

EDUCATION



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In This Issue

Edward Peter Stringham, President

Many of us have hoped for a serious disruption in educational services to make them more market-based. We need reduced union power, more parental choice, and deregulation away from public options. Markets could work wonders in this sector if only they were permitted to do so. Similarly with higher education: fewer subsidies and more competition could drive down costs to the point that it could be affordable again.

Well, after decades of such advocacy, we finally got our disruption. It was not the one we wanted. Government cruelly shut down all schools in the name of virus control, even though the threat to people under the age of 30 was known to be close to zero. Even now, it is mystifying why this policy came down so hard and fast. It has been tremendously damaging to the healthy part of education services while doing nothing to fix the parts that are broken.

We needed reform but not like this. I fear that the lockdowns are going to set us back perhaps by decades. Another scenario, however, might be that the trauma of lockdowns will force the kind of reform that we need. If nothing else, we discovered that there are alternatives to the status quo and that change, even dramatic and sudden change, is possible.

The financing of higher education is going to be a pressing issue in the years ahead. One wonders why parents and students would be willing to pay six figures for a college experience that is tremendously degraded from what students have come to expect for decades. Even as I write, students are being locked in their dorms with their movements monitored closely and dealing with extreme restrictions on what they can and cannot do. Many students have decided it is not worth it and moved back home.

Then there is the problem of college sports. The shutdowns and throttling of fans will prove to be devastating to college finance. This could end in the closing of whole sectors of university life. Even now, the cuts are affecting new hires in every department.

It's very difficult to see any winners from this educational lockdown game. This is one reason it makes sense to me to see this entire sorry episode as a gigantic error rather than a product of someone's conspiracy. That said, it does provide an opportunity to rethink everything about education. The contents of this issue of the Harwood Economic Review explore many paths forward.

Edward Peter Stringham

This Pandemic Is Not Homeschooling's Moment

Fiona Harrigan

Since the pandemic first picked up steam, over 1 billion students around the world have experienced educational disruptions of one form or another. In the United States alone, at the strictest point of closures, at least 55.1 million students in K-12 public and private schools were affected. Many kids, for the first time in their lives, engaged in remote learning.

The popular media jumped on the seemingly obvious conclusion that the nation's children were now participants in a grand homeschooling experiment. NPR offered an instructional guide of *Tips For Homeschooling During Coronavirus* and the *New York Times* walked parents through *Figuring Out Home Schooling in the Age of Coronavirus*.

Ardent supporters of school choice were only too happy to join them in identifying this epoch as one in which we all, miraculously, became homeschoolers.

But this association could deal homeschooling a death blow, damaging its reputation beyond repair. As allies to homeschooling glowed, parents proclaimed *this is hell* and students completed assignments over McDonald's WiFi en masse. COVID-era education proved so traumatizing that the *Washington Post* warned, *Homeschooling during the coronavirus will set back a generation of children*. Clearly, many are concerned.

Homeschooling is a system to be celebrated, to be sure. But to say that COVID-era measures created a homeschooled nation is a truly dangerous claim—and critics and proponents of homeschooling alike would be wise to amend their narrative.

Homeschooling is an educational pathway rooted in agency, something that the pandemic robbed families of. Its very premise is choice. Parents educate their children at home so they can develop an individualized curriculum, employ alternative instructional methods, and provide a more harmonious and compassionate learning setting. The system is based on nurture and collaboration and is deeply responsive to the needs of each student it serves.

Compare that to the state of COVID-era *homeschooling*. Often with just days' notice, kids were relegated to their rooms with nothing more than worksheets, fragmented Zoom calls, and unrealistic attendance expectations. A Common Sense Media survey conducted in March and April indicated that more than half of all American teenagers worried about keeping up with their schoolwork, and roughly a quarter connected with teachers less than once a week. If these students were to believe that they had been homeschooled, they would forever associate home education with the boredom, discomfort, and confusion they experienced as a result of a global pandemic.

In reality, homeschoolers are active players in their education. The system entrusts students with the freedom to pursue interests that might otherwise be stifled by top-down educational direction and blanket tactics employed in large classrooms. Passions have space to grow without being crowded out by lessons that students do not need or want.

Somewhat counterintuitively, kids who learn at home pursue countless educational opportunities in the real world. Classrooms take many forms for homeschoolers, be they museums, libraries, or national parks. Multidimensional learning teaches students how to interact with the real world and find educational value in any number of experiences. Students come to associate learning with far more than just school.

In contrast, COVID education has hardly been rooted in the real world. The cultural, historical, and social spaces that homeschoolers regularly incorporate into their educational plans are now largely closed to the public, with students across the U.S. limited to what they can access from their homes. Virtual resources are a critical component of modern homeschooling, but they are far from the entirety of the homeschool experience. The holistic, outward-facing ethos that so often shapes homeschool curriculum is absent from what the nation now considers homeschooling.

After facing so many obstacles, it seems inevitable that the academic performances of American students will have slipped come fall. The NWEA, an educational research organization based in Oregon, offered a dire assessment:

Students will return to school with 70 percent of the learning gains they would otherwise make in reading, and under 50 percent of the progress they would have made in math. This decline is expected to be so severe that some academics have proposed that students repeat grades to compensate.

Michael J. Petrilli, president of the Thomas B. Fordham Institute, went so far as to recommend that roughly one-fifth of America's students be held back. If we are to believe that we are now a nation of homeschoolers, shouldn't these academic struggles at least hint at abysmal educational standards among homeschoolers?

Quite the opposite. Homeschoolers perform better on standardized tests—on the ACT, for example, the average score for homeschooled students is typically between 22 and 23 points (compared to the national average of 21), which lands these kids in the 65th percentile. This trend is just as visible grade-to-grade.

A 2011 Concordia University study compared the educational standards of public school students, structured homeschooling students, and unstructured homeschooling students in Canada across a variety of metrics and found that structured homeschoolers scored at least one grade level ahead of public schoolers in 5 out of 7 categories, half a year ahead in one, and maintained a slight edge in the last.

Indeed, there is plenty to praise.

But COVID-19 has revealed an invaluable truth: The virtues of homeschooling do not magically materialize whenever students stay home. On paper, having students complete public school coursework from home may have looked like an ideal combination. But in practice, it failed to capitalize on the benefits of either system. Both the socialization offered in traditional school settings and the autonomy endemic to homeschooling were lost in the chaos.

If homeschooling is to appear viable to the public, it must be something people choose. Otherwise, it will forever be remembered as a system that assaulted American families with newfound expenses and anxieties.

This is not a desirable image of homeschooling. Homeschooling is not characterized by rigid guidelines administered by outside bodies. It is not a system where passion dies, where students struggle to get excited about their education. It is not a one-way ticket to lower academic standards.

This was not homeschooling.

Proponents of alternative education would be wise to reflect on their praise of America's forced experiment in *homeschooling*. Because while this experience may compel some parents to keep their kids at home, there will be millions of students who return to physical schools with nothing but disenchantment with a system that may have held all their answers.



Reform the K-12 Government- School Monopoly: Economics and Facts

Gregory van Kipnis



Since when are we denied choice in our consumption decisions? That certainly is not the case in free markets. Only when there is a monopoly are we denied choice. The negative consequences of that are well known, and there is a long tradition in the United States of monitoring and breaking up monopolies. At a later point, there will be discussion about how public education monopolies came about but, suffice it to say, there is no longer an economic justification for them. Monopolies produce goods and services at a higher price and a lower quality than would be obtained in a competitive market. That is certainly the case with public education.

The purpose of this study is to report on data and facts gathered about the relative costs and benefits of public school education versus the alternatives. Data was found that we believe has not been analyzed before, despite their existence in databases available from reliable US government agencies. When discussing school costs, the data typically evaluated is from nonprofit organizations. Their reports are based on data given to them by participating schools or derived from sources that the uncritical mind naively believes are useful, as is, for analytically based decision-making.



Human progress and the development of human capital go hand in hand. Formal education is the crucial beginning of that development. This leads to more productive and innovative citizens, which, in turn, leads to greater economic growth and social success. This chain of success begins with the education of the young. Naturally, society should be interested in data about the costs and outcomes of different approaches to education, namely public versus private schools, and how this data should affect our choices and behavior.

It is not easy to acquire comprehensive and consistent data over time. In this report new ground is broken as a result of finding data from non-conventional but reliable government data agency sources. This data breakthrough allows a long-term analysis of trends and levels in the relative cost, per pupil, for public and private education at the K-12 level. In addition, though initially difficult to obtain, we succeeded in obtaining to a limited degree standardized testing results for public and private schools.

This study obtained expenditure data buried in the details of the National Income and Product Accounts of the

US, more familiarly known as the NIPA accounts. The data is constructed from public and nonpublic sources by the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) at the US Department of Commerce—the same agency that calculates the data for Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Enrollment statistics were obtained from the US Census Department.

For comparison purposes we also looked at expenditure and enrollment data gathered by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). More on that later.

Per Student Cost of Public and Private Education

This study found that currently (as of 2018), a public school education in the US costs 89% more than private education; that is, \$14,653 for a public school and \$7,736 for a private education. The high relative cost of public school education has persisted since the earliest period for which the data has been collected—1965 (Chart below). This is a rather startling finding and contrary to the understanding public officials have generally led us to believe about the cost of public and private education.

Private education is significantly less expensive. However, its cost has been rising at a somewhat more rapid rate than public school education. In the 1960s, private education was 35–40% of the cost of public schools. Today, it is slightly more than half the cost.

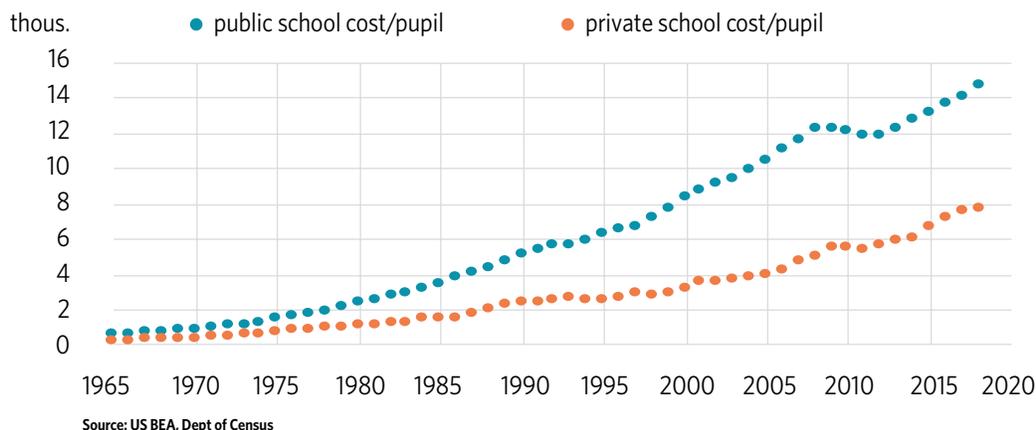
These are averages computed from US Government data. As averages they obscure the fact that the costs vary widely across the country for both public and private education. Some public schools are very expensive and exclusive to the residents of towns and cities that are very prosperous and collectively agree to accept high property and real

estate taxes to finance that outcome. Other locals are not as well endowed, despite supplemental funds transferred from state educational funds. At the same time the cost of private education is also highly variable ranging from exclusive boarding schools and prep schools to neighborhood charter and parochial schools, and homeschooling.

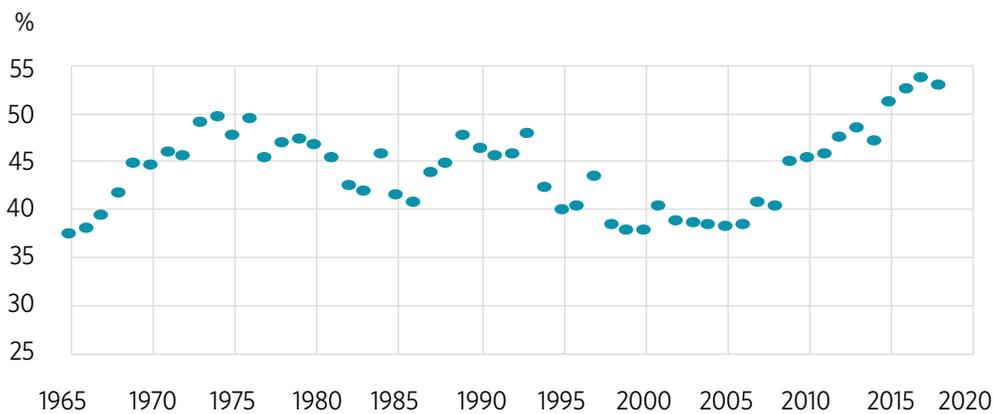
The NCES estimates the 2018 per pupil cost for public school education at 10% less than the BEA's estimate at \$13,220 compared to the \$14,643 mentioned above. The overall trend and level of NCES's cost calculations for public schools are broadly similar to our BEA-derived estimates. Both suffer from the omission of the true actuarial cost of the benefit package school system employees receive in their retirement years. The data we are given only include the annual contribution to those benefit funds. However, as is well known from other studies, state and local benefit plans are hugely underfunded and the shortfall is expensed annually from the general budget. It has been estimated that this omission, if properly accounted for, would likely add 15% to the per pupil cost of public education. Total compensation in the school system comes to 75% of the total school budget.

Setting aside errors and differences in the cost estimates of public school education, the real contribution to useful knowledge of the data provided in this study is a more accurate estimate of the cost of private education using BEA data rather than the NCES data. The NCES looks only at *posted* tuition charges for a sample of private schools (see next section for more details). In 2011, the last year the NCES provided a cost estimate, the BEA cost per pupil came in at half of the NCES estimate at \$5,400 vs \$10,700.

Expenditure per Pupil, K-12



Ratio: Private to Public per Pupil Cost



There is wide variation between school districts. There are approximately 14,000 local school agencies in the US. Public sources do not provide data at that fine a level of detail. To get some feel for the variation of costs, state level data was used. According to the NCES, the cost per pupil varies between \$7,000 and \$23,000, suggesting a variance of +/- 50% around the national average. There is little doubt the variance is even greater at the district and county level, given the very high real estate taxes paid by residents in the toniest zip codes that provide near exclusive private school levels of education quality and cost.

What is Private Education?

To better understand these startling cost differences, one must understand what is meant by private education; that is, what is included in the universe of private education providers, outside of the public school system. The parents of the students who are the consumers of education are clever and determined to craft and negotiate affordable quality education. Many types of private education solutions have emerged. At one end there is homeschooling, which in total accounts for about 10% of the private education population. A variant called 'school pods' have emerged in recent years that pools homeschooling on the internet. At the other end of the spectrum, there are expensive and exclusive prep schools. They, too, represent about 10% of all private education enrollment. In between are a wide variety of parochial and non-sectarian schools that operate on tight budgets.

