



Prof. Norman Graham and wife, Anna



Fred Headen (JMCD, '78), Jackie Nickels (PTCD), Laura Weberman (SR), & Prof. Ron Dorr



Amy (PE, '93) & Robert Egloff



Marilyn Darling (Ethnic, '75), Rogers Smith (JMCD, '74), and Steven Kautz (JMCD, '81)

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<http://www.jmc.msu.edu/alumni>

## The Princeton Review & Washington Times Applaud Madison

### *The Best College for You*

In the course of a discussion of the MacArthur Foundation's program of supporting underfunded liberal-arts schools with worthy programs, *Time Magazine's* Princeton Review had this to say about James Madison College:

"But academic excellence can be found in large vistas as well: witness James Madison College at Michigan State, a residential college within the university where a thousand future diplomats, sociologists and policymakers hone their writing and analytical skills in a 'highly structured yet flexible program'."

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## JAMES MADISON COLLEGE: THE FUTURE

In November 1995 I set forth two objectives for continuing conversation in the College – namely, refocused attention on and wider recognition for standards of excellence within the College and consistent program enhancement through private fund-raising. At the same time, I noted in the following terms the conditions affecting this conversation:

*These remarks pose relevant questions, in answering which by consensus we succeed to lay out a path to guide us over the next decade or so. Though by definition I cannot provide the consensual answers, I hope by identifying the questions to contribute to a conversation that may eventuate in such answers.*

*By raising these questions in this manner, I appeal to the fact of a community of discourse as the only acceptable foundation for making decisions about the fate of the College. The subjects conveyed in this "Statement" are tied together by their dramatic need to rely on the strength of a community of discourse, within which mutual respect and an open range of ideas cooperate effectively to advance our common interests in the same*

\* Statement of Program Policy and Educational Mission, November 17, 1997 (Continued on page 2)

## 30th Anniversary Roundup

Whew! The grand event has come and gone, but what a time the participants had. In all, over 200 alumni, students, faculty, staff, and friends of the College joined in the five-day 30th Anniversary Celebration. Want to **see** what you missed? Visit the JMC Alumni Web Page for pictures from most of the programs. Want to **hear** what you missed? Read on . . .

*The 30th anniversary was a wonderful opportunity for me to catch up with Madison friends (faculty, staff, and alums), and to make new acquaintances with alums and current students. I got to meet and share opinions and experiences with the other Rhodes and Marshall Scholars on the panel. I learned some new things in the alum and faculty seminars. And, I got to offer some advice -- hopefully helpful! -- to our current JMC Rhodes nominee [Julie Egan]. It was great to be back on campus, even if only for a few days, and rejoin a community I care deeply about. -Rujuta Bhatt Srivastava (IR, '93)*

[For the full scoop on the College's latest Rhodes Scholar nominee, see article on page 3]

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## Author Visits College



Alex Kotlowitz, Prof. Kate See,  
and Prof. Ken Waltzer

Alex Kotlowitz, author of [There Are No Children Here: The Story of Two Boys Growing Up in the Other America](#) (1991) and [The Other Side of the River: A Story of Two Towns, a Death, and America's Dilemma](#) (1998) visited James Madison College on Nov. 6-7, 1997.

Kotlowitz led several thought provoking discussions with students and faculty on the topics of his two books, the writing process in general, and societal issues surrounding race and housing in America.

The award winning journalist has covered urban and public affairs, race, and poverty issues for *The Wall Street Journal*, *Lansing Star*, and National Public Radio. Currently, he is "writer-in-residence" this semester at Northwestern University.

Kotlowitz' visit was sponsored by James Madison College, the Center for Integrative Studies in the Arts and Humanities, the Institute for Research on Teaching and Learning, and the Dept. of Teacher Education.

## JMCAA Alumni Awards

During the 30th Anniversary, a luncheon was held to present the JMCAA Distinguished and Honorary Alumni Awards. This event marked the first annual recognition program to be held by the Association.

