, so rich

in heritage and wealth, could have fallen into their present condition of intellectual sloth and corruption.

But there is no doubt that they would take pride in you and the work you have done. And there is not the slightest doubt that they would stand on your side in the battle now being waged for the soul of the university—for they had done battle themselves against adversaries that were powerful but at the same time cynical, arrogant, and corrupt.

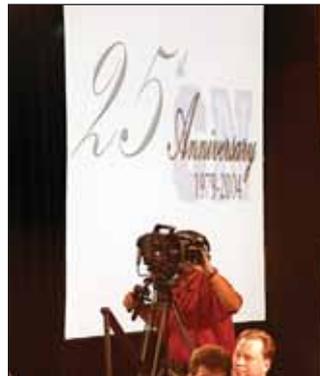


In another twenty-five years, in the year 2029, the Collegiate Network will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. By that time, we may hope, a new tide may have washed away the intellectual debris that surrounds us today, and brought with it a new and constructive spirit that does not fear error so long as reason is alive to correct it, that has respect for the institutions of self-government so that they may be improved and strengthened, that takes pride in our heritage of liberty and seeks to extend it into the future, and has no need for defenses and fortifications that serve only to protect privilege. Stranger things have happened.

And if you—the editors and journalists of the Collegiate Network, and its alumni and supporters—if you are resolute and determined, if you stand by your ideals and principles, always aiming high and never low, guided by truth and fairness: why, who knows, it may yet happen still.



In addition to attending the anniversary celebration, students participated in a CN editors conference while in Washington.



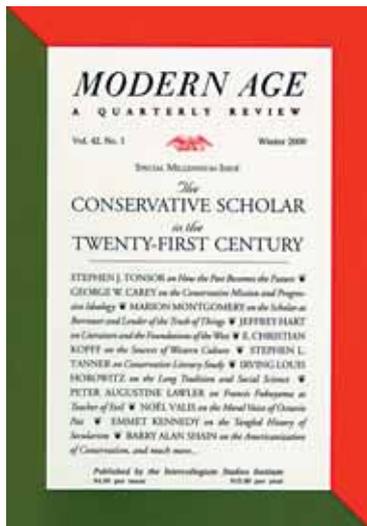
C-SPAN recorded the evening’s events and broadcast them the following week.



Tod Lindberg of Policy Review and John Podhoretz of the New York Post started the first CN paper, Counterpoint, in 1979.

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ISI THEN...

The 1960s saw ISI students meeting with several prominent speakers, including Ludwig von Mises (left), William Buckley (below left), and Leonard Read (below).



...AND Now

Lt. General Josiah Bunting, chairman of ISI's National Civic Literacy Board and superintendent emeritus of the Virginia Military Institute, spoke on "Leadership and the Liberal Arts" to an audience of West Point Cadets on October 21, 2004, at ISI's F. M. Kirby Campus in Wilmington, Delaware.

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THE LAST WORD

Reading, Culture, and Conservatism

by Jeremy Beer

Nearly 140,000 books were published in America last year, a statistic that might be interpreted as an indication that ours is a culture which celebrates the importance and pleasures of reading. Unfortunately, as we all know intuitively, this is not so. Rather, our culture celebrates—and often handsomely rewards—talking.

Our publishing industry and our bookstores, busy as they are, serve largely as echo chambers in which everyone has something to say, creating a din so raucous that listening—which is to say, reading—is well-nigh impossible. For the most part, books today represent the extension into print of the talking cultures of Hollywood, cable television, the lecture circuit, the academic conference, the Internet (bloggers are but typing talkers), and editorial-page punditry.

The preservation of culture may not depend on books per se, but it certainly does depend on our ability to instill in our children—and to continually reinvigorate in ourselves—the habits of imagination, wisdom, prudence, moderation, neighborliness, and a host of other character traits that allow us to hold tyranny—internal and external—at bay. This is the most important function of good books, which, unlike speech, bring us out of ourselves, if only for a while. By making us listen, they reveal our radical

dependence on the past, on others, and possibly even on the divine.

To the extent that we do not recognize this radical dependence, it might even be said that ours is not a culture at all, but rather an anticulture—even, in



Jeremy Beer (right), editor of ISI Books, with an ISI Honors Fellow in Oxford, England.

the original formulation of Cardinal Josef Ratzinger, an anticulture of death. For, as the sociologist Philip Rieff has taught us, culture consists essentially in its communal problems, in its restrictions of our independence. This teaching is not an apology for statism, but an affirmation of our inescapable, natural dependence. It is a recognition of which we are all capable, if we but stop talking and start reading.

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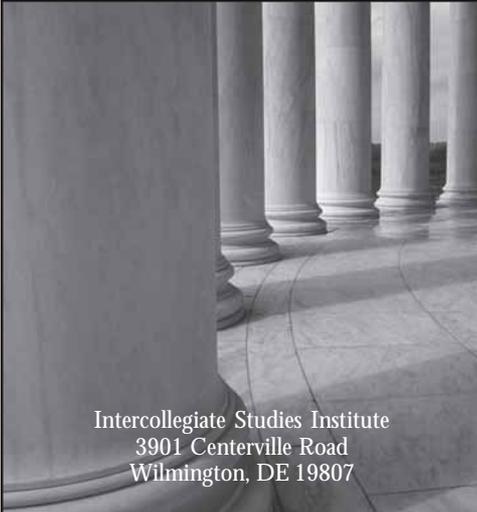
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