Important to the understanding of the data, as it turns out, parents rarely pay the full posted tuition, even at the expensive prep schools. Our finding of \$7,736 is half of the tuition

schools post in their offering documents as stated by the NCES. Schools offer discounts, grants and scholarships. I have seen the books of one school that reveals a realized per pupil tuition that is about half the posted price. Homeschooling and school pods bring further economies of cost. One would not have an inkling of that from the standard data provided by the education industry.

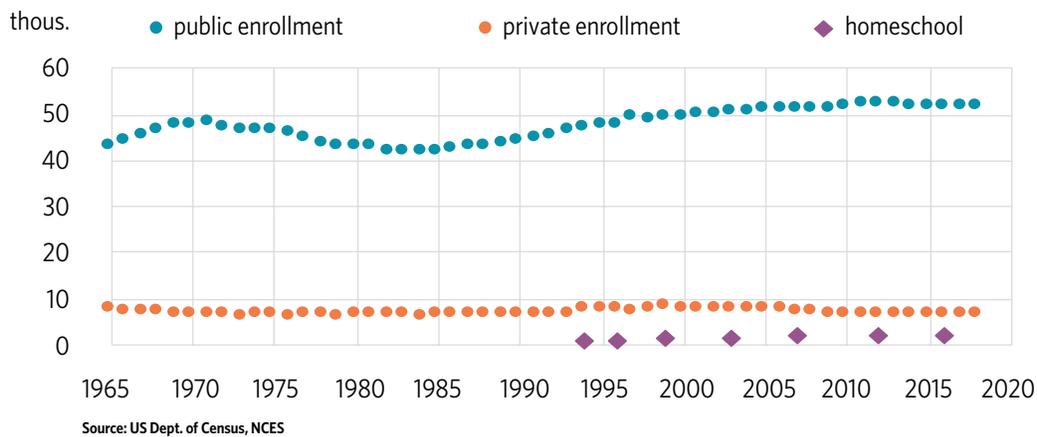
What is Public School Education?

The quality and nature of public schools are not uniform across the country. In wealthy suburban areas, the community agrees to impose upon itself high real estate taxes in order to finance outstanding education. Even within urban areas, there are specialty schools that have competitive entry exams and often are organized toward a particular career path such as the arts or sciences. Every state government understands that there are unequal economic conditions across their state. To remedy the unequal impact that would have on local education quality, a portion of local real estate taxes are redistributed from richer to poorer districts to level the school funding to a fairer degree.

Is the Demand for Private Education Growing Rapidly?

Curiously, there appears to be virtually no growth in private education enrollments over the past 30 years whereas public school enrollments have grown. Homeschooling, almost invisible at the bottom of Chart 2, has grown somewhat. However, data for homeschooling is very scarce as there isn't a large national constituency and data collecting organization. Of course, most of the data is delayed by 2 years, so there may be an uptick in private school demand once we get data for the most recent two years through 2020.

Enrollment, K-12



This lack of growth in private education is surprising given the reputation of better academic outcomes being realized. An obvious explanation for the absence of relative growth in private education, despite its low relative cost, is because the total cost of private education is in addition to the cost of public education. Everyone pays for the cost of public education, whether they have children of school age or not, whether they rent or own an apartment or own a house, and irrespective of whether they send their children to private school.

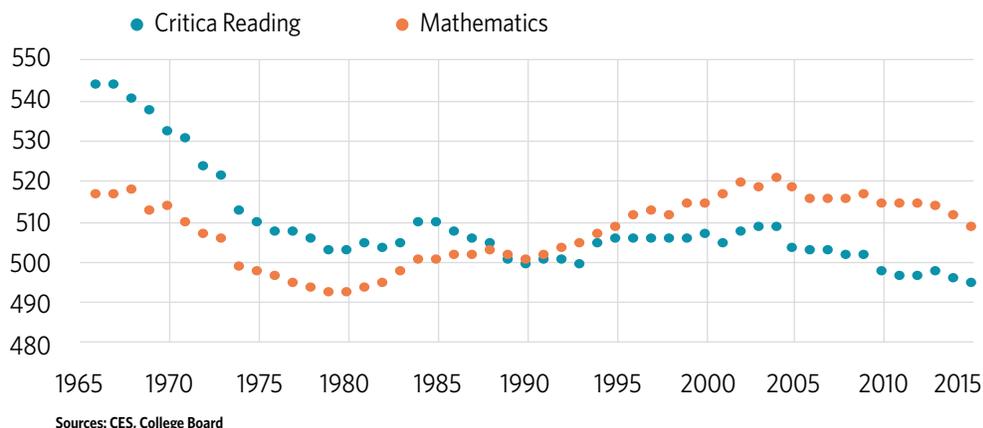
There are some interesting exceptions to how quasi-private school is priced, which would invite further study regarding the price elasticities of school demand. For example, homeschooling is a quasi-private education, yet the cost

of homeschooling does not add significant additional costs. A homeschooled child is attached to a public school district and subject to their control. However, there are considerable indirect costs, namely the value of parental time devoted to teaching. Charter schools, as well, do not impose an additional cost burden on parents, as charter schools are generally operated within the public school system, often in the same building.

Are the Results of Public and Private Education Similar?

While the generally accepted knowledge is that private education produces better results than public school education, it is hard to find the data to make the case one way or the other. A search of publicly available data and analyses turned up three curiosities: (1) ACT or SAT results broken

Public School, 12th grade, SAT scores



down by the type of educational institution the test taker goes to are not publicly available, unless you are lucky and found something that fell between the tracks; (2) studies of test results differences between public and privately schooled students mainly focus on finding social/demographic explanations, using longitudinal data (meaning cross-sections of time, not over time). The analyses try to normalize the results to explain why test results do not show improvement in public schools or are comparatively different from private schools; (3) no separate longitudinal or time series studies were found that explain trends and levels in test results for students receiving private education.

What has been found are overall national SAT results, which are shown in Chart 3. These results break out average scores for critical reading and mathematics. They are test results for all college-bound students regardless of the educational institution they were enrolled at. There is no need to cite the exact numbers. The overall results are well known. Critical reading results are in a down trend since 1966 and mathematics results have oscillated but are no better today than 50 years ago and are trending down since 2004.

ACT is an alternative testing company. They use a different metric from the SAT. Their data is also publicly unavailable separated by public and private school students, but it was possible to 'scrape' off the internet a chart which displayed some data on test results by type of educational institution from a one-time study they published. We do not have

the underlying data but have reproduced their chart as Chart 4. It shows the trends and levels in the composite ACT test results (meaning for math and reading combined) for the period 2001-2014, for private, public and homeschooled children.

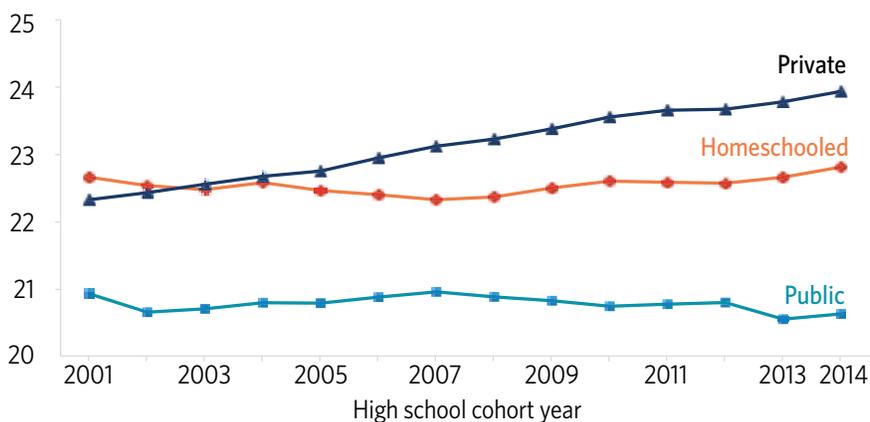
The results speak for themselves—private schools test at a significantly higher level than public schools, and the gap is widening. However, there is no question that public schools have a larger, more inclusive mandate to teach all children in the community, including those with disabilities, those where English is a second language, and the children from homes with chaotic domestic situations. Homeschooled children have the advantage of devoted parents who both choose to educate their children and are able to afford the time of at least one parent to do it. Private schools are more selective as to who they accept—unless they are specialized schools that work with certain handicaps such as blindness and hearing impairment—largely because they are generally not equipped to handle significant disabilities.

Logic for Monopolies Granted by the State

Consumers of any product know they get better outcomes, as measured by quality and price, if the product is offered in competitive markets. This is true even in markets that have only limited competition. Any competition is better than none. Just as that principle is true in the markets for cars and cafes, so it is true in the market for educational services.

Trends in Mean ACT Composite Scores for Homeschooled, Public School, and Private School Students

Mean Act Composite Score



Source: ACT Inc.

The existence of competitive markets for education runs into some harsh realities, practical considerations and trade-offs in the US due to geography, economies of scale, social policy and getting agreement on basic standards and curriculum.

The provision of a *public good* of *free and equal* public education for all is a noble goal. It is not an easy one to fulfill given the dispersion and diversity of our geography and of our society. Whereas, in many other countries, education is controlled at the federal level, in the US it is delegated to the several states and locales to provide schools. A ragged system evolved inconsistently across the country. Inequities emerged revealing discouraging shortcomings of implementation of the ideal.

As a society we have granted local governments the right to manage monopolies to supply various utility services, such as telephone, water, gas and electricity. Those are frequently thought of as 'natural' monopolies, given the state of technology. It was not considered feasible to maintain public right-of-way for multiple competing vendor delivery pipes and conduits leading from a central source to each home and establishment.

Granting a monopoly, even at the local level, requires regulation to prevent exploitation, however defined, and shortcomings of other standards of quality and safety. Boards were created to provide governance over the various utilities. There was confidence that there would be enough comparative information on costs, prices and profit margins from hundreds of other providers to provide useful benchmarks. Thus, it was believed boards could provide good governance and regulate the utility to provide services at fair and competitive prices, guided by the price data across other regulated markets.

As the state of technology changed some previously established monopolies have ended as competition became feasible. The most notable example is the telephone service.

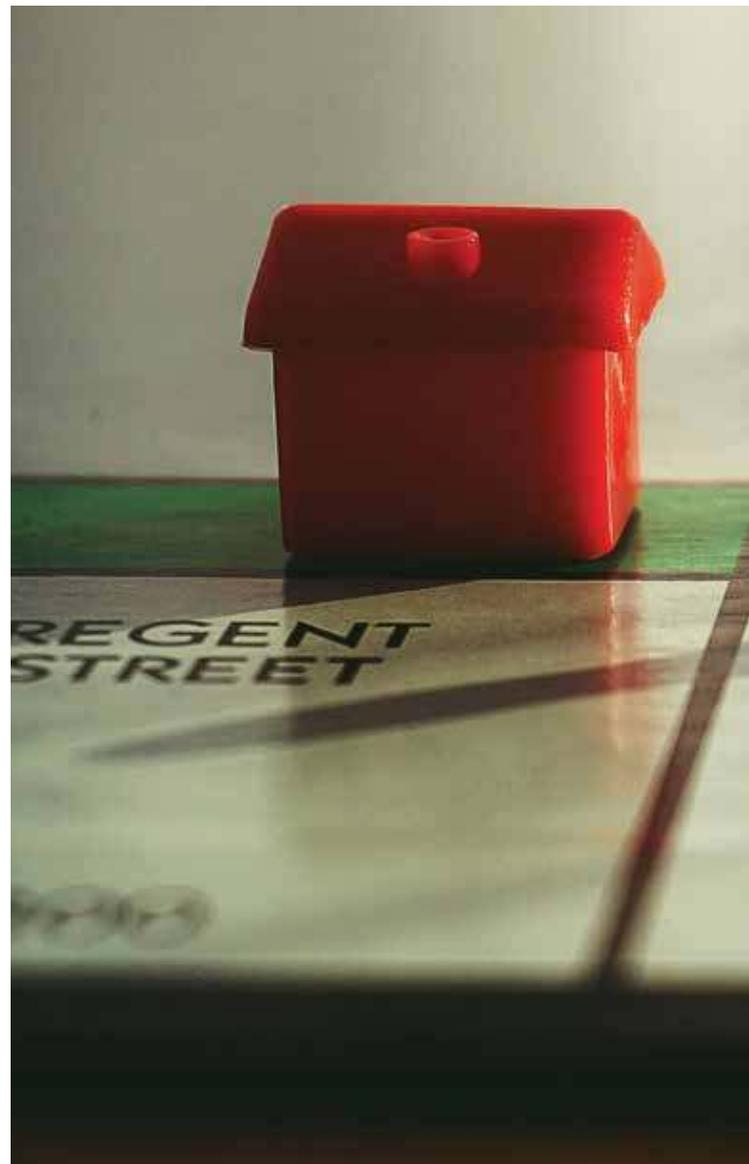
What About the Regulation of Education?

The flow of water, sewerage, gas and electricity are largely governed by the laws of physics. Hence, the management and installation of local utility monopolies are largely governed by engineers and political appointees. Obviously, there are no right-of-way constraints for education, but there is no physical science to it either. In smaller locales, there are problems of access and economies of scale. In rural areas, central schools have been set up with bus service to create a consolidated market across several towns. As one moves closer to more urbanized areas, there is sufficient concentration of demand that several school districts can operate separately economically.

Most of these considerations were not at issue at the birth of public education in the US. A study of the early history of the ideal of a public education reveals a sordid and complex story. It is a history of competing interests of immigrants and the establishment, and of different churches and the state. In short, ministers vs mayors; migrants vs mainliners. There have been two and a half centuries of experiments and mistakes by central planners largely ignoring free market solutions.

Every aspect of a school was the playpen of social engineers and pedagogical theorists. There was an endless seesaw of competing ideas such as: Schools should focus on training factory workers; focus on obedience to the state; schools should be spartan; learning should be by rote; there should be a tight structured syllabus; there should be no structure; girls should not have the same education as boys, and so on.

In 1967, under President Johnson a massive 30-year, \$1 billion federal study was launched under the name Project Follow Through. Its intent was to find better ways to teach so as to eliminate the difference in achievement between



disadvantaged and 'normal' children, but nothing came of it. Many teaching theories were evaluated. In the end nothing was changed. The various competing stakeholders could not reach agreement. However, it was an incomplete market of stakeholders. Parents were not included.

The unionization of teachers also raises questions. Teachers' unions were largely absent until 1962 when President Kennedy issued an executive order permitting government workers to organize. However Right-To-Work laws limited the growth of unionization in many states. The pros and cons of the value added by unions is not at issue in this analysis. But monopolies (whether absolute or near) tend to beget monopolies. Local school monopolies, controlling the supply of education, have begotten national labor monopolies controlling the supply of labor. It has been noted in many studies that teachers' unions have further raised the cost of education both in terms of wages and benefits, reduced productivity through work rules and the tenure system, and resisted change in teaching methods.