Congratulations are extended **Michael McConnell (JMCD,'76)** and **Herb Garfinkel**, winners of the Distinguished and Honorary Alumni Awards, respectively.

**Mike McConnell** was nominated by Scott Douglas Bellard (IR,'77) the Consulate General of the USA in Chiang Mai, Thailand. Bellard shared a few of McConnell's accomplishments since Madison: (1) graduation with honors and teaching post at the Univ. of Chicago Law School, (2) clerkships with US Federal Judge Wright and Supreme Court Justice Brennan, and (3) Assistant Solicitor General with US Justice Dept. (Reagan). Additionally, McConnell has argued several cases before the Supreme Court.



McConnell reflects well on the College and frequently returns to speak with students. Currently, McConnell is a professor of constitutional law at the Univ. of Utah.

The first dean of the College, **Herb Garfinkel**, was faced with the monumental task of creating a new program, coalition building among students and "U", and developing intellectual thinkers in the process. The program entailed a residential, liberal arts college deeply engrossed in the social sciences, humanities, and community. All of this under the umbrella of a major research institution.



The College that you see today is made possible only through the vision, conceptualization, and dedication of our founding father, Herb Garfinkel.

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way those virtues operate in the class room to advance a common inquiry. Accordingly, I set forth these thoughts with a specific intent to invoke each community member's responsibility to that larger discourse. We can mutually act to protect our conversation from the characteristic breakdowns -- such as not settling for superficial agreement; not permitting community members to refuse to enter the conversation by refusing to attend meetings or to interact with colleagues; not accepting privatized or whispered interactions as a substitute for engagement with the full community; and resisting the temptation to view our public discourse as an opportunity to score debating points. I have focused on questions as a means to convey a willingness to learn from the conversation, convinced by Socrates that whatever I learn by taking such risks operates to my benefit. We all enter the conversation on a common ground, and without privileged perspectives. In that manner it is my wish that we can construct out of recognized fallibilities an opportunity for genuinely, mutually enhancing conversation for all of us.

Since I made that statement much has been accomplished in the College. We have in fact refocused the conversation about excellence. We take seriously not only our contribution here but in higher education. We have remodeled programs, tightened academic requirements, extended credit requirements, and developed an indigenous honors program. Our remodeled procedure for reappointment, promotion, and tenure more aptly serves the College mission. The newly installed formal mentoring program commits the College to communicate not only norms but also development assistance to new faculty. The Faculty Development Initiative provides systematic support and encouragement for faculty scholarship across the board. We have emphasized the importance of broader participation in, even while streamlining, the burdens of governance in the College. We have enormously expanded the role of recognition of excellence within the College and also systematically made the faculty available to the world beyond the College (with far-reaching consequences).

Nor have our students been inactive through this period of fruitful change. They are intellectually as well as socially active now in more ways, more consistently supported by the College, than they had been for long before. They provide community leadership and broad feedback. They undertake ambitious missions not only in the College and the University but also in the community and the world. Most importantly, they achieve distinction within the classroom and beyond.

College staff now take on a wider array of tasks and responsibilities than they had previously come to expect, and they have responded with grace and skill. They met the challenge of heightened technological demands so well, that by the time major technology changes were introduced they were largely unfazed by them. They raised standards of "customer care" to very high levels, with the result that we experience but rare complaints and frequent praises today.

Many of these things have been accomplished because our conversations have been fruitful. Others have been accomplished because we have successfully brought additional resources to bear on our mission. We have cultivated a generous and committed core of College supporters, who offer volunteer time at their own expense to further our mission on our Board of Visitors and other special committees. We have introduced dedicated scholarship support for

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# Student Leaders

Sophomore **Matt Blair** helped the MSU Debate Team break new records in national competitions. In October, the team visited Emporia, TX for a national tournament in which Blair and three other debaters reached the final rounds.

