

HERTOG 2019 SUMMER COURSES VARIETIES OF AMERICAN CONSERVATISM Matthew Continetti, editor in chief, *Washington Free Beacon*

The story of American politics in the twentieth century cannot be told without reference to the conservative movement. This collection of journalists, policy experts, activists, and politicians, and the journals and institutions around which they congregated, had a decisive impact on the Republican Party and on the country that is still being felt today. Indeed, so successful was modern American conservatism in reorienting the intellectual and political direction of the country that its opponents, including President Obama, have sought to emulate its tactics if not its goals.

Whence did this movement arise? How did the ideas and arguments put forth in obscure magazines come to shape the worldview and policy of American presidents and congressional leaders? Who were the principal intellectual figures of the conservative movement, and how did they seek to influence American elites?

Through a close reading of essays, opinion pieces, and political speeches, we will trace how the principles of conservative leaders have been translated into concrete reality. We will recall the biographies and histories of important conservative figures and publications such as William F. Buckley Jr.'s *National Review*, Irving Kristol's *Public Interest*, Norman Podhoretz's *Commentary*, and Robert Bartley's *Wall Street Journal*. We will hear from speakers who participated in the rush of events that made American conservatism one of the most important political movements in U.S. history. And we will reflect on what the story of that movement might teach us about the status and prospects of conservative thought and practice today.

Resources

To learn more about the figures discussed in this course, we encourage you to explore **Contemporary Thinkers** (<http://contemporarythinkers.org/>), a website devoted to the ideas and influence of pioneering intellectuals of the 20th and 21st centuries.

Sponsored by the Hertog Foundation, ContemporaryThinkers.org includes sites devoted to Irving Kristol, Edward C. Banfield, Nathan Glazer, James Q. Wilson, and many others.

WEEK 1

Monday, July 22, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Classical Liberalism

Readings:

- George Nash, excerpts from *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*, pp. 1–13
- Ludwig von Mises, "On Equality and Inequality," *The Libertarian Reader*, ed. David Boaz

- F. A. Hayek, “Why I Am Not a Conservative,” *Conservatism in America Since 1930*, ed. Gregory L. Schneider
- Milton Friedman, “The Relation Between Economic Freedom and Political Freedom,” *The Libertarian Reader*
- Mt. Pelerin Society, “Getting Together,” *Conservatism in America Since 1930*
- Henry Hazlitt, “The Lesson,” *Economics in One Lesson*
- Albert Jay Nock, “Isaiah’s Job,” *The Atlantic*, 1936

Video:

- “Power of the Market,” *Free to Choose*, PBS, 1980 (http://www.freetochoose.tv/program.php?id=ftc1980_1&series=ftc80)

Magazines:

- *The Freeman* (1950–2016), <https://fee.org/the-freeman/>
- *Reason* (1968–), <https://reason.com/>

Questions:

1. What were the circumstances that led to the classical liberal revival?
2. What is classical liberalism? Is Hayek correct that it is not conservative? Why or why not?
3. What is the relationship of economic freedom to political freedom?
4. What is the attitude of classical liberals toward democracy? Toward the masses?

12:15 p.m. to 2 p.m.

Group Lunch & Guest Speaker: Megan McArdle, columnist, *The Washington Post*

Tuesday, July 23, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Critics of Modernity

Readings:

- George Nash, excerpts from *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*, pp. 33–36, 46–49, 67–74
- Russell Kirk, “The Idea of Conservatism,” *Keeping the Tablets*, eds. William F. Buckley Jr. & Charles Kesler
- Richard Weaver, excerpts from “The Quest for Order,” *Conservatism in America Since 1930*
- Eric Voegelin, excerpts from “Chapter IV: Gnosticism—the Nature of Modernity,” *The New Science of Politics*
- Leo Strauss, “Introduction,” *Natural Right and History*

Video:

- Russell Kirk Address, Heritage Foundation, June 4, 1980 (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?124078-1/russell-kirk-address>)

Magazines:

- *Modern Age* (1957–), <https://home.isi.org/modern-age>
- *University Bookman* (1960–), <https://kirkcenter.org/bookman/>
- *The New Criterion* (1982–), <https://www.newcriterion.com/>

Questions:

1. What is the crisis of modernity? What aspects or propensities of modern life contribute to this crisis?
2. Consider the following themes in each of the readings:
 - a. the intellectual mistakes or vices characteristic of modern thought (e.g., “rationalism,” “nominalism,” “gnosticism,” “relativism,” and “historicism”),
 - b. the importance of liberal and political education,
 - c. the return to classical or Christian models of wisdom,
 - d. the role of religion and its relationship to philosophy and politics
3. What similarities do you find in the various authors’ diagnoses of the modern condition? What differences? What prescriptions do they offer?
4. Does conservatism have a foundational principle—e.g., tradition, revealed religion, natural right?

Noon to 1:15 p.m.

Lunch Break

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Guest Speaker: Daniel McCarthy, editor, *Modern Age* | The Fund for American Studies

Wednesday, July 24, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Anti-Communism I

Readings:

- George Nash, Excerpt from *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*, pp. 86–97, 114–16
- James Burnham, “Communism: The Struggle for the World,” *Keeping the Tablets*
- Whittaker Chambers, “The Direct Glance” & “Epilogue,” *Keeping the Tablets*

Questions:

1. According to Burnham, what is the “key” to the current political situation? Why is it so difficult to identify, particularly in America?
2. What are the special features of the Cold War? What makes the Cold War different from other wars of the past?
3. How did the struggle against Communism shape American conservatism? Why is Burnham anti-Communist? Why is Chambers?

Videos:

- Reagan’s Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential Medal of Freedom, February 23, 1983 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_FDRpwN-G4&feature=youtu.be)

- “The Life and Political Thought of James Burnham,” panel, William F. Buckley, Jr. Program, Yale University, November 14, 2014 (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?322871-3/life-political-thought-james-burnham>)

Noon to 1:15 p.m.

Lunch Break

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Anti-Communism II

Readings:

- George Nash, excerpt from *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*, pp. 106–08, 230–46
- Willmoore Kendall, “McCarthyism: The Pons Asinorum of Contemporary Conservatism,” *The Conservative Affirmation*
- William F. Buckley Jr., “Author’s Preface,” *God & Man at Yale*
- William F. Buckley Jr. & L. Brent Bozell, excerpt from “Chapter 14: The New Conformity,” *McCarthy and His Enemies: The Record and Its Meaning*
- Irving Kristol, “Civil Liberties, 1952—A Study in Confusion,” *The Neoconservative Persuasion*

Videos:

- “The Iron Curtain,” *The Cold War*, CNN (1998) (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yzcZBFImLoA&feature=youtu.be&list=PL8hNHC9nbLlzb4miGp5pZPYCk9Zw0dGke>)
- “McCarthyism: Past, Present, Future,” *Firing Line with William F. Buckley Jr.*, May 16, 1966 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yiuvVk5LjYc&feature=youtu.be>)

Questions:

1. Why were McCarthyites and anti-McCarthyites so “mad” (in Kendall’s words) about McCarthyism?
2. How should we balance the competing demands of minority rights and democratic rule? What answer(s) do Kendall, Buckley, and Kristol give?

Thursday, July 25, 2019

9:30 a.m. to 11 a.m.

**Guest Speaker: Lee Edwards, distinguished fellow,
Heritage Foundation**

5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

Pizza & Film Screening: Cheryl Miller on *Arguing the World*

Friday, July 26, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Buckley, *National Review*, and Barry Goldwater

Readings:

- Lee Edwards, "Standing Athwart History: The Political Thought of William F. Buckley Jr.," First Principles Series Report #29, The Heritage Foundation, May 2010
- William F. Buckley Jr., "Introduction," *Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?*
- William F. Buckley Jr., "Statement of Principles," *National Review*, November 19, 1955
- Frank S. Meyer, "Freedom, Tradition, Conservatism," *What Is Conservatism?*, ed. Frank Meyer
- Barry Goldwater, "The Conscience of a Conservative," *Conservatism in America Since 1930*
- "The Sharon Statement," *Conservatism in America Since 1930*