Conclusion

The fatal conceit of government authorities believing they can decide on the goals, methods, materials, processes, technologies and physical aspects of public education has been rampant. Consideration of the needs of the broader marketplace—consisting of parents, and to some degree, the students, and ultimately the employers of students—is to be found mostly by omission. All the professed good intentions of bureaucrats intervening in the delivery of public education have led to the current situation that no one considers satisfactory. For many, it is a disaster.

It is manifestly cheaper to get a private education and get a far better education in a private school. The problem holding back the growth in private education is that you have to pay twice to get it.

The economics and facts support the logic of freeing parents to obtain private education and alternative public education for their children. To further facilitate this decision, parents should be given vouchers and credits equal to the cost of public school in their area, which they can freely use to fund their choice of better education in the private sector.



The Dangers of Keeping the Schools Closed

Ethan Yang

As the school year approaches, there is much consideration over whether or not to close the K-12 system in an effort to slow the spread of COVID-19. These concerns come from a wide variety of constituencies, from parents to public officials to teachers. However, much like the overall discussion regarding COVID-19, this proposal is ill-informed and will likely lead to unintended consequences that will be far more severe than the problem it seeks to address.

School Closures Are a Time-Sensitive Policy

One of the first points to consider when approaching the question of closing schools is timing. Yale University sociologist Nicholas Christakis, a proponent of school closure, warns that although the policy could be beneficial it must be done very early. Furthermore, although Dr. Christakis certainly supports school closure if done at the correct time, he acknowledges that now, *It's sort of closing the barn door after the cow is gone.*

This maneuver, even for those that support it, will be incredibly difficult to do effectively and the appropriate time to even consider this policy may well have been in January, not July.

It also seems that proponents of school closure seem to misunderstand the purpose of their proposal. Italian epidemiologist Marco Ajelli tells *NPR*, *Closing schools can buy time and delay the peak of an epidemic.*

Unfortunately, that time has passed as well. Much like anything concerning COVID-19 and epidemiology, we cannot be certain that closing schools will actually delay the peak of an epidemic. Even if it is an effective policy measure, school closures are not intended for simply reducing cases amongst children; they are a way to buy time to prepare for the climax of an outbreak.

As outlined by Dr. Christakis's sentiments, the time for this conversation should have been months ago. It may have been an effective policy to buy time for hospitals to retool and prepare for the outbreak but that has since been accomplished, although rather sloppily. The peak of the pandemic has passed, COVID-related deaths have dramatically decreased, and hospitals are far more prepared than they were months ago.

Closing Schools May Hurt Children More Than It Protects Them From COVID-19

When it comes to protecting the health of children, sending them to school could possibly be the safest option. Sonja Santelises, CEO of Baltimore Public Schools tells *NPR* that *For a large number of our students, the safest place for them to be is actually in school.*

Schools provide a number of things that would be advantageous to the well-being of a child. Being at school places children in a controlled environment which in some neighborhoods could be better for more problems besides infection control.



Children are the least vulnerable to COVID-19. Professor Peter Collignon, an Australian microbiologist and infectious disease physician, writes in the *Guardian*, *The data from a range of countries shows that children rarely, and in many countries never, have died from this infection. Children appear to get infected at a much lower rate than those who are older. . . there is no evidence that children are important in transmitting the disease.*

Furthermore, a paper published by medical experts at Colorado State University and Yale University says that, *What we know about social distancing policies is based largely on models of influenza, where children are a vulnerable group. However, preliminary data on COVID-19 suggests that children are a small fraction of cases and may be less vulnerable than older adults.*

The Atlantic offers some additional insight on why children seem to be at a lower risk of contracting COVID-19 as they report, *Everything an infant sees, or a young child sees, is new, says Donna Farber, an immunologist at Columbia University. Thus, their immune system is primed to fight new pathogens in a number of ways. . . This is why adults are able to mount a rapid immune response to previously encountered pathogens, but also why they might have trouble fighting a new one. Diseases such as rubella and chicken pox are also, for various reasons, more severe in adults than in children.*

The CDC echos this assertion that children are at a lower risk of COVID-19 not only in the mortality rate which is extremely rare but also in the infection rate. Furthermore, online teaching in its current state would not deliver the same results as an in-person experience. If schools intend to stay closed for any substantial amount of time that could be incredibly detrimental for young students.

Professor Collignon writes *Many will likely miss out on over six months of teaching. While online learning might be available it is unlikely to be as effective as face-to-face teaching and those with less resources will disproportionately be disadvantaged. Minimal or no mixing with their friends and other children for over six months will also have deleterious effects.*

Many teachers will have little to no aptitude for effectively running online classes. Disadvantaged students such as those with troubled families or low socioeconomic status will be most harmed by school closure. In particular, many parents will need to take time off from work to care for their children. For many, this would be impossible.



Childcare Obligations Will Decrease the Effectiveness of the Healthcare Sector And Potentially Increase Deaths

When considering the childcare needs of healthcare workers, closing schools may actually lead to an increase in mortality rates not just for COVID patients but sick individuals more broadly. Congruent with AIER's observation that the conversation surrounding COVID-19 seems to be utterly blind to the tradeoffs of lockdown measures, Jude Bayham and Eli Fenichel write, *School closures come with many tradeoffs. Setting aside economic costs, school closures implemented to reduce COVID-19 spread create unintended childcare obligations, which are particularly large in healthcare occupations.*

According to their raw data about 15% of registered nurses, 19.14% of Diagnostic-related technicians and technologists, as well as 14.45% of EMT and paramedics will be unable to meet their childcare obligations with the help of a nonworking adult or sibling just to name a few. Much like all models and calculations, the true percentage of total healthcare professionals that will be forced to take time off from work is not certain. However, what we can be certain about is that closing schools will impose childcare obligations on healthcare workers that will lead to a reduction in the overall medical staff.

The drawbacks of such a decision, the most important being an increase in mortality rates due to lack of medical professionals, can only be estimated with models. These models, much like those used by epidemiologists to predict



COVID-19 deaths and spread, must rely on assumed values and equations that seek to imitate reality. As a result, we cannot be certain whether the result will be more or less severe.

We can be certain that closing schools will result in a reduction of medical staff. We can also be certain that this reduction of staff will increase the risk of mortality not just for COVID-19 which is a comparatively mild disease but also for those suffering from even more serious ailments. Whether it will be a slight increase that can be justified by an overall reduction in infections, as some would say, or send catastrophic shockwaves of unintended consequences, much like closing the economy, cannot be reliably predicted at this time.

A paper on epidemiology written by British Healthcare Professionals caution concludes that *Other implications of school closure (e.g., ethical and economic considerations) and viral properties such as virulence must also be considered in policy decisions.*

It is worth noting that the authors of the paper conclude that school closures would be effective in combating influenza. In the case of COVID-19, in which children are at a lesser risk, it is unclear whether or not school closures would be as helpful in slowing infections. What we can be sure of is that there will be a host of unintended consequences. These include everything from a drop in healthcare staffing to an additional economic disturbance on top of the current financial calamity generated by the lockdowns.

Closing Schools Will Exacerbate Existing Economic Calamity

A report published by the Brookings Institution states that *We find that closing all schools in the U.S. for four weeks could cost between \$10 and \$47 billion dollars (sic) (0.1–0.3% of GDP) and lead to a reduction of 6% to 19% in key health care personnel. These should be considered conservative (i.e., low) economic estimates in that earnings rather than total compensation are used to calculate costs.*

This is only assuming schools will be closed for four weeks, not until 2021 which many either advocate or have already done. Much like shutting down the economy and labeling some businesses *nonessential* has unleashed a wide range of predicted as well as unpredicted consequences, we can be sure closing schools will do the same.

Sending children to school has been a basic component of American socioeconomic life for generations. A sudden cessation leaves millions of kids at home in an economic system which is virtually built on the assumption that their parents don't have to take care of them during the day. We can only imagine how disruptive that would be.

Perhaps one of the most overlooked consequences of closing schools and lockdowns more generally because of its difficulty in measuring is hope. Although we can measure decreases in the healthcare workforce and economic retraction, we can't easily measure optimism. Right now optimism is critical. A working paper from the University of Chicago estimates that 60% of the current economic downturn is

due to consumer sentiments; that is, being afraid of living their lives due to COVID-19.

There will surely be further economic retraction due not only from physically closing schools but a reduction of hope and increased anxiety. The effects will be impossible to measure until they happen. The same goes for increases in suicide rates, domestic violence, substance abuse, and so on. These are further unintended consequences and tradeoffs that have resulted from the lockdowns. It is not absurd to think they will only worsen by closing schools.

Are the Tradeoffs Worth It??

As the 2020–2021 academic year approaches, closing K–12 education and switching to remote learning is on the minds of many. Those who advocate for this decision must come to terms with a number of important tradeoffs that come with it. Some of those tradeoffs are more apparent than others.

Closing schools will certainly be detrimental to the educational and social needs of a generation of children.

For some, school might actually be the safest place to be and for countless working parents they need their kids to be there. More importantly, the healthcare sector needs all hands on deck not only to handle the pandemic but to serve patients with ailments far deadlier than COVID-19.

Forcing healthcare professionals to stay home to take care of their children will likely result in a higher mortality rate. Closing schools will inevitably worsen the economic downturn caused by the existing lockdown in ways that we can only begin to imagine.

Medical experts who support school closures more generally clarify that they are a tool to be considered at the beginning of a pandemic, not seven months in. Lastly, COVID-19 poses a far lesser risk to children for both death and infection. Closing schools will probably spare some schoolchildren from infection. Whether it will be enough to justify what we may have to sacrifice is another question entirely.



Return of the One Room Schoolhouse?

Robert E. Wright

America should never have closed but even if you think it should have its K-something schools should not have followed. Policymakers chose a different path, however, and now some seem poised to repeat it in the Fall despite overwhelming evidence that children are safe from COVID-19 and are unlikely to spread it to their teachers or parents.

The New York City school district, in fact, just announced classes will only be held three days a week *in an effort to continue to curb the coronavirus outbreak*. As if!

It is difficult to see anything other than partisan politics at play in the decision. The goal seems to be to keep schools closed so that parents cannot return to work so the economy will stay weak, which will give Joe Biden a better chance of going down in history as a real President and not just the Obama administration's backup. Public teachers unions are another major force as they naturally want their members to get paid as much as possible for as little work as possible.

So now we stand witness to the rather bizarre spectacle of Democrats pushing to keep PUBLIC schools shuttered and Republicans touting the importance of the institutions that prepare young people for further Leftist indoctrination in college.

Worse, Democrats, the alleged party of the poor, are pushing a policy that will hurt the poor far more than those who can afford tutor-nannies, private schools, and other pricey stop gaps.

Look for more of these bizarre situations as the election nears.

I know what I would do if I still had children attending K-12 in a district that does not open for regular business this late summer/fall: I would join with ALL my neighbors for a real estate tax rebate on the grounds the taxes were paid in expectation of regular instruction.

I would then use the refunds to fund tutor-nannies and private school attendance. And if I couldn't get a refund, or it proved insufficient, I would join with my neighbors with K-12 children to establish *One Room Schoolhouses*.

A *One Room Schoolhouse* is more a pedagogy, an approach to learning, than a physical description, though most this year would indeed meet in private homes out of necessity if nothing else. Historically many schools that employed the *One Room* method were, in fact, just a single room, often framed like a house, and which could double as the residence of the marm or teacher.

The crux of the One Room School, however, is not the physical meeting place, which could be under a tree in a park. It is that older students instruct younger ones. That pedagogy worked amazingly well for over a century, up until the 1960s in some parts of this country. It was inexpensive but efficient, especially at teaching independent thinking.

If you have ever taught, trained, or tutored anyone, you already know that the most effective instruction occurs at the most personal level. Smaller classes are better than bigger ones and tutoring is more effective than lecturing to a room of people with vastly different levels of comprehension and different learning styles (visual, auditory, tactile, etc.).

The teachers, who could be un- or underemployed parents or college students taking a term or two off or a combination thereof, oversee the classroom and tutor the older students, who then teach the younger ones, often in more relatable ways than traditional instructors can muster. It is not child labor exploitation because teaching promotes mastery of material for the older students.

I would also push for more of a student-centered Montessori or project-based approach to learning, where students learn by doing rather than through rote exercises but neither is a necessary part of the One Room approach. It does, however, foster creative, independent thinking, something that is sorely needed. Students in really good project- or problem-based learning environments wake up joyously thinking, *I get to go to school today!* rather than whining *Do I have to go to school today?*

I imagine that many apartment buildings in New York City have enough K-12 students to form multiple One Room Schools and surely most students in the more densely packed parts of the city will not even have to cross a street to get to one, much less take public transportation, which of course is the real risk of reopening schools in the Big Apple.

In less densely populated places, some travel by vehicle may be necessary but that is low risk if parents are doing the dropping off and picking up. In many small cities, students are accustomed to walking to school so they will be able to walk to more numerous and hence likely closer One Room Schools.

Fancy equipment is completely unnecessary, even for recreation, which can be done at parks or even the playgrounds of shuttered schools. A hiking trail can provide both exercise and lessons (or projects) in biology and ecology. Even lunch can provide hands-on skills, like in a formal Home Economics class, as well as lessons or explorations in nutrition. (Probably best to leave sex education to parents!)

With luck, One Room Schools will flourish, if only because parents need to work and know that they cannot homeschool, which works extremely well for some families but, as we learned in during the COVID crisis, not for most. That does not mean, however, that bloated bureaucratic entities are best. Let's learn from history and use the failure of our political system to push education back to the local level. I know many college professors, myself included, would be thrilled just to have students whose natural love of learning hasn't been beaten out of them by 13 years of mass public education.



Restoring Our Troubled Academy

Jay Schalin

The state of our universities is disturbing. Problems abound: high costs, crippling student debt, poor educational outcomes, and, most alarming of all, the radicalism that underlies many of the recent riots and the continuing push for socialism.

All of these problems share a fundamental cause—lack of leadership by those who are legal owners of universities or their representatives, the boards of trustees. No matter what other solutions are employed, one action essential for academic reform is to return board governance to its former place atop a hierarchical chain of command.

Currently, academia operates under a system known as shared governance. Shared governance gives each of the three main stakeholder groups—boards of trustees, administrations, and faculty—control over their own sphere of activities and influence over other spheres. Its complexity can clog the gears of decision-making; it is responsible for higher educational institutions' inability to address serious problems through inaction and places authority in the wrong hands.

Legally, boards already have the ultimate authority over most matters—major court decisions have consistently affirmed this—but they long ago gave up their control. Before the massive explosion of learning in the nineteenth century, lay board members often had the necessary intellectual proficiency to make detailed judgments about the curriculum. But the growing specialization of knowledge put them at a disadvantage, so they retreated before the faculty.