Tower Guard inductees for the 1997-98 year included the following Madison students: **Ian Thomas Cartwright, Julie M. Hodges, and Mark-Andre Timinsky.**

*The Fifth Suicide* a poem written by Madison junior, **Ari Kohen** (IR/PTCD) was published in the Fall '97 issue of *Eratica*.

Madison juniors **Aaron Monick** (IR) and **Alison Woidan** (PE) were a part of the winning MSU Debate Team that participated in the University of Central Oklahoma tournament. Of the four MSU teams that competed, three made it to the finals rounds of play. MSU is currently ranked third in the Cross Examination Debate Association.

Madison junior, **Nicole Proctor** (IR) appeared on MTV Live with other representatives from MSU's Residence Hall Association. As president of the association, Proctor hoped to provide viewers with a "real life" glimpse of MSU and dorm life.

**Nicole Zayac** (IR) was one of the University's nominees for a Marshall Scholarship. The Rochester Hills native has conducted extensive study on development and human rights issues. Although Zayac did not win the scholarship, she is still contemplating Development Studies at the University of Sussex, United Kingdom.

Madison students participated in Chicago's Model UN Conference on October 30-November 2. **Inga Ndibongo** (PTCD), **Jamilia Kai Mathis** (no major), **Melissa Beck** (IR), **Cameron Knight** (no major), and **Mindy Sofen** (IR) served as representatives on the General Assembly 4th (Special Political and Decolonization), 5th (Budget & Administration), and 6th (Legal) committees, International Press Delegation, and a judge on the International Court of Justice.



The Madison delegation represented Nigeria, Italy, Honduras, and Venezuela. Their exemplary work generated many compliments from the staff and a request to participate in next year's

conference.

Award winners included sophomore Inga Ndibongo for the Best Delegate Award on Historical Security Council and freshman Jamilia Kai Mathis for the Best Delegate Award on General Assembly 5th Committee. Note that these are national competition including all the Ivy League universities.

Additionally, Melissa Beck (junior) represented the International Press Delegation and Cameron Knight (freshman) was selected as a judge on the International Court of Justice.

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## Student Spotlight . . .

### All Hail the Councilman

**Frank Aiello** (PE) became Michigan's youngest City Council member in August of this year. The East Lansing City Council unanimously appointed the former ASMSU president to fill a vacant seat until the November 4 elections.



When asked what was the most challenging thing about being on Council Aiello replied, "striking a new balance between accountability to my traditional constituency, the student body, and my new constituency, every citizen of East Lansing. Solutions are generally the same for both, but opinions are not. I found myself frequently trying to educate both sides about each other's misperceptions, while I found myself understanding both. It was a powerful perspective to have, but a difficult one to explain sometimes."

Regarding his thoughts on being in public office, Aiello said that "(it) is an amazingly rewarding way to contribute to the community, especially at the local level. When asked recently what I would take away from my experience on the Council I stated, 'I have never felt more at home in any place at any time in my life.' The more you give to a community the more enriched your relationship to it becomes. I now have invested a great deal of myself in East Lansing, and I am reaping interest in an enriched form of understanding and a more complicated connection. The more I learn and experience, the more powerful and rewarding my contribution becomes."

Aiello plans to attend law school after graduation and to pursue a career in intellectual property and regulatory law.

## Student Spotlight . . .

### On the Rhode Again



**Julie Egan** (IR/PE) is one of the University's nominees for a Rhodes Scholarship. If selected, the Birmingham native will pursue a Master of Philosophy in Development Studies. In this program Egan will focus on the international relations of developing worlds and development in S. Africa.

This past summer, Egan traveled to South Africa to conduct research under the New Ideas in Public Policy Program. In the early spring, a documentary of Egan's trip and research in South Africa will be featured during a Madison Madhouse.

Should the Rhodes Scholarship not be in Egan's future, she will spend a year in a developing country, preferably in South Africa, before returning to school to study international and human rights law.