Videos:

- "In Depth with William F. Buckley Jr.," *Booknotes*, CSPAN, April 2, 2000 (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?156252-1/depth-william-f-buckley-jr>)
- "The End of Firing Line: Part I," *Firing Line with William F. Buckley Jr.*, December 14, 1999 (<http://digitalcollections.hoover.org/objects/7442/the-end-of-firing-line-part-i?ctx=a065c1de-b25f-4e77-9e84-07e75713cb88&idx=9>)

Magazine:

- *National Review* (1955–), <http://www.nationalreview.com/>

Questions:

1. Why is conservatism so hard to define?
2. What are the conservative convictions, according to Buckley?
3. Is "standing athwart history" a viable standard for conservative thought and action?
4. Is libertarianism compatible with conservatism? Is conservatism chiefly about maximizing freedom?

12:15 p.m. to 2:00 p.m.

Group Lunch & Guest Speaker: Christopher Caldwell, fellow, Claremont Institute

WEEK 2

Monday, July 29, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon **Neoconservatism I**

Readings:

- Justin Vaisse, “Chapter Two: The First Age: Liberal Intellectuals in Dissent,” *Neoconservatism: The Biography of a Movement*
- Irving Kristol, “Autobiographical Memoir,” *The Neoconservative Persuasion*
- Irving Kristol, “On Conservatism and Capitalism,” *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*
- Nathan Glazer, “Neoconservative From the Start,” *The Public Interest*, Spring 2005
- James Q. Wilson, “The Rediscovery of Character,” *The Essential Neoconservative Reader*, ed. Mark Gerson

Magazines:

- *The Public Interest* (1965–2005), full archive available at https://nationalaffairs.com/public_interest/issues/spring-2005
- *Commentary* (1945–), <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/>

Questions:

1. What was the “first wave” of neoconservatism? How did it break with the old conservatism? With liberalism?

12:15 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. **Group Lunch & Guest Speakers:**
Ross Douthat, columnist, *New York Times* |
Reihan Salam, president, Manhattan Institute

Tuesday, July 30, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon **Neoconservatism II**

Readings:

- Justin Vaisse, “Chapter Four: Divergence: Inventing a Neoconservative Foreign Policy,” *Neoconservatism: The Biography of a Movement*
- Norman Podhoretz, “Vietnam and the Crisis of Containment,” *Keeping the Tablets*
- Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, “Dictatorships and Double Standards,” *Commentary*, November 1979

Questions:

1. What was the “second wave” of neoconservatism? How did foreign policy come to occupy a central place in neoconservative thought?
2. How do American values influence American foreign policy? Should they?

Noon to 1:15 p.m. **Lunch Break**

1:30 p.m. to 3 p.m.

Turbulence: Conservatism in the 1970s

Readings:

- Alan Crawford, "Chapter 6: Antielitism and the New Class Warfare," *Thunder on the Right*
- Samuel Francis, "Message from MARs: The Social Politics of the New Right," *Conservatism in America Since 1930*
- Harry Jaffa, "Equality as a Conservative Principle," *Keeping the Tablets*
- James Burnham, "Is Liberalism Moribund?" *Viewpoints: The Conservative Alternative*, ed. David Brudnoy
- Tom Wolfe, "The 'Me' Decade and the Third Great Awakening," *New York Magazine*, August 23, 1976
- Ronald Reagan, "The New Republican Party," Address to Conservative Political Action Conference, February 1977

Videos:

- "A Firing Line Debate: Resolved: That the Senate Should Ratify the Proposed Panama Canal Treaties," *Firing Line*, January 13, 1978
(<http://digitalcollections.hoover.org/objects/6488/a-firing-line-debate-resolved-that-the-senate-should-ratif?ctx=bd80c38a-9b43-4f5b-a064-95eae00eaa7c&idx=0>)

Magazine:

- *Conservative Digest* (1975–89), out of publication

Questions:

1. What was the situation of the conservative movement in the 1970s?
2. What was the "New Right"? How did it break with the "old" Right?
3. What is the attitude of the "New Right" toward government intervention in the economy? When is government intervention justified?
4. What is the foreign policy of the "New Right"? How does it conceive of America's role in the world?
5. What was Reagan's vision for a "New Republican Party"? How did he propose to bring together the "two different conservative constituencies?"