That retreat has turned out to be a grave error. The curriculum should be decided at the societal level, not by experts. This is especially true at the public institutions that educate roughly 75 percent of all college graduates, since the ultimate purpose of public support for higher education is to benefit society. Boards exist on a plane between the institution and society; they are the proper decision-makers at that level.

Instead, faculty have control over the curriculum, and in many cases, encourage students to adopt the worst ideas. Faculty are not incentivized to be impartial, and they exhibit a strong tendency toward the phenomenon called *groupthink*, a process that gradually eliminates dissent and favors unanimity over objectivity. Academic groupthink has progressed too far to expect that reform will come from inside the academy; one study of humanities and social science faculty voter registrations in 1972 showed four Democrats for every Republican. A 2016 study showed the imbalance had increased dramatically to 11.5 to one.

While boards usually have legal oversight powers, they almost never exercise their authority even to prevent severely egregious faculty hires or new programs and courses. One of the rare examples of a board exercising due diligence that illustrates the need for such oversight was the Steven Salaita case at the University of Illinois. The American Indian Studies department offered Salaita a tenured position; soon after, tweets he made came to light that included, among other antisocial sentiments, praise for the kidnapping and murder of Israeli teenagers. The board of trustees voted against making his appointment final, saving Illinois from hiring an unhinged radical professor whose academic freedom protections would have made him difficult to fire.

But faculty are just part of the shared governance problem. Administrators have been able to relegate the board to little more than a rubber-stamp committee due to an asymmetry-of-information problem. The administration is intimately involved with everything that occurs on campus, and can therefore manipulate the board, which is composed of largely part-time non-educators who remain at a distance from day-to-day operations, by limiting the information given to board members.

Some may argue that a system of governance that grants power to multiple stakeholders is equitable. But higher education is not a democracy; nor does it thrive without firm leadership. The sad truth is that the current system is failing on many levels and the greatest need is finding the best means for good governance. Shared governance has produced an educational and political crisis. As long as the faculty and top administrators are in charge, the academy will continue to be wasteful, self-serving, and inappropriately political. Change must come from above, where the board is supposed to be.

Save America from Cancel Culture

Richard M. Ebeling

One of the new fashionable phrases has become *cancel culture*, the idea that ideas, institutions, and people of the present as well of the past must be overturned and dethroned from legitimacy and acceptance in society, so as to expunge the injustices, cruelties, and insensitivities existing in current life and lingering over from history. The question is: what exactly is the culture in America that is to be cancelled?

Elements of the *cancel culture* mindset and movement have been seen in the tearing down of statues, demands for removing from buildings and other monuments the

names and imageries of various people, and the ostracizing of certain individuals, living or dead, who are accused of and condemned for racist, sexist, and other politically incorrect words or deeds at any time during their life.

White racists of the past used to say that *one drop of black blood* disqualified any person from having status as a member of the *superior white race*, and, instead, relegated you to the lower category of being an inferior being. Now we see another variation on the same type of theme: One word or deed, no matter how innocent or innocuous, no matter how long ago or in the context of an earlier less



enlightened time, and no matter how much of a *higher consciousness* you have had ever since, or how publicly apologetic you may be for that *sin* of the past, none of this can save you from banishment, seemingly for all time, from good woke society.

You are cast out to the nether regions of human existence. Erased from the record of humankind. And all because everything *American*, past and present, should be seen as the essence of all things evil and immoral. Because what the country has stood for and done represents the worst in human history.

Racial Bigotries and Cruelties of the Past

Of course, endless examples and instances of such racist attitudes and behaviors can be offered from the pages of American history. For instance, historian John B. McMaster (1852–1932) detailed the racist actions of white prospectors and fortune-hunters in California, following the gold discoveries in 1848, in his *History of the People of the United States 1850–1861*, Vol. 8 (1913):

Hatred of the 'greaser' was early and strongly developed, and in the northern and central mining regions Chileans, Peruvians, even Frenchmen were driven from the placers. Here and there some resistance was made; but in most instances they quietly submitted and went off to the valley of the San Joaquin. Germans, English, Irish were not disturbed, for it was against the dark-skinned races, Malays, Kanakas, Spaniards, and above all Mexicans and South Americans that feeling ran high . . .

The greasers having been driven from the State, the wrath of the native Americans fell next on the Chinese . . . At first the Celestials, the China boys, met a warm welcome, and in San Francisco on more than one occasion were the object of public attention . . . In the mining camps, on the other hand, the feeling against the Chinese ran high, and meetings were held, and resolutions passed calling for their expulsion . . . A few days later some sixty American miners came down the north fork of the American River, drove away two hundred Chinese, and destroyed their tents. (pp. 60–63)

The classical liberal author and essayist, Albert Jay Nock (1870–1945), penned a piece that appeared in the *American Magazine* (February 1913) on, *What We Stand For* (reprinted in, *The State of the Union: Essays in Social Criticism* by Albert Jay Nock [1991]) He asked what America was really about when a black man could be dragged from a hospital bed by a mob, and then burned alive:

On Sunday evening, August 13, 1911, at the hour when churches dismiss their congregations, a human being named Zack Walker was taken by violence out of a hospital at Coatesville,

Pennsylvania, where he lay chained to an iron bedstead, in the custody of the law, suffering from a shot-wound, apparently self-inflicted.

The bedstead was broken in half, and the man, still chained to the lower half, was dragged half a mile along the ground, thrown upon a pile of wood, drenched with oil, and burned alive. Other human beings to the number of several hundred looked on in approval. When Walker with superhuman strength burst his bonds and tried to escape, they drove him back into the flames with pitchforks and fence-rails and held him there until his body was burned to ashes. Those who could get fragments of his charred bones took them off as souvenirs. (p. 139)

Nock wondered what this told us about human beings in modern, supposedly civilized society, whether in America or anywhere, who would act in such ways?

America is Not a Lie, But an Ideal of Liberty in Progress

The cancel culture proponents, and most certainly the more *activist* and radical among them, would insist that such episodes tell us all we need to know about America, and that the America of the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, about which historian, John B. McMaster, and essayist, Albert Jay Nock, wrote, is the same America today.

Is that what American culture is, and always has been about? I would beg to differ. If it was, let me suggest that we would not have seen the improvements in racial and social circumstances and conditions that have happened over the last century. Segregation laws are long gone, and, if anything, laws have been introduced to impose and police compulsory integration under federal anti-discrimination laws.

Employments, professions, and occupations that had been long reserved for *whites only* went out with the Jim Crow statutes in the South, and to the extent that *social distancing* was practiced by many whites due to personal and peer-pressure prejudices, over the last half century these have radically disappeared in an amazing array of social and interpersonal settings.

The civil liberties expressed in the Bill of Rights no longer apply to some while not to others. Where violations, abuses, and any other willful acts may occur, legal defenses, advocacy groups, and general public opinion in the age of mass and social media try to limit or turn a bright light onto such conduct in most instances today; and pressures are made for the introduction of reforms that would make such behavior less frequent, if not impossible, and not to go unpunished.



I have no wish to sound Panglossian, that the world we are in is the best of all worlds. It is certainly not. And as a classical liberal who believes in and cares deeply about the rights and dignity of the individual human being, all such infringements, denials, and abuses are unacceptable affronts to what I consider the moral principles upon which any good and decent society should and can be based.

Liberty is a Single Tapestry of Civil and Economic Liberty

Classical liberalism is not simply a political philosophy of economic freedom. The right to honestly acquired private property, the right to freedom of association in the competitive marketplace of supply and demand, the right to produce, buy and sell whatever individuals choose to on the peaceful and non-fraudulent terms to which the participants agree, are essential elements to any consistent practice of liberty in society.

But for most classical liberals and libertarians, the starting premise and principle from which economic liberty is derived is the broader right of the individual to be viewed as having the most basic and fundamental property right: to himself. Each individual is a self-governing person, having *sovereignty* over his life, liberty, and the external properties that he has acquired with either his own direct efforts of production or through the free and honest exchange entered into with others.

Freedoms of speech, the press, and of religion; the right of association for any and all peaceful purposes, to be secure in one's person and papers and other properties from those in political power without legal warrant and due process of equal and impartial rule of law; these and other such rights captured in the U.S. Constitution and complementary legal bases, means the securing of and protecting the civil liberties and rights that are inseparable threads along with economic freedom in the tightly woven single tapestry of human liberty. To abuse or abridge any one of them is a threat and a warning signal to all other sides of liberty.

This is what makes the principles and founding documents of the American Revolution and the U.S. Constitution impossible to be viewed as defenses of slavery or legal segregation and discrimination, or institutional racism. The American founding runs counter to all such conduct in its vision, hope and promise for a society based on the sanctity, dignity, and respect for the individual and his rights from the violent betrayal of either private persons or those in political power.

Justice David Brewer on Free, Self-Governing Americans

David J. Brewer (1837–1910) served as an associate justice on the United States Supreme Court for 20 years, from 1889 to 1910. He strongly advocated equal rights and respect for women, worked for equal opportunities for black

Americans, and supported freedom of association among workers. In a series of lectures delivered at Yale University on *American Citizenship* (1902), Justice Brewer explained what it meant to be an American in terms of defining beliefs and ideas:

This is a government of and by and for the people. It rests upon the thought that to each individual belong the inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It affirms that the nation exists not for the benefit of one man, or set of men, but to secure to each and all the fullest opportunity for personal development. It stands against the governments of the Old World in that there the thought is that the individual lives for the nation; here the nation exists for the individual . . .

Far be it for me to affirm that we have lived up to our ideals. I am making no Fourth of July speech. On the contrary, our history has disclosed many shortcomings. We have not been free from the weaknesses of human nature. But, notwithstanding all our failures, nowhere has there been a closer living to the ideals of popular government, and nowhere are the possibilities of future success greater.

If, therefore, the chief object of national existence is to secure to each individual the fullest protection in all inalienable rights and the fullest opportunity for personal advancement, and if this nation has come nearer than any other to the realization of this ideal, and if by virtue of its situation, its population, and its development, it has the greatest promise of full realization of this ideal in the future, surely it must be that the obligations of its citizens to it are nowhere surpassed. (pp. 14, 17-18)

The obligation of an American citizen was to live up to this ideal of a land dedicated to the liberty and rights of each and every individual. To strive to practice what was preached. Clearly, to overcome those weaknesses in human nature that resulted in a failure to fully respect and live by the idea of human freedom, a society in which the government exists to protect the individual in his rights and not to make the individual a subject to those in political power for their own purposes, whether those in power was one, or a few, or even many.



Hans Kohn, Austrian Historian Who Found a Home in America

Sometimes, moments of great political and ideological crisis place things in more essential defining clarity. Certainly, the rise of totalitarianism in the years between the two World Wars was such a time, which reached its climax in the Second World War. In the eyes of many, the crisis of that time was between two conceptions of man, society and government. Communism and Nazism represented a reactionary turn toward a comprehensive and cruel collectivism that would envelop and crush the individual in the rush for making *new men* based on Marxian-imagined social class or National Socialist biological race.

On the other side was the ideal of free men in a free society, without human beings reduced to cogs in the wheels of political tyranny and social terror. America, in the eyes of many at that time, represented the alternative to the totalitarian threats. One of them was historian Hans Kohn (1891–1971), a recognized leading scholar on the idea and history of nationalism in the modern age.

Born in Prague in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, he became a determined Zionist in his 20s. Kohn served as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army when the First World War began in 1914, but was captured by the Russians in 1915 on the Eastern Front, and spent five years in Russia as a prisoner of war, witnessing both the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the three years of bitter and brutal Civil War that followed before in Russia before returning home to Prague.

Kohn spent several years in Palestine in the 1920s but became disillusioned with a political and nationalist Zionism that showed little regard for the rights of the Palestinians with whom the immigrant European Jews were increasingly living. He came to the United States in the early 1930s and remained in America for the remainder of his life, devoting his scholarly efforts to analyzing and understanding the nature and consequences of nationalism versus the liberal and free society in general.

America as the Liberal Ideal of the Free Society

In Hans Kohn's view, in that world crisis between freedom and liberalism versus totalitarian tyranny, America held a unique philosophical position. He explained this in one of his wartime works, *World Order in Historical Perspective* (1942):

All the great currents of the Western liberal development of the 17th and 18th centuries were able to ripen to fruition under the especially favorable circumstances of the English colonies in North America and in the wake of their revolutionary movement.

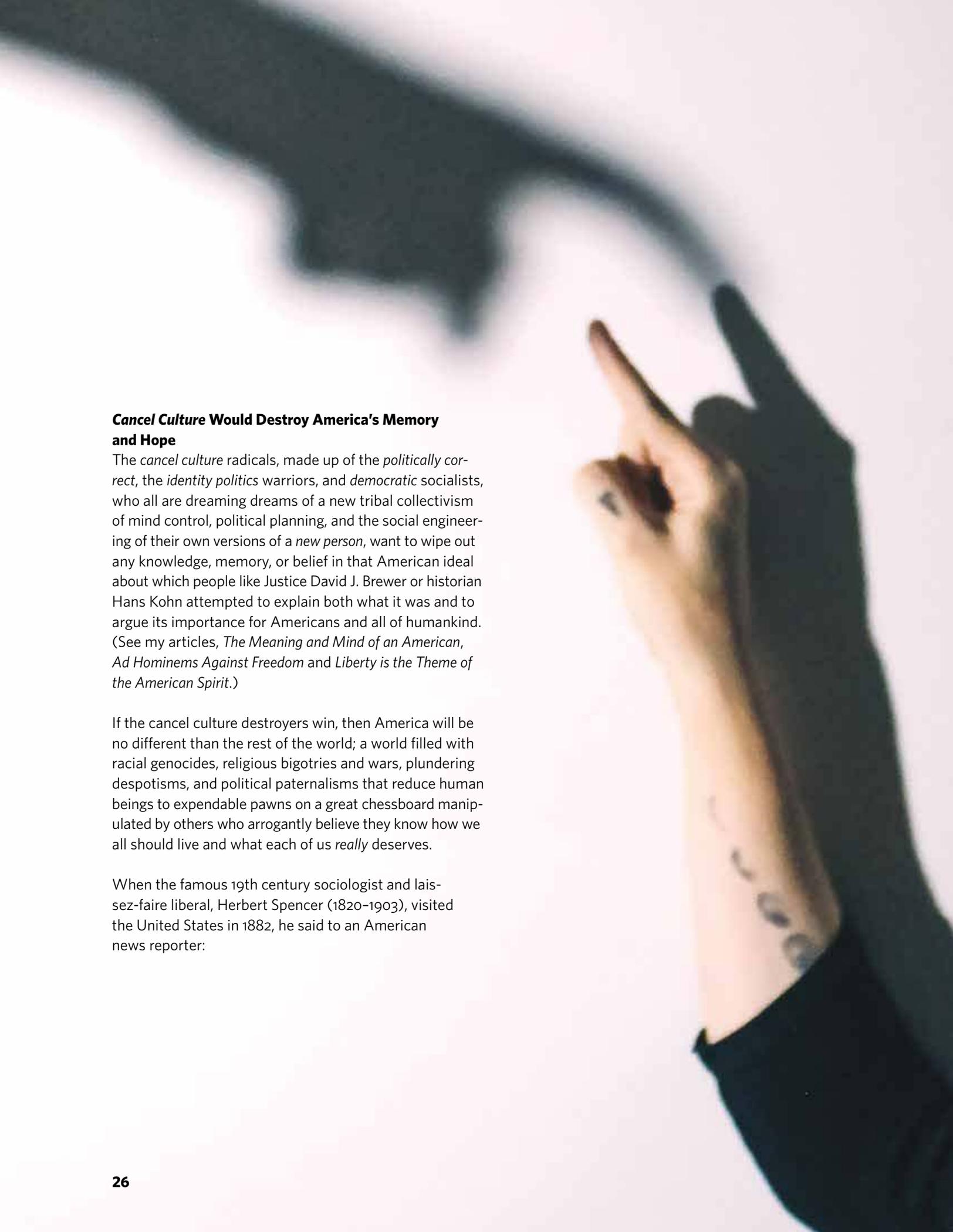
Here, more than anywhere else, emerge the Western man; not as a race, because he was a mixture of many races, but as a social and intellectual type, professing a deep faith in man and his potentialities, and trying to build a civilization on the basis of rationalism, optimism, and individualism. The American society more than any other is a product of the 18th century, of the faith in freedom and in ultimate harmony; a typical middle-class society with its ultimately pacifist ideal . . .

