

James Madison Program
in American Ideals and Institutions

**THE TOTALITARIAN EPOCH: THE FATE OF LAW AND LIBERTY
IN THE 20TH CENTURY AND BEYOND**

A PUBLIC CONFERENCE

MAY 19 – 20, 2014

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

MCCORMICK HALL 101, FRIST CAMPUS CENTER 302

PRESENTED BY

The James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions, Princeton University

COSPONSORED BY

The Association for the Study of Free Institutions, Texas Tech University

The Bouton Law Lecture Fund

2014 marks the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the First World War and thus invites us to reflect on that war's significance. The Great War had momentous consequences for western civilization. It set in motion events and currents of opinion that swept away the old aristocratic regimes of Europe and seemed to make self-government an internationally accepted principle. For all the suffering it caused, the Great War paved the way for forms of government most of us take to be superior to the ones that fell as a result of the cataclysm. In this light, we might view the Great War as the birth pangs, painful but fruitful, of human freedom. This view, however, is inadequate, as the war created an opening not only for the rise of democracy, but also for the rise of totalitarian regimes, regimes of a brutality that far exceeded anything experienced in the old aristocratic orders.

To admit that the legacy of the Great War is ambiguous is to admit that the legacy of the 20th century is ambiguous: it was the century of freedom and the century of totalitarianism. In order to come to grips with this legacy candidly, in order to achieve a clear-eyed understanding of the world we have inherited and in which we must live, we need not only congratulations on the progress of freedom but also investigations into the rise of totalitarianism. We must ask what aspects of the modern world, and even of human nature, permit or encourage totalitarianism, and to what aspects of the modern world and human nature we can appeal in resisting it.

With a view to fostering such reflections, the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions and the Association for the Study of Free Institutions are pleased to announce a conference entitled *The Totalitarian Epoch: The Fate of Law and Liberty in the 20th Century and Beyond*. The program includes scholars from a variety of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities speaking on issues relating to this theme. We seek to address a number of questions. How did the Great War turn out to be a cradle of totalitarianism as well as of democracy? What political, philosophic, and social movements did it unleash that could lead to the rise of totalitarian regimes? What is the fate of the rule of law under totalitarian regimes? Can the rule of law restrain totalitarianism, or does a totalitarian regime necessarily become lawless? How have those responsible for the foreign policies of free societies reacted to totalitarianism, and by what principles should they engage it? Should they seek to undermine it, or is a given nation's drift toward totalitarianism a matter of indifference to other nations, so long as they are able to maintain their own domestic institutions? How have dissidents been able to stand up to the totalitarian state, through the written word and active engagement? Finally, what is the future of totalitarianism and freedom? Is totalitarianism merely a relic of the past, or does it have a future, and can it be a threat, or even a temptation, to the free societies of the world?

The James Madison Program would like to thank the Earhart Foundation and the Thomas W. Smith Foundation for their generous support of this conference.

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Eighth Annual James Madison Program May Conference

MONDAY, MAY 19, 2014

10:30 to Noon **Presentation to Alan Charles Kors of 2014 James Q. Wilson Award for Distinguished Scholarship on the Nature of a Free Society**
Location: McCormick Hall 101

Presenter: **Stephen H. Balch**, Director, Institute for the Study of Western Civilization, *Texas Tech University*, on behalf of the *Association for the Study of Free Institutions*

Keynote Address

Alan Charles Kors, Henry Charles Lea Professor of European History, *University of Pennsylvania*

1:30 to 3:15 p.m. **The Great War As the Cradle of Totalitarianism**
Location: McCormick Hall 101

Panelists: **Angelo Codevilla**, Professor Emeritus of International Relations, *Boston University*

Michael A. Gillespie, Professor of Political Science and Philosophy, *Duke University*

Harold James, Claude and Lore Kelly Professor in European Studies, *Princeton University*

Chair: **David Novak**, J. Richard and Dorothy Shiff Chair of Jewish Studies, *University of Toronto*

3:45 to 5:30 p.m. **Totalitarianism and the Rule of Law**
Location: McCormick Hall 101

Panelists: **Hillel Fradkin**, Director, Center on Islam, Democracy and the Future of the Muslim World, *Hudson Institute*

Adam J. MacLeod, Associate Professor of Law, *Faulkner University*

Arthur Waldron, Lauder Professor of International Relations, Department of History, *University of Pennsylvania*

Chair: **Melissa Moschella**, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, *Catholic University of America*

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 2014

8:45 to 10:30 a.m. **Foreign Policy and the Challenge of Totalitarianism**
Location: McCormick Hall 101

Panelists: **Michael Doran**, Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, *Brookings Institution*

Aaron Friedberg, Professor of Politics and International Affairs, *Princeton University*

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Chair: **Anne Rice Pierce**, Author of *Woodrow Wilson and Harry Truman: Mission and Power in American Foreign Policy* and Other Works
Mitchell Muncy, Executive Director, *Alexander Hamilton Society*

11:00 to 1:00 p.m. The Literature and Practice of Dissent
Location: McCormick Hall 101

Panelists: **Alicja Gescinska**, William E. Simon Postdoctoral Research Associate in Religion and Public Life, James Madison Program, *Princeton University*
Antoni Kaminski, Professor of Political Science, *Polish Academy of the Sciences*
Daniel Mahoney, Professor of Political Science, *Assumption College*
Martin Palouš, Director, Vaclav Havel Initiative for Human Rights & Diplomacy, *Florida International University*

Chair: **Marzenna K. James**, Lecturer in Politics and International Affairs, *Princeton University*

2:30 to 4:30 p.m. Totalitarianism and the Future of Free Societies
Location: Frist Campus Center 302

Panelists: **John Agresto**, Former President, *St. John's College, Santa Fe*
James W. Ceaser, Harry F. Byrd Professor of Politics, *University of Virginia* and Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, *Stanford University*
Alan Charles Kors, Henry Charles Lea Professor of European History, *University of Pennsylvania*
Martin Palouš, Former Permanent Representative to the United Nations for the Czech Republic

Chair: **Katrina Lantos Swett**, President, *Lantos Foundation for Human Rights & Justice*
Robert P. George, McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence, *Princeton University*

This conference is dedicated to the memory of Jean Bethke Elshtain and Alan C. Petigny, treasured members of the James Madison Society.

QUESTIONS MAY BE DIRECTED TO:
Ch'nel Duke
609-258-7104
cduke@princeton.edu