Wednesday, July 31, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon

The Religious Right

Readings:

- Ross Douthat, "Resistance," *Bad Religion*
- Michael Novak, excerpt from *Spirit of Democratic Capitalism* in *The Essential Neoconservative Reader*
- Richard John Neuhaus, "A New Order of Religious Freedom," *The Essential Neoconservative Reader*
- George Weigel, "*Centesimus Annus: The Architecture of Freedom*," *A Free Society Reader*, ed. Michael Novak

Video:

- Robert P. George, *Conversations with Bill Kristol*, April 2016 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WB8xAmO3Ggw&t>)

Magazine:

- *First Things* (1990–), <https://www.firstthings.com/>

Questions:

1. What were the distinctive concerns of the Religious Right?
2. Why did the Religious Right come to embrace free-market economics?
3. Was the rise of the Religious Right a sign of the strength—or weakness—of religion in American public life?

Noon to 1:15 p.m.

Lunch Break

Thursday, August 1, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon

The Unipolar Moment

Readings:

- Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History,” *The National Interest*, Summer 1989
- Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment,” *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1990/1991
- Patrick J. Buchanan, “America First—And Second—And Third,” *America’s Purpose: New Visions of U.S. Foreign Policy*, ed. Owen Harries
- Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993
- Robert Kagan & William Kristol, “The Present Danger,” *The National Interest*, Spring 2000

Video:

- Charles Krauthammer, “Democratic Realism,” 2004 Irving Kristol Address, AEI, February 10, 2004 (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?180501-1/american-foreign-policy-unipolar-world>)

Magazines:

- *The Weekly Standard* (1995–2018), <http://www.weeklystandard.com/>
- *The American Conservative* (2002–), <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/>

Questions:

1. What was the developing split between conservatives after the fall of the Soviet Union?
2. What are the distinctive conservative visions of America’s role in the world?

Noon to 1:15 p.m.

Lunch Break

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Guest Speaker: Fred Barnes, senior columnist, *Washington Examiner*

Friday, August 2, 2019

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Conservatism Today

Readings:

- Richard Brookhiser, “WFB Today,” *National Review Online*, February 16, 2018
- Yoram Hazony, “Is ‘Classical Liberalism’ Conservative?,” *The Wall Street Journal*, October 14, 2017
- Charles Kesler, “Thinking About Trump,” *Claremont Review of Books*, Spring 2018
- Tucker Carlson, “Mitt Romney Supports the Status Quo, But for Everyone Else, It’s Infuriating,” *Tucker Carlson Tonight*, January 3, 2019
- Ramesh Ponnuru, “Neither Idol nor Tool,” *National Review*, February 11, 2019
- Charles Krauthammer, “The Authoritarian Temptation,” *The Point of It All*

Magazines:

- *Claremont Review of Books* (2000–), <http://www.claremont.org/crb/>
- *National Affairs* (2009–), <https://www.nationalaffairs.com/>
- *American Affairs* (2017–), <https://americanaffairsjournal.org/>
- *The Bulwark* (2018–), <https://thebulwark.com/>

Questions:

1. What are the possibilities for conservatism after Trump?
2. Who should determine the principles of conservative thought: the people or an intellectual elite?

12:15 p.m. to 2:00 p.m.

Lunch & Guest Speaker: William Kristol, editor, *The Bulwark*

Instructor & Speaker Biographies

Faculty

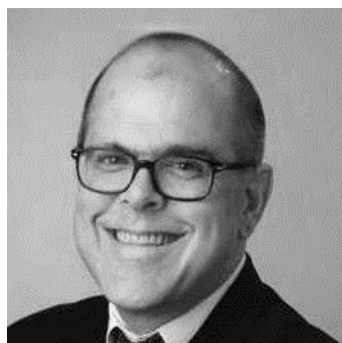


Matthew Continetti is editor in chief of the *Washington Free Beacon*. Prior to joining the *Beacon*, he was opinion editor of *The Weekly Standard*, where he was a contributing editor. The author of *The K Street Gang: The Rise and Fall of the Republican Machine*, Continetti's articles and reviews have appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Washington Post*.