No wonder that Europeans looked longingly toward the vast spaces of North America, where they saw the possibility of establishing a society without kings or nobles, a society founded upon the philosophy of the century. Though the Americans had come from Europe, they seemed to be changed men, as if the air of America were filled with liberty and were able to transform men's minds and hearts . . .

Among the realities of national life, the image which a nation forms of itself and in which it mirrors itself is one of the most important. Though the everyday reality, in many ways, does not correspond to the image and falls far short of its ideal perfection—sometimes even contradicts it in the countless and conflicting trends of the complex actuality—nevertheless, this image, woven of elements of reality, tradition, imagination, and aspiration is one of the most influential agents in forming the national character. It helps to mold national life; if it does not always act in a positive direction, it acts at least as a constant brake. (pp. 9–10, 17–18)

This inspiration and aspiration of a society of free men, based as Kohn said, on rationalism, optimism, and an individualism of liberty was and is real. It has not been a fabrication, a *false consciousness* to hide a reality of oppression, discrimination, and racism. There have been oppressions, discriminations and racisms. But the fact that they ran contrary to what the country has stood for in terms of its own image of what an American is supposed to be and stand for, and which has been that mirror, as Kohn suggested, that reflects back on the actualities of men's words and deeds, that has made Americans, however slowly and sometimes grudgingly, move more in the direction of those ideals, without which there really is no reason or rationale for an *America*.

That racism was a deep and deadly wound in the American reality was not lost or deemphasized by Hans Kohn. In a contribution to the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1938) on *Race Conflicts*, he said and warned that racial inequality and mistreatment, epitomized by the brutality of the lynching of black men was, *conducive not only to the destruction of democracy and liberty, but also to the undermining of justice and law.*

A hand is shown in the foreground, pointing upwards with the index finger. The hand is illuminated from the side, casting a long, dark shadow onto the white wall behind it. The shadow of the hand is also pointing upwards, mirroring the hand's gesture. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

Cancel Culture Would Destroy America's Memory and Hope

The *cancel culture* radicals, made up of the *politically correct*, the *identity politics* warriors, and *democratic* socialists, who all are dreaming dreams of a new tribal collectivism of mind control, political planning, and the social engineering of their own versions of a *new person*, want to wipe out any knowledge, memory, or belief in that American ideal about which people like Justice David J. Brewer or historian Hans Kohn attempted to explain both what it was and to argue its importance for Americans and all of humankind. (See my articles, *The Meaning and Mind of an American*, *Ad Hominems Against Freedom* and *Liberty is the Theme of the American Spirit*.)

If the cancel culture destroyers win, then America will be no different than the rest of the world; a world filled with racial genocides, religious bigotries and wars, plundering despotisms, and political paternalisms that reduce human beings to expendable pawns on a great chessboard manipulated by others who arrogantly believe they know how we all should live and what each of us *really* deserves.

When the famous 19th century sociologist and *laissez-faire* liberal, Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), visited the United States in 1882, he said to an American news reporter:

As one of your early statesmen said, 'The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.' But it is far less against foreign aggressions upon national liberty that this vigilance is required than against insidious growth of domestic interferences with personal liberty . . .

The fact is, that free institutions can be properly worked only by men each of whom is jealous of his own rights and is also sympathetically jealous of the rights of others—will neither himself aggress on his neighbors, in small things or great, nor tolerate aggression on them by others. The republican form of government is the highest form of government; but because of this it requires the highest type of human nature—a type nowhere at present existing. We [the British] have not grown to it, nor have you [the Americans].

But how can we hope to grow more into that type of person who is respectful and jealous for his own liberty and protective of that same liberty that rightfully belongs to all others—including to be free from racist bigotries and political injustices that may flow from it—that American culture of individualism, and personal, social, and economic liberty, and the ideal of a government of impartial rule of law devoted to securing each person's individual rights, if it is all *cancelled* through the destruction and the repression of all knowledge and understanding of the country's history, the good and the bad? How shall that history be an inspiration and an aspiration for the next generations if it is all torn down and cast away? And most importantly, the denial and distortion of its founding ideals of a morality of a free people?

It is why all possible effort must be made to resist and rationally respond to a *cancel culture* that would erase the history and memory of America from the minds of humankind.



A Graduate Student's Review of Jason Brennan's *Good Work if You Can Get It: How to Succeed in Academia*

Justin T. Callais

Summer and winter breaks. A cozy office overlooking the quad. The feeling that you are changing the minds and lives of young people by teaching something you have devoted your life's work to.

While a job in academia is one of the best jobs you can attain (proved by the high levels of reported job satisfaction), getting that *dream* job is by no means a guarantee. In fact, it is much more likely that you *will not* receive one.

Brennan uses his experience as a well-published academic to help others learn what you can do to improve your odds of receiving one of those jobs in his most recent book, *Good Work if You Can Get It: How to Succeed in Academia*. Brennan's advice—which, in my opinion, would have also been a fitting first line in the introduction—is *if the work does not make you happy, then it is not worth doing*.

Oftentimes, those entering doctoral programs are already being labeled a doctor by family and friends—we've all heard those blasted jokes about needing a doctor on a plane, even though the *future doctor* in question might be studying economics, art history, or Medieval literature. However, *only half* of those who enter a doctoral program in the United States end up actually earning the title of *doctor*. Some quit, others fail.

Although the title suggests that this book's sole purpose is to help those succeed in academia, Brennan's book accomplishes much more than that. Brennan seeks to give data-driven advice on how to succeed in graduate school, how to stay productive in your work, and what to expect on the job market—as well as what steps one can take to have the best shot of attaining what most see as the ultimate goal: tenure.

Brennan first lays out the unpleasant truths associated with academia, ensuring the audience that he or she is aware of what the reality of the path to becoming an academic is. Some of the advice might upset readers—indeed, dating

other graduate students is highly advised against—but a devoted and focused aspiring academic will find wisdom between the pages of this book: if you want a research-focused academic job, follow these rules.

Brennan does not attempt to coddle the reader; in fact, the first words of the introduction point to the *Unpleasant Truths* about academia. At the same time, the reader is pulled back into interest *about the World's Best Job*. This tactic is meant to brush away the imagery of intellectuals drinking coffee in the ivory tower, being paid to think big thoughts. Brennan holds back no punches about the brutally honest truth about the world of academia.

This compact section holds, in my opinion, the two best quotes in the entire book. The first, found on page 2, states that *in some situations, you can't help but face the facts. If you're crossing the street, you'd better look both ways*. In essence, Brennan wants to provide the reader with all of the facts before he or she decides to cross the street.

Four pages later, on page 6, Brennan states that *Academia is not a perfect meritocracy, but it's not a lottery, either. The winners understand the system; the losers tend to make the same mistakes over and over again*. In this line, the reader is forced to come to the realization that while the system is not perfect, this book is intended to strictly tell the reader the reality of the life path they have chosen and the ways in which they can navigate successfully through the leviathan that is the system.

Chapter 1, *Do You Really Want an Academic Job?* extends upon the introduction with even more bleak, hard-to-swallow truths. Brennan illustrates this through *Ed*. One does not want to be an Ed. Ed thinks that graduate school is for thinking about ideas, sans the aspects of writing and teaching said ideas. Graduate school, specifically doctoral programs, is a professional degree that seeks to teach students how to be a professor—though Brennan also notes that graduate schools tend to fail in this regard.

Importantly, Brennan makes the case in this chapter that advice that comes from one's advisors might be misleading precisely because the student is receiving guidance from the person who did get the *awesome* research-oriented job. While this statement probably neglects the ability of others (advisors) to put themselves into the shoes of someone else (their student who likely will not be in the same role as them), I am sure that this is the case for many graduate students out there.

Chapter 2 provided the most insight to me given my status on the road to academia. This chapter contains advice centered on the steps one should take if they intend on succeeding in graduate school. Some of the more important points were clear and likely uncontentious: professionalize early, use proper time management, utilize one's role as teaching assistant to develop future classes, and have three papers under review at all times. Others, however, were more disputable: do not pay to get a PhD, do not date other graduate students, and do not *over-teach*.

One particular piece of advice within Chapter 2 that I found incredibly relevant, considering the high volume of conferences and networking events my graduate program encourages students to attend, was his argument for finding the right balance of networking and *sucking up*. Simply put, Brennan reminds readers to be a *normal* human in networking settings. It is important to realize, as Brennan states on page 64, *you [as a graduate student] will never have less expected of you and never face less pressure than you will as a graduate student*.

Brennan encourages readers to take advantage of this unique position in life by forming authentic and genuine connections with others and also giving time to one's self for personal fulfillment and recreation. These steps, Brennan attests, will substantially increase one's odds of receiving a tenure-track job.

Chapter 3 is a great read no matter which stage in academia one is in. Throughout the chapter, productivity is a central theme. When people think of keeping track of budgets, they may think of bank accounts. However, a different kind of budget is often ignored—one's time budget. Brennan realizes the importance of tracking one's time budget as a way to ensure one is spending their time in a way that is beneficial for one's professional goals, but also does not neglect one's mental health.

This realization was a wakeup call for me: Yes, I should take breaks and enjoy myself on occasion. While graduate students often get vague advice like *put your butt in the chair and write* or *just do it*, Brennan takes a different approach.

He suggests instead concrete statements like *write 20 hours a week and use the same argument (or principle) for multiple papers*. But, Brennan follows his pattern of adding value to his book by providing avant-garde statements, such as *busy is beside the point* and *grade less*. *Grading less* according to Brennan does not mean being a bad teacher, but instead a smart teacher.

Another benefit of reading Brennan's book while in graduate school is the concluding piece which is a topic that no one wants to think about: what to do if you do not get the dream job. On the other hand, Chapter 4 provides advice on how to increase one's chances of getting that coveted dream job whatever that may be for the individual graduate student.

Brennan lays out a straightforward formula. First, create a CV that stands out amongst numerous other CVs. A CV tells the hiring committee why they should hire you over the hundreds of other potentially qualified applicants. Therefore, one should give the hiring committee a *hook* that signals originality, endurance, and excellence. These details may come from creative yet impactful research topics, numerous publications, and evidence of success within the classroom.

Brennan speaks to the much-desired fly-out portion of the job market experience. However, Brennan warns that the job is not earned yet. Sound advice like *ask questions that signal you care about the department and your future colleagues* and *show interest in teaching any class they recommend* should be well received by those who care to listen to it. Overall, the advice within this portion of the book is expected and does not include the sort of strong, provocative advice Brennan provides in previous chapters.

Some might take away from the book's title and synopsis that its audience is solely prospective graduate students, but that is inaccurate. This book is also a beneficial read for newly minted PhD candidates to aid in their productivity skills and advisors of graduate students to learn how to best mentor, guide, and be a valuable resource to their advisees. As a current doctoral student, I recommend this book wholeheartedly.



After the Virus, Universities Will Survive

Michael Munger

You've heard it: If universities can go online, shouldn't classes be virtual in the first place? Why pay \$50,000 a year or more for an educational streaming service? I'm not a public health expert, but as a political economist I'd say that the university system will take quite a bit of killing.

Universities, at least the *top* universities, may not just survive, but thrive. Yes, in the short run, there is considerable uncertainty. But this crisis, whether you see it as a crisis of public health or of bad policy, will not last forever.

The Problem

Universities will have to change, of course. I myself wrote about the utility of the *Virtual Section* a few years back. And even before the CV19 panic, many second-tier institutions have had to reduce costs, increase graduation rates, and compete for a shrinking pool of new applicants. Many have substituted away from tenure-line faculty toward harried temporary instructors, who may work at several institutions and may have less time for students. If *education* is just widgets, then online education appears to increase scale and cut cost.

Some schools should close; many have, and more will soon. But most closures in the past 3 years were new, for-profit colleges that were shaky to begin with. The thing to remember is that seemingly opposite trends can all happen at once. Folks listen to MP3s for their music now, but after the epidemic they will once again pay to go to concerts and symphonies.

Video streaming services are busy, but theaters and Broadway shows will be back in a year. Online classes will expand education and make it more widely available. But the shared, in-person experience will always have a place in education. The question is: what is that place? How will our evolving view of education *delivery* be combined with other things that make *going to college* so attractive?.

Online vs On Campus

Online courses are movies that went straight to cable. People will still pay for big movies, a shared experience, sitting together all watching the same thing at the same time. Yes, universities must move toward systems that are hybrid, and modular, versions of flipped classrooms and other kinds of pre-recorded material. But sharing a learning experience in a group, and then discussing it, is

an experience many students will still seek out, and support. Even in a classroom setting, the problem of student attention was getting worse; for online classes, banning laptops is impossible.

There may be software solutions, but we are far from solving that problem. And the current generation of faculty is still used to eye contact, and using a whiteboard. Teaching technology has not been the focus of most graduate preparation. At this point, we can't move classes online, without years of additional work.

But classes are less than half the story. It's a cliché that some students come to college for the parties, and then stay for the classes, but to see college only as a course delivery system is risible. There are sources of values—both benefits and sensibilities—that will make college matter more than ever as the outside world fragments. I propose that representing these values is a metonymy—in my case, four buildings—standing in for the category. (I should note that this argument has been made by others, including Michael Gibson of the Theil Foundation, but as a critique rather than a defense.).

1 The Clock Tower The central tower peals out the time; coordination is better than anarchy. But saying, *Education will occur on Tuesdays and Thursdays between the hours of 11:10 and 12:25, and at no other time*, is artificial. People should learn, think, and discuss things on their own schedules. The Procrustean clock tower is an anachronism.

Except. . . wait a minute. Some experiences are more intense, more vivid, and more memorable for being shared. A Broadway show, or even a movie, has an exact starting and ending time. For a group of friends to have dinner, they must agree on a time for the reservation. Yes, suppressing the tower's tyranny illustrates the attraction of asynchronous instruction, but if we also want shared experience we'll need schedules. The clock tower stays.

2 The Stadium Many faculty lament the importance of college athletics. But humans are tribal; people like belonging. Connecting intellectual and team identities bundles a range of shared connections, and it's no accident that successful athletic programs can make the difference between survival and stagnation.



As we see in the review by Sperber (2004), college sports are a mixed bag in terms of the contribution to education, narrowly defined. But thinking of *education, narrowly defined* is to precisely misunderstand why people love college. Faculty might want to pretend students choose a college based on what they expect in the classroom, and some do; but many students were recruited 10 years earlier, on Saturday afternoons in the fall, watching football with their parents.

3 The Student Union To an outsider, *selective* organizations in colleges just perpetuate privilege. That view is not altogether wrong, but it's strikingly incomplete. Organizations are sorting mechanisms, among the most efficient and least-cost (to members) dating, internship, and leadership development services available. People of similar interests, class, and education level share a relaxed space where everyone knows they belong. Every club has leadership and service positions. These connections are much deeper, and more valuable, than the dismissive *social life* description they are given.

Certainly there are dark sides to exclusivity, and to the sexual abuse found on many campuses. But groups provide invaluable opportunities for connections, experimentation, and growing up. Having to deal with people you didn't choose as friends, and navigating relationships with people you want to know as more than

friends, is part of maturity. Outsiders can *buy* online dating a la carte, of course. But choosing affiliations and relations in a fluid environment helps teach you who you are going to be.

4 The Admissions Office Even those who question the overall value of a college education, such as Bryan Caplan, concede that the *signal* of graduating from an elite college is valuable. The graduate combines intellect, compliance to rules, the ability to complete tasks, and at least the rudiments of time management skills. Leading into the college experience, the admissions process is itself a signal that the graduate was examined closely in complicated, multi-dimensional competition. At an elite college, that means that just *getting in* meant that the matriculant was selected over thousands of other well-qualified applicants. For better or worse, admission to an elite college may mean as much as what the student does once he or she arrives.

A *college* has four community buildings, located close together and run by the same organization. I understand; faculty readers are wringing their hands: *What about my classroom?! Isn't that the heart of the college?* The answer is yes, once students arrive, but that's also something that virtual classes can best (though not perfectly) approximate.

Attracting students to a bricks-and-mortar campus requires a mix, or bundle, of services that cannot be easily replicated, even piecemeal, and which nowhere are available as a bundle with such convenience.

Further, as Scott Carlson pointed out, one disturbing aspect of the *college as signal* argument is the difficulty young people have adjusting to growing up on their own in an increasingly complex world. That is not a problem that colleges created, but a concentrated on-campus experience is still the solution.

At their best—and the institutions that survive will have to have a best-level experience—the experience of college students is multiplicative and synergistic: a college is not the sum of the four buildings, but their product.

An online degree, an online dating service, a professional sports team in your city, and a proficiency certificate from Microsoft are not a la carte alternatives to a college degree. It is quite possible that the result will be positive, overall, with far more efficient, inexpensive online alternatives operating alongside more streamlined and well-thought-out in person experiences on the college campuses that remain.

As Trust Withers, So Will Humanity's Progress

Barry Brownstein

A friend, born in China, has lived in the United States for many years. This spring, she was teaching her microeconomics class on Zoom when two voices rang out, quickly peppering her with questions:

What's the price of bats?

You know, the bats in Wuhan, Professor Corona! The reason we have this online class.

The F__king bats for dinner, Professor Corona.

The voices were not her students, but they were from her University. My friend had experienced Zoombombing—the recent phenomenon of uninvited individuals disrupting a Zoom session.

My friend was shaken. Living with her husband and child, America was her home; and she had never experienced such hatred.

Others have had similar experiences. Attacks on Asians are becoming sadly too common.

With commercial transactions shrinking and the visible hand of government expanding, a rise in tribal hatred comes as no surprise. Politicians point fingers. Government promotes fear, distorting our perceptions. With the economy imploding, we have the perfect set of conditions to bring out the worst in us.

In contrast, the demands of commerce bring out the best in us. Markets consist of individuals and businesses who succeed by building trust. Commercial transactions lead us to see our common humanity. Those who cannot see people as people do not do very well under capitalism.

A recent *Wall Street Journal* essay by Dr. Susan Pinker points out that reduced face-to-face interactions with other people may be fueling an increase in expressions of disgust. Pinker writes, *Disgust evolved in humans to protect us from real dangers, such as eating rotten food, but when applied to other people it can lead to feelings of moral superiority and social avoidance.*

Pinker points us to a recent paper by 36 psychologists and neuroscientists who warn that *feelings of disgust can bleed into how we form impressions of other people. With worries about physical health more salient, people may become more judgmental of others' behavior and make less charitable interpretations.* The result, as my economist friend experienced, is that *reflexive feelings of disgust can turn into anger and hostility against out-groups.*

The former president of the American Enterprise Institute, Arthur C. Brooks, points out that *disgust is a hardcore negative emotion and it [should be] reserved for pathogens.* Brooks adds, *People are not made for disgust. When we treat people with disgust, they perceive us as treating them like a pathogen, and that's hatred. You would never treat someone you love with hatred, and yet we have a cultural kind of predilection these days when you disagree with somebody to express disgust.*

An Antidote to Fear is Commerce

Capitalism, Jeffrey Tucker reminds us *is best thought of not as a system but a network of human relationships based on exchange.* Tucker continues, *love permeates every aspect of [capitalism's] operations. It requires love. It rewards love. It elicits love. It lives on love.*

Tucker is not talking about romantic love but an *uncoerced and mutually regarding affection.*

Trust is the mindset that fuels that affection. Tucker writes, *We come together in trust. We exchange, out of choice. Though nothing has changed about the material world, we have created value and wealth, something we know by reflecting on our inner sense of well-being. It's an act of love.*

In his book *The Wisdom of Crowds*, James Surowiecki writes, *This relationship between capitalism and trust is usually invisible, simply because it's become part of the background of everyday life.*

Like fish who do not realize they are swimming in water, many do not know they reap the benefits of human cooperation, cooperation that is fueled by trust. They see themselves as victims of greed, blind to the origins of the miraculous bounty all around them.



Trust is a habit of mind that evolved under capitalism. Today fear and even disgust are replacing love and trust. Our ability to transcend tribal differences is being frayed, undermining the foundations of a commercial society.

Surowiecki points us to the example of 18th and 19th century English Quakers who were well-known for a *personal emphasis on absolute honesty*. The Quaker model was a powerful one. Surowiecki observes, as *Quaker prosperity grew, people drew a connection between that prosperity and the reputation for reliability and trustworthiness*.

Honesty paid, and not just for the Quakers. Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations*, wrote, *when the greater part of people are merchants they always bring probity and punctuality into fashion*.

Trust did not grow because merchants are especially good people. As Surowiecki explains, trust grew because *the benefits of trust—that is, of being trusting and of being trustworthy—are potentially immense, and because a successful market system teaches people to recognize those benefits*. In short, *Flourishing economies require a healthy level of trust in the reliability and fairness of everyday transactions. If you assumed every potential deal was a rip-off or that the products you were buying were probably going to be lemons, then very little business would get done*.

The development of trust in free markets was not the result of government regulation. Businesses have an incentive to enhance their reputation for integrity.

Recently, I purchased a pair of hiking boots from L. L. Bean. Did I fear that L. L. Bean could be selling me shoddy boots because boot manufacturers may be bribing Bean's purchasing agents? The question is ridiculous. Reputation is one of the essential brand assets of L. L. Bean, and their corporate culture scrupulously protects the brand's integrity.

In his book, *Capitalism, Democracy, and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery*, John Mueller imagines the consequences if L. L. Bean were to attempt to enhance its reputation for business integrity by establishing a policing organization in cooperation with a governmental agency guaranteeing that any customer cheated by the company would receive quick and full recompense.



Mueller explains why a guarantee based on government agency policing *would generate, rather than lower, concern about the company's integrity, and it would almost certainly reduce sales.* A sounder business practice for Bean is to continue to do what they have always done and rely on its well-earned *reputation for honesty.*

Mueller echoes Surowiecki when he writes, *Under capitalism, virtue is considerably more than its own reward: contrary to its image capitalism tends. . . to reward business behavior that is honest, fair, civil, and compassionate.*

Well-earned reputations, like those earned by Bean cannot be faked. Mueller writes, *people who are genuinely honest, fair, civil, and compassionate are more likely to succeed in business than those who simply feign such qualities.* In short, those with a lack of virtue fail and nice guys tend to finish first when government is not tipping the scales.

My economist friend is teaching in a business school. Without a change of heart, her hecklers can only hope to support themselves via a government check; markets do not value their lack of virtue.

Trusting Those Outside Your Tribe

Before capitalism developed, Surowiecki explains, *trust had been the product primarily of a personal or in-group relationship—I trust this guy because I know him or because he and I belong to the same sect or clan—rather than a more general assumption upon which you could do business.* Capitalism made possible the trusting of a stranger *with whom you had 'no prior personal ties.'*

In place of relationships founded on blood or affection, markets create relationships based on the benefits of mutual exchange. In short, Surowiecki observes, Capitalism, ultimately, widens horizons, because it makes the idea of trusting only people within your particular ethnic or geographic group seem outmoded.

Today, horizons for commercial transactions and personal interactions are shrinking. Today we avoid meeting new people for fear of COVID-19 contagion. Politicians have promoted a false narrative encouraging a tribal split among those claiming to want to save lives and those falsely accused of caring only about the stock market.

A coalition is emerging among the untrusting. The coalition transcends ideological grounds. Those who fear their neighbor and those who fear China are joining hands to cheer the destruction of liberty. Recently in a Staten Island, New York supermarket, a crowd of angry shoppers demanded an unmasked shopper leave the store. Others have even called for the elimination of in-person shopping. Trump and Biden will probably compete this fall by promising to get tougher on China. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo has threatened to increase tariffs on goods from Hong Kong, a commerce center that is an engine of prosperity for humanity. A union among the untrusting will increase fear and further diminish trust and cooperation, reducing commerce and human well-being.

Anger and disgust drive these fears. Brooks reminds us that when we let those negative emotions hijack our thought process, we allow the primitive part of the brain, the amygdala, to hijack our values and reason.

We can interrupt the amygdala hijack. Brooks counsels us to pause and allow reason to catch up with negative emotions. To help that process, you might choose to notice your own thinking. When you catch yourself processing an easy tribal story of heroes and villains, consider looking in another direction.

We can choose to embrace and enable our true nature. As Marcus Aurelius put it, *We were born to work together.* For a person to believe otherwise is, in the words of Einstein, *an optical delusion of his consciousness.*

Government is tearing asunder a network of human relationships, a network of exchange fueled by love and trust. For the sake of humanity, by our choices, we must put it back together by our uncoerced and mutual regard for people.

What It Means to Have a Teachable Spirit

Allen Mendenhall

The following speech was given to the Furman University Conservative Student Society on February 4, 2020.

Good evening. I've come from Alabama, but without a banjo on my knee.

It's always nice to be back at Furman University, my alma mater, where memories of my professors, late evenings in the library, campus strolls around the lake, football games, fraternity shenanigans, ex-girlfriends, meals in the dining hall, rounds of golf, great books and profound discoveries all come rushing back to me with haunting vividness and intensity.

The day I moved into my dorm room, just before orientation began, was sad and exciting and frightening and chaotic. I pulled out of my parents' driveway in Atlanta that morning to the melodies of James Taylor singing that he was gone to Carolina in his mind. A couple of hours later I was gone to Carolina, too, but not *just* in my mind.

I parked my blue Ford pickup on the fields beside Blackwell where the SUVs and other pickups were parked or parking. My parents, who had followed me to Greenville in their car, parked in what's now the Trone Student Center parking lot. Back then it was mostly dirt and gravel except for some paved spaces near the coffee shop, which became a Starbucks Coffee but is now, I'm told, part of the on-campus bookstore. My parents helped me to unload the stuff of my old life and to arrange my dorm room for my new life.

My roommate hadn't arrived yet. I claimed one side of the room and began filling my dresser, desk, and closet with things. Since I appropriated one section of the room, I wanted my roommate, Bill, to choose the top or bottom bunk for himself.

We'd spoken only once before, by phone, a pitiful attempt by two distant, disembodied voices to share in a matter of minutes deep convictions, career ambitions, and preferred hobbies. Bill informed me years later that our initial phone conversation had discouraged him. I was coming to college with my high school girlfriend, so he presumed I would be fully invested in passionate romance and uninterested in secondary friendships.

Were it not for my girlfriend, he would have been correct. She, a socialite and a cheerleader, was the type who always searched for bigger and better things, who elevated revelry to the supreme virtue. To keep up with her, I had to fritter away precious hours at parties and functions and bars. She grew bored of me eventually, and found herself in the arms of many other freshmen boys that year. Or rather, they found themselves in hers; she was the aggressor.

I was talking about Bill's arrival. He materialized in the dorm room out of nowhere and with an entourage of relatives: his mother and Irish Catholic stepfather (God rest his soul) and his aunts and uncles and cousins and who knows what else besides. They swept into the room, a noisy spectacle, and everyone was introducing themselves and moving furniture and clothes and electronics and sporting equipment that was never used and encyclopedias that were never opened.

What would've taken my parents and me several trips to unpack took Bill only one. That's how many people attended him and serviced his every need. It was impressive, really, as though I were in the presence of royalty. He *was* rich, in fact, and made a point of displaying his wealth. Only our dorm room seemed bare, too plain and unadorned for this princely graduate of a distinguished private

high school in Columbus, Ohio. So the next thing we knew we were at the finest of fine establishments, Walmart, buying decorations. I had the clever idea to acquire signs with which to adorn our door: a stop sign, a men's and women's restroom sign, and whatever other signs I cleared from the hardware section. Bill eyed these curious treasures skeptically but assented to their purchase. He'd known me only about an hour. Best not to upset the poor Southerner over these procurements, the magnanimous Yankee must've thought.

By mid-afternoon our room was fully furnished. Our new hall mates stopped by to introduce themselves, allured by the bewildering array of signage on our door, which, in the Tate, would have resembled a modernist masterpiece: a condemnatory symbol of the directionless chaos of the consumerist decade we were leaving behind. (It was, after all, 2001.) A crowd developed in our room. We were instantly popular. Bill seemed to appreciate, at length, my unique design tastes.