Speakers



Fred Barnes is a senior columnist with *The Washington Examiner* and former executive editor of *The Weekly Standard*, which he cofounded in 1995. From 1985 to 1995, he was senior editor and White House correspondent for *The New Republic*. Barnes appears regularly on the Fox News Channel. From 1988 to 1998 he was a regular panelist on the McLaughlin Group. He has also appeared on *Nightline*, *Meet the Press*, and *Face the Nation*. Barnes graduated from the University of Virginia and was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University.



Christopher Caldwell is a Senior Fellow at the Claremont Institute and Contributing Editor of the Institute's flagship publication, the *Claremont Review of Books*. Caldwell joined Claremont after several years as senior editor for *The Weekly Standard*. Mr. Caldwell's bylines appear regularly in *The Financial Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*. He is also the author of *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe* (2009), an acclaimed study of the impact of the mass immigration of Muslim immigrants to Europe in the 20th century.



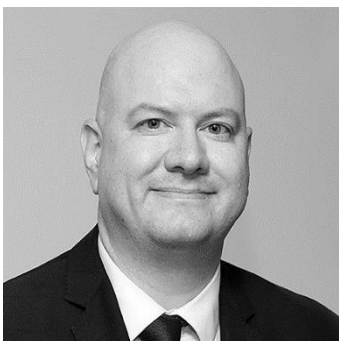
Lee Edwards, distinguished fellow in conservative thought at The Heritage Foundation, is a leading historian of American conservatism and the author or editor of 25 books. He is adjunct professor of politics at the Catholic University of America, where he earned a Ph.D. in World Politics, and chairman of a foundation that dedicated the Victims of Communism Memorial in Washington, DC, in 2007. Edwards was the founding director of the Institute of Political Journalism at Georgetown University and a fellow at the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. His awards and honors include the Order of Merit of the Republic of Hungary, the Millennium Star of Lithuania, the Cross of Terra Mariana of Estonia, Legend of YAF from Young America's Foundation, and the Walter Judd Freedom Award.



William Kristol is editor-at-large of *The Bulwark*. He was a founder of *The Weekly Standard*, and is a regular guest on leading political commentary shows. Prior to his work at *The Weekly Standard*, Kristol led the Project for the Republican Future, an organization that helped shape the strategy that produced the 1994 Republican congressional victory. From 1985 to 1993, Kristol served as chief of staff to Education Secretary William Bennett in the Reagan Administration and as chief of staff to Vice President Dan Quayle in the George H. W. Bush administration. Before coming to Washington, Kristol taught politics at the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard University.



Megan McArdle is a *Washington Post* columnist and the author of *The Up Side of Down: Why Failing Well Is the Key to Success*. She previously wrote for the *Daily Beast*, *Newsweek*, *The Atlantic*, and *The Economist*, and founded the blog "Asymmetrical Information."



Daniel McCarthy is director of the Robert Novak Journalism Fellowship Program at the Fund for American Studies and the editor of *Modern Age*. From 2010 through 2016 he served as editor of *The American Conservative*. His writing has appeared in *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *The Spectator*, *The National Interest*, *Reason*, *Modern Age*, and other publications. Dan has been interviewed on NPR, the BBC, Fox Business, and many other outlets. As an undergraduate at Washington University in St. Louis, he edited a student newspaper sponsored by ISI's Collegiate Network.



Reihan Salam is president of the Manhattan Institute. From 2014 to 2019, Salam served as the executive editor of *National Review*. He is also a National Review Institute Policy Fellow, a contributing editor at *The Atlantic* and *National Affairs*, and, in 2017, was named a Young Global Leader of the World Economic Forum. Mr. Salam is the author of *Melting Pot or Civil War?* and the co-author, with Ross Douthat, of *Grand New Party*.