Bill and I decided to look around after everyone left. Where, we wondered, was the laundry room? We needed to find out, maybe even to experiment with the washer and dryer since we had never used either before. We found the laundry room musty and tucked away in the basement. At least the machines, despite their coin slots, no longer required quarters. I noticed a button on the wall beside a green light. *To test carbon monoxide levels, read an adjacent sign, press button when light is green.* I didn't know much about carbon monoxide, but suddenly had the urge to test its levels.

I pressed the button. The fire alarm erupted; red lights flashed on and off. Bill shot me a glare that conveyed anger, panic, and amusement all at once. Which feeling prevailed, I couldn't say.

We needed to flee. We knew it was illegal to stay in the building, but also that we weren't in danger, that there wasn't a fire, so we repaired to our room. The hallways were empty. No one saw us sneaking up the stairs. Once in our room, we determined to wait out the alarm. Eventually, we knew, everyone would come filing back when no fire was detected.

So we sat. And we sat. And we sat, completely silent. Then came a loud knocking at the door. *Wham! Wham! Wham!*

I stood, frightened. Bill stared at me, desperately shaking his head as if to say, *Do not open the door!* I paused out of deference. The knock came again: *Wham! Wham! Wham! I'm sorry, I said, I have to open it.* Bill buried his face in his palm.

I opened the door. There before me, standing six foot six, muscles bulging, stood a firefighter in full gear. From behind his goggles, which were affixed to his helmet, he looked me up and down, head to toe. *This is it, I thought. I am going to be arrested on my first day on campus, and I'm taking my innocent roommate with me.*

Speechless, I offered my wrists for the cuffing, obsequiously extending my arms. The firefighter lifted his goggles, revealing brown button eyes, and removed his helmet. He looked at me and then behind me, back at me and then behind me again. It struck me that he was examining the door. *I'm sorry, he said. I thought this was the bathroom.*

The bathroom's over there, I said, pointing down the hall.

Thank you, he said, and walked away.



I closed the door. Bill sighed with relief and then he and I roared with laughter.

I remember my first day of class. It was early, Introduction to Philosophy with Dr. Sarah Worth. After class I walked back to the dorms. A guy named Jonathan Horn, who lived on what was then the Sigma Chi hall on the ground floor, intercepted me. He was animated and flustered. I had played little league baseball with him back in Marietta, Georgia, when I was seven or eight, but had not seen him again until orientation week. He was now a rising sophomore in college. I don't recall how we established that we'd been teammates long ago, but we made the connection. He was the first student to show me around campus and to introduce me to the fraternity ecosystem. At this particular moment, he was frazzled and going on about how an airplane had crashed into the World Trade Center. I was confused, not really knowing what the World Trade Center was. *You know*, said Jonathan, *that tall building with offices and restaurants and stuff on top.*

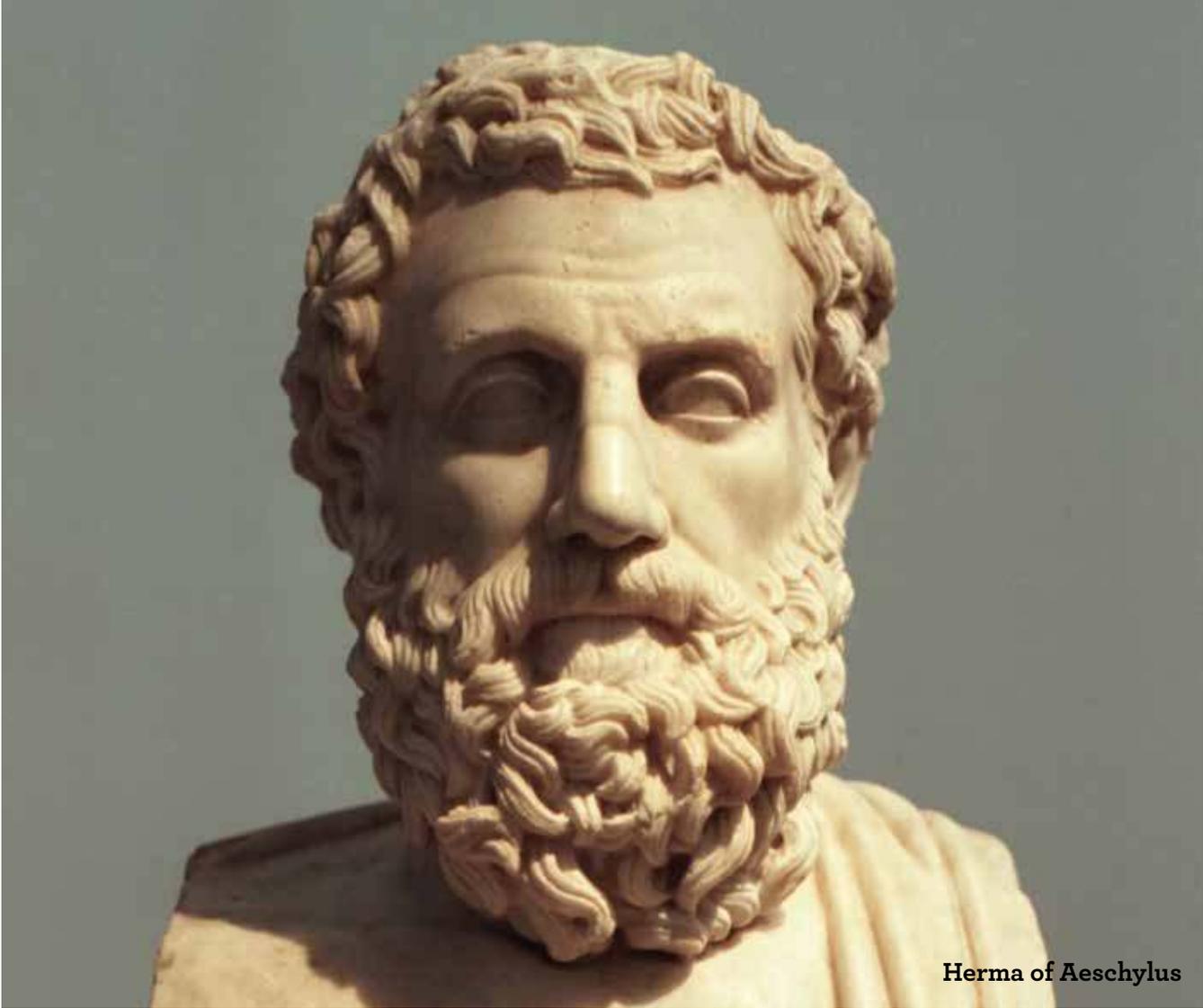
I *didn't* know, and had assumed that whatever struck the building had been small: a glider or an ultralight. I walked up the stairs to my room and turned on the television. Moments later a second plane—a large commercial airliner—crashed into the Twin Towers, and I saw, or at least seem to recall, people leaping from the monstrous building to their deaths. I was horrified and scared and confused, still so very confused, and tried calling my dad's cell phone because I knew he was flying to New York that morning.

We had a landline in our dorm room: a phone that plugged into the wall. Only a few students carried cell phones back then. It was the first year I hadn't worn a pager on my belt. My parents had given me a cell phone the week before, but I didn't use it—and wouldn't use it regularly until spring semester, when cell phones suddenly proliferated across campus. My Dad didn't answer his phone. I assumed the worst and tried calling Mom. Eventually I got ahold of her. She had, she assured me, spoken to Dad. He was okay. Now she was trying to locate her brother, my uncle, who'd also flown to New York that day, or maybe was in New York already for work. In either case, he was eventually accounted for.

The first day of college is disorienting and momentous, one of those rare occasions when you're acutely aware of the gravity of the moment you're experiencing. For *my* classmates, though, that day was disorienting and momentous, not just *for us*, but for the *entire country*, perhaps the *entire planet*. It marked the end of an era. I was a grownup, and so, too, was the United States of America. The ideas and books my classmates and I discussed that semester, and for the next few years, took on a furious intensity. Everyone, it seemed, was debating weighty and difficult questions: What *was* America? What *was* terrorism? *Who* was responsible for this attack? *What* was just war? What were the differences between Islam, Christianity, and Judaism? What was totalitarianism? What is Western Civilization and Eastern Civilization? Weren't there *other* civilizations? What the hell *was* civilization? What was the *difference* between a conservative and a liberal? How do you *accommodate* differences in beliefs, feelings, and opinions within a diverse populace? What were facts, and how could people arrange them differently to produce competing narratives?

My high school sweetheart broke up with me a few weeks into freshmen year. I was devastated and buried myself in books. Bill, to his credit, grew concerned and suggested that I meet with his English professor, Judy Bainbridge, for advice and direction. He watched me reading and writing poetry in the evenings, slowly disengaging from the social scene, spending countless hours in the library with books that weren't assigned in my classes. He thought I needed an intervention.

He was right. I met with Dr. Bainbridge and showed her some of my poetry, which did not impress her. I don't remember much about our conversation, but I recall her recommendation that I take certain courses with certain professors, and also that I join both the college Republicans and the college Democrats so that I could be exposed to different viewpoints and learn to avoid ideological complacency. I followed her advice, joined both organizations, and throughout my time at Furman tried to keep an open mind about, well, *everything*.



Herma of Aeschylus

I majored in English and quickly adopted convictions that I considered to be leftist—in particular in the field of economics of which I was ignorant—because I wanted to do good, be nice, and help those who were less fortunate. Turns out I *still* desire those goals, only now I have a more principled and mature approach that in our current intellectual climate would be considered conservative or libertarian. This approach is predicated, not on how much I know, but on how much I *don't* know. I have F.A. Hayek to thank for my epistemological commitments.

The development of the legal system demonstrates the importance of maintaining conflict at the level of rhetoric and persuasion, the alternatives to coercion and force

I have spent over a decade studying former United States Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., who, to my mind, is one of

the most misunderstood figures in our country's history—a punching bag for commentators of various political persuasions. His book *The Common Law* tells the story of the evolution of the common-law system from its rude and primitive origins, when violence and personal vendetta characterized the arbitrary rule of kin and clan, to a more mature and sophisticated system involving public fora, courts and tribunals, administrative procedures, impartial juries, and the emergence of general principles out of concrete cases regarding unforeseeable conflicts between antagonistic parties.

This tidy account details how vengeance and passion yielded to reason, rhetoric, and rationality as argumentation and persuasion took the place of blood feuds as the operative form of dispute resolution. I'm reminded of Aeschylus's great trilogy, *The Oresteia*, which consists of tragedies that mythologize the founding of a rational Greek legal

system that supplanted the carnage and recklessness of the grand age of Homeric gods and heroes who warred without end. You might find a distinctively American version of this myth in the television series *Deadwood*, which traces the development of government and law in a chaotic Western town.

I bring up Holmes and Aeschylus and *Deadwood* to suggest to you the immense importance of free and open dialogue, of rational argumentation and civil disagreement. Civilization itself—that is, a state of human society that is organized, peaceful, and prosperous, consisting of science, industry, arts, and literature—is potentially at stake when disagreement is no longer maintained at the level of rhetoric and resolved through persuasion and procedure. In the absence of ongoing conversation and debate, we risk falling into the chaos and

violence and internecine strife that destabilize and destroy civil societies.

Before the Civil War, the idealistic young Holmes—then known as Wendell—flirted with transcendentalism. Having fought in the 20th Massachusetts during the Civil War and having experienced firsthand the carnage of battle, he spent his later career as a jurist seeking to accommodate disagreement, diffuse conflict, and moderate uncompromising political forces that threatened to bring about widespread violence. He did not want to witness another Civil War.

When I worked at the Alabama Supreme Court, I handled hundreds if not thousands of cases. Appellate cases provide edifying examples of the centrality of patience, humility, tenacity, and



Apollo and Diana Attacking the Children of Niobe
—Jacques-Louis David, 1772

open-mindedness to problem-solving and unfettered inquiry. I would read appellants' briefs that convinced me of the rightness of their clients' positions. Then I would turn to the appellees' briefs that seemed equally persuasive. Had I been tasked with deciding between the appellant and the appellee using my isolated reason and judgment, I would have struggled and despaired and probably arrived at erroneous conclusions. Fortunately, though, I had not only my colleagues to assist me, but innumerable precedents in prior cases and hundreds of years of development in the law to guide me. The appellant and the appellee were just two parties to a larger conversation that had endured in varying forms for centuries. Resolving their particular dispute required an exploration of the reasoning and rationale of several judges faced with similar facts and issues.

We learn by similar processes. Stuck between competing arguments, torn between opposing positions, we suspend judgment, or *should*, until we have analyzed the relevant facts and issues and mined the past for like situations and instructive examples. We should question our presuppositions and examine complex conflicts from different angles. Aware that knowledge is limited, memory is selective, and perspective is partial, we must avoid the trap of ideology, which causes people to choose what they believe *and then* to find support for it, or to draw complicated ideas through simplistic formulae to generate favored outcomes.

College should be about discovery, learning, and the acquisition and transmission of knowledge. It should involve inquiry and curiosity, challenge and exploration, forcing us to shape and revise our beliefs, to pursue clarity through rigorous study. The *Book of Proverbs* submits that *fools* despise wisdom and instruction. To avoid foolishness, we must be teachable. And we must learn our limitations.

Learning our limitations

Across the hall from me, on the top floor of Manly Hall, during my freshman year at Furman, lived my friend Andre, a kicker on the football team. He was affable and happy, the kind of person you wanted around when you told jokes because of his contagious laughter. He was much bigger than

I was, though not as large, say, as an offensive or defensive lineman, and one day we wrestled on the floor right there in the hallway of the dorm. It was all for fun, but a *real* contest of manly strength with *actual* pride and reputation was at stake. Several of our hall-mates watched and cheered as Andre wrapped me up like a pretzel and pinned me to the ground in an impressive show of force. At first I tried to maneuver out of his iron grip but, realizing I lacked the strength, I simply submitted, defeated and docile, waiting for him to release me.

I had lost, and was genuinely surprised by the ease with which I had been conquered. I realized that, given my size, I possessed only so much physical power, and that someone of greater size and strength could, quite efficiently, subdue me. You would think that common sense, or a basic understanding of physical reality, would have led me to that conclusion already, but I was young and hubristic. At some point, a short man must acknowledge he's short. A slow man must acknowledge he's slow. A clumsy man must acknowledge his inelegance. We're not all mathematicians, rocket scientists, or geniuses. But to realize our fullest potential, to maximize our ability to know things and accomplish our goals, we must discover our strengths and weaknesses. We can't be who we're not, but we can make the best of who we are.

Aesop, a slave in the ancient world whose fables have been told since at least the 6th century B.C., tells of the Proud Frog, the mother of several little froglets. One morning, while she was away, an ox, not seeing the froglets, stepped on one and squashed him to death. When the mother returned, the froglet brothers and sisters croaked and squeaked, warning their mother of the enormous beast that had killed their brother. *Was it this big?* the mother asked, swelling up her belly. *Bigger*, the children said. *This big?* she said, swelling her belly even more. *Much bigger*, the children said. *Was it this big?* she said, swelling her belly and puffing herself up with tremendous force. *No, mother, the beast was much bigger than you.* Offended, the mother strained and strained, swelling and puffing, swelling and puffing until—*boom!* She popped!

You see, we shouldn't presume to be more than we are.

I learned years after graduation that, while he was in medical school, Andre entered the great, ever-growing family of the departed, having taken his own life for reasons I don't know and probably couldn't understand. Even today it's hard for me to imagine what could have driven this fun-loving, kind, strong, and generous person to such unbearable, unspeakable despair.

Channeling human emotions through debate and rhetorical fora

Human beings are emotional and passionate. Our feelings, our tendencies towards anger and wrath, are not, however, necessarily bad. If someone were to enter this room and commit some violent atrocity, we would be horrified and enraged. When we hear grievous stories of innocents who have been slaughtered, deprived of their possessions, hurt, mistreated, or oppressed, we fume and demand responsive, retributive action. Anger towards some people suggests that we feel strongly towards *other* people, that we have the capacity, in other words, to love deeply, bond, and affectionately associate.

But our anger and wrath must be constructively channeled. The legal system provides a mechanism for managing the pain, outrage, hurt, and anger that threaten to disrupt social harmony. Consider *The Eumenides*, the last play in the trilogy, *The Oresteia*, which I mentioned earlier. Here is the backstory. Clytemnestra murdered her husband, Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, after he returned home to Argos from the Trojan War. She had taken a lover, Aegisthus, just as Agamemnon had taken a lover: the seer, Cassandra, whom Clytemnestra also murdered. At the behest of Apollo, Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, avenges his father's death by killing both Aegisthus and Clytemnestra.

Now the Furies—three enraged goddesses in the form of beasts who are older than the Olympian gods and goddesses—relentlessly and recklessly pursue Orestes to avenge the murder of Clytemnestra. Apollo has given Orestes temporary

refuge in the temple at Delphi, but Clytemnestra's ghost rouses the passionate, bloodthirsty Furies into uncontrolled passion. They are shocked and angered by unpunished matricide. Athena intervenes to assemble a jury and hold a public trial in which the prosecuting Furies will argue their case and Apollo will serve, in effect, as Orestes's defense attorney.

The jury splits, leaving Athena to cast the deciding vote. The Furies worry that if Athena opts to acquit Orestes, she'll usher in an era of lawlessness. They believe that order and the integrity of the ancient law depend on killing Orestes. To them, Orestes's murder is especially offensive because Clytemnestra is the mother, the *fertile* figure, the bearer of *life* from whose womb Orestes emerged into the cosmos. An attack on the *mother* is an attack on life itself, on the very continuity of human existence.

Athena is faced with a seemingly zero-sum situation: she must either spare Orestes's life and enrage the Furies, who will unleash their lethal rage on society, or give the Furies what they wish, namely Orestes's death, and thereby inflame Apollo and the other Olympian gods. Violent revenge appears inevitable. A self-perpetuating cycle of violence seems destined.

The Furies are wild, destructive, and vindictive. Athena in her divine wisdom recognizes, however, that they are indispensable to the law precisely *because* of those qualities. If someone is murdered, the legal system must bring about justice and mete out coercive punishment. The emotions and passions that animate revenge must be mediated, however, through formal and public processes, procedures, and protocols to ensure that they do not spin out of control, infecting whole populations beyond the immediate parties to a case. The legal system, by bringing conflicts into the field of rhetoric, argumentation, and persuasion in open fora governed by procedural rules, mitigates the intensity of the parties' passions and emotions, which must be channeled through formal institutions and subjected to public scrutiny.

So *what* does Athena do? She splits the baby, as it were, by voting to free Orestes and by promising

the Furies a high seat on the throne of her city, where they will enjoy everlasting honor and reverence. Of course, she must *persuade* the Furies of the rightness of this resolution. She does so with such effectiveness that her persuasion is likened to a *spell*; the Furies call her rhetoric *magic*. *Your magic is working*, the leader of the Furies submits. *I can feel the hate/the fury slip away*.

Like Holmes, Athena despised civil war. *Let our wars/rage on abroad, with all their force, to satisfy/our powerful lust for fame*, she says. *But as for the bird/that fights at home—my curse on civil war*. She has pacified the hateful Furies and established a *system of conflict resolution, not just for this matter but for all future matters*.

Dealing with the inevitability of conflict

Imagine, if you will, that you could press a reset button that erased all memory and knowledge of the past but that instilled in each of us one definite principle; namely that every person by virtue of being human deserves to live freely and peaceably until visited by a natural death. This button would provide humanity with a clean slate, as it were. A fresh beginning. But it wouldn't be long before inevitable conflicts arose. Accidents would happen. People would get hurt. Emotions and passions would be inflamed as a result. We seem to be wired to favor family over strangers, and to desire healthy and prosperous lives for our children. We want to maximize our well-being, sometimes at the expense of others' well-being. Given the option to help our



Orestes Pursued by the Furies
—William-Adolphe Bouguereau, 1862

children or the children of some faraway stranger, we choose our children, the beings we brought into the world, on whose behalf we labor, weep, and rejoice.

Even if we *could* start over, struggle, contest, fighting, and feuding *would* arise. In light of the inevitability of conflict, we must make every effort to restrain it at persuasion and rhetoric. The university as an ideal represents a kind of intellectual forum where the sharpest minds come to debate, not the case of a client, but of an idea. Courtrooms provide spaces for litigants to have it out, so to speak, whereas universities provide spaces for scholars to test and debate facts and theories.

Universities are like courtrooms where competing ideas are given a hearing; the principle of rule of law over arbitrary and tyrannical rule should govern inquiry on campuses

We could think of the university as a legal system in which intellectuals *litigate* differing viewpoints before juries of intellectual peers who are committed to the advancement of knowledge and the clarity of ideas. We evaluate legal systems based on their tendency toward tyranny on the one hand and rule of law on the other. A tyrannical legal system is characterized by arbitrary commands, private vendettas, rapidly changing rules and standards, retroactive application of new rules and standards, lack of procedure and due process, and ambiguity.

The Death of Socrates
—Jacques-Louis David after 1787



David depicts Socrates about to drink hemlock rather than endure exile after being convicted by the Athenian government of subverting the local youth with his teachings. Disciples surround their principled friend, bidding him an emotional farewell.

By contrast, rule of law consists of general, regular, stable, and public rules regarding fundamental fairness that play out in established processes, procedures, and protocols. The university and the legal system realize the benefits of receiving and transmitting knowledge through open dialogue and debate, of resolving complex disputes through argumentation rather than physical force and intimidation, of settling controlling precedents through the aggregated decisions of innumerable minds, of suspending judgment on controversial matters until discovery procedures and deliberative processes have been exhausted, and of appealing contested judgments to additional, impartial bodies that will analyze the facts, evidence, and operative rules from a more removed vantage point.

Violent protests, no-platforming and de-platforming, dis-invitations, the shouting down of controversial speakers, or of blacklisting, harassing, threatening, or doxing them—these push us in the direction of arbitrary and tyrannical rule rather than the rule of law. They foment anger and outrage and privilege immediate vengeance over rational, procedural argumentation. They inhibit learning and deprive others of the opportunity to understand people and issues with greater clarity. They rouse emotions and passions that are antithetical to civility and humility.

College students should, in my view, think of themselves as judges in training—not in the sense that they will preside in courtrooms or manage and decide cases, but in the sense that they will be constructive participants in their civic and intellectual communities, cultivating the standards, norms, and discernment necessary to improve the lives and institutions of their family, friends, neighbors, colleagues, cities, counties, states, and country. They may not *render* binding judgments, but they will *exercise* judgment.

You cannot refine your logic and reasoning, your critical thinking, your ability to formulate cogent arguments, without considering diverse ideas with which you disagree. And when you identify an idea with which you disagree, you should adopt a Socratic approach to it, asking question after question until you grasp at a deeper level *why* you disagree and how to articulate your disagreement in a manner that persuades others to your position.

Good judges are patient, diligent, competent, credible, independent, and impartial. They avoid not just impropriety, but *appearances* of impropriety. They eschew favoritism. Confidence in their office and judgment depends upon their integrity, high standards of conduct and method, and prioritizing of truth, evidence, and fact over private interests and biases. They are not influenced by familial, financial, or political factors but courteously committed to fair processes, correct answers, sound research, substantiated arguments, and reasonableness. The best judges and professors I have met over my career are those whose personal political convictions, and whose attitude regarding partisan elections or newsworthy current events, were unknown to me.

The lesson of the Furies is that violence breeds violence, and that coercion breeds coercion. If you stifle speech, rough up speakers, intimidate them, prohibit them from airing their opinions, you generate backlash, maybe not right away, maybe not in a form that you'll immediately recognize, but forces will work to meet your anger with anger. Intellectual inquiry has difficulty flourishing in a climate of radioactive anger and toxic outrage.

Unleashing fury upon those who express views with which you disagree will only jeopardize your credibility, and might just empower the ideas you're seeking to discredit. Ideas that appear taboo or transgressive often spread when powerful forces seek to suppress them. The paradox of the martyr, of course, is that his or her power resides in defeat, in death. The voice of the martyr is loudest once he or she has been permanently silenced. There's a reason why passive resistance and civil disobedience are so effective in the long run.



Paul the Apostle
—Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn c.1657

The Apostle Paul wrote that Jesus had told him—perhaps through a vision or a revelatory inner voice—*My power is made perfect in weakness*. Another paradox: strength resides in meekness and mildness. If you are utterly convinced of the rightness of certain views that you sincerely hold, then constructively to advance them, to see them succeed in the long run, you should air them from a position of meekness and mildness. Spreading them with coercion or force will probably fail. Even those who

outwardly manifest the signs of a convert might inwardly reject the views they purport to have adopted. Beliefs are dubious that depend for their advancement on the use of coercion and force. A resort to violence in the name of an idea suggests that arguments *for* that idea are unpersuasive. In the absence of articulated reasoning *against* certain views, those views gain credence and currency. Attempting to stamp them out through coercion or force is counterproductive.

Civility and humility are therefore indispensable to the pursuit and acquisition of knowledge.

I'll end with the wisdom of Aesop's fable *The Cat and the Fox*. The fox, you see, was braggadocious, boasting to the cat about all the things he could and would do *if* he were attacked by hunting hounds. The modest, sensible cat replied to the haughty fox that she, having only *one* simple trick to escape dogs, wasn't so clever. *If my trick doesn't work*, she sighed, *then I'm done for*.

The fox, laughing, mocked the cat for her lack of cunning. *Too bad you're not as smart as I am*, he taunted. As soon as these words were issued from his snout, a pack of hounds descended upon him. The cat resorted to her one trick and escaped. The fox, however, tried *several* tricks, each craftily, but they didn't work. The hounds snatched him up and tore him to shreds, filling their bellies with bloody fox meat.



Friends, my fellow Furman paladins, don't be the fox. Please, don't be like him. There are always dogs—and *cats* for that matter—who are better and smarter than you are. There are *always* powerful forces beyond your control. Be sensible lest they swallow you up. Be humble and teachable, know your strengths and weaknesses, and suspend judgment on important and controversial matters until you have considered them from different angles and, if possible, examined all relevant data. Unless and until you do these things, you won't acquire and transmit knowledge with your fullest potential.

Why You Should Include Charity In Your Will

Andrew Palmer

There is a common misconception that only the rich need to make a will. That is not true. A will eases the pain of your passing on those you leave behind, and without a will, regardless of your personal wishes, state laws will determine the transfer of your estate.

There is an even bigger misconception that only the super-rich leave money to charity when they die. That's also not true. The fact is that most gifts by will, (bequests) are made by everyday people who want to have a lasting, positive impact on their community.

Without this type of generosity, many charitable institutions couldn't continue their missions into the future. Non-profits need our support to do their good work.

Here are four reasons why you should include a charity in your will:

A Gift By Will Is Easy To Make

A bequest is one of the easiest charitable gifts to make. It is simple to implement, and easy to change should you ever need to. You can give specific property or designate a dollar amount or a percentage of your estate. You can also designate a non-profit as a beneficiary of your retirement plan or life insurance policy.

A Gift By Will Does Not Alter Your Current Lifestyle

Making a bequest is a way of demonstrating your commitment to the future of the institution you love that doesn't affect your current asset balance or cash flow. There are no substantial costs, and the gift can easily be modified to address your changing needs.

A Gift By Will Can Change Lives

Non-profits improve our lives every day through their dedicated work, community, and stability. A bequest can help your best-loved charity further its mission and values. It can continue making a difference for generations to come.

A Gift By Will Creates A Lasting Legacy

Including a non-profit in your will is a great way to bring dignity, meaning, and purpose to a life well-lived. You can demonstrate your commitment to the future of the institution you love, and better yet, a bequest can allow you to give to an institution that you may have always wanted to support, but were unable to during your lifetime. Creating a legacy with your gift ensures that you, and your values, will live on.

You don't have to be wealthy to make a difference. Whoever you are, whatever your situation, you can help make a better world by including a charity in your will.



**SEE
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TO GIVE
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Each one of us already has a default estate plan—one dictated to us by the government. The government doesn't know who we were; it cares nothing for our achievements, our principles and beliefs, our ethics, or our commitment to our families. In this plan, hard-earned assets can be unnecessarily taxed and heirs can be left with little or nothing.

The only way to make sure that your estate plan reflects your wishes is to design it yourself with competent counsel. Will your legacy be subsumed by faceless bureaucrats as a windfall profit for government programs that you may believe are antithetical to prosperity and justice? Or will it be a responsible transfer of values held dear by the one who earned the money? Make sure that you are the author of your own personal estate plan.

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We are forever grateful for AIER's planned giving supporters who help to ensure that people around the world will always have access to sound economic research, robust education in free market concepts, and practical training from AIER.

Here are some ideas on how to include AIER in your estate plans:

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If you already have a will, you can generally amend it to create a bequest for AIER and other charities. If you have elected a living trust rather than a will, you can also include AIER and other charities as trust beneficiaries, similar to creating bequests under a will.

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I followed Colonel Harwood for many years and one thing that came through in all of his writing was that he was a great patriot and a strong believer in an honest currency. Having been in the investment business for 48 years, I think Colonel Harwood's teaching is needed even more now than it has ever been. He had a great impact on my thinking.

—Arnold Van Den Berg, Longtime AIER Donor

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FROM THE ARCHIVES

Happy Birthday E.C. Harwood!
October, 1980