Egan currently works with Michigan Senator Bouchard (R)-Birmingham. Since high school she has held a number of positions in his office including, community affairs intern, senate page, constituent aide, and her current position of legislative researcher.

At press time Egan participated in the state and regional level interviews on December 2-3, 1997.

# JMC Alumni Association and Alumni Relations

## Alumni Association Update

Elections for new board members were held on Saturday, October 4th in the JMC Library. Congratulations to the following new board members: **Christopher Dumler** (PE,'92)-1 year term, **Bryce Sandler** (SR,'93)-3 year term, and **Jeff Williams** (IR,'94)-3 year term.

Additionally, the board elected new officers to lead the association into a spectacular year. Congratulations are extended to the officers for 1997-98: **Lance Boldrey** (IR,'92)-President, **Chere LaRose** (MS,'93)-Vice President, **Bryce Sandler** (SR,'93)-Treasurer, and **Ed Dougherty** (IR,'89)-Secretary.

Board meetings for the 1997-98 academic year are as follows:

- December 6, 2:00pm
- January 24th, TBA
- March 7th, 2:00pm, and
- October 17th, 2:00pm (tentative).

The December and January meetings will be held in the Senior Seminar Room 319L S. Case Hall and are open to the Madison family. If you have suggestions, ideas, criticisms, or just want to get involved in the College, please participate in the meetings. Association membership is not a prerequisite for participation.

## Alumni Career Night

Over 60 students attended the annual Alumni Career Night held on October 21 at Career Services and Placement. The program was sponsored by the Offices of Alumni Relations & Field Experience in the College. Corporate funding was provided by **Joanne Fredericks** (IR,'72) and Ingham Regional Medical Center.



*Julia Ruffin (SR,'90)*

Thank you to the following alumni who shared their career experiences with current students: **Lance Boldrey** (IR,'92)-law, **Chere LaRose**-state legislature, **Carol Munday** (JMCD,'71)-legal aid, **Ben Roberts** (PTCD,'97)-business consulting, **Julia Ruffin**-media and communication, **Susan Sandell** (JMCD,'85)-environment and state government, **Steve Webster** (Urban,'75)-higher education.



## Case Hall Grill

**Christopher Mallin** (JMCD,'71) has organized a "chat room" for Madison alumni to visit. CaseHallGrill will attempt to resume its position as the preeminent meeting place for scholarly discourse.

CASE HALL GRILL, WEDNESDAYS, AT 9 PM ET ON AOL

To enter Case Hall Grill:

- 1 Log on to AOL and click "People Connection" icon on the Toolbar (picture of two people talking at one another with blank expressions)
- 2 When "Town Square" screen appears, click "List Chats" button at lower right
- 3 When "Public Rooms" screen appears, click "Member Rooms" button
- 4 When "Member Rooms" screen appears, highlight "Town Square" in "Category" box, then scroll "Room" box to find "Case Hall Grill"
- 5 Click on "CaseHallGrill" or,
- 6 If "Case Hall Grill" does not appear in "Room" box, click on "Create Member Room", when blank box appears, type in "Case Hall Grill" and click

## Madisonians Hiring Madisonians

Do you have a job opportunity that you would like to share with Madison graduates? If so, that information can now be viewed via the JMCAA home page. In addition to association news, paraphernalia for sale, and programming updates, the site now serves as a medium to post job opportunities OR positions wanted.

Only through the support of alumni, faculty and friends can this service reach its true potential. If you would like to utilize this service, please contact Alumni Relations in the College. Current positions can be viewed at <http://www.jmc.msu.edu/alumni>

## Take A Madison Student To Work Day

"Take a Madison Student to Work Day" is finally a reality. The program kicked off in November when almost 60 students and 45 alumni received their assignments for the land-mark event.

Co-sponsored by the JMC Student Senate and Alumni Association, this initiative has prompted a great, enthusiastic response from both students and alumni. The program entails a student, having chosen an area of his/her interest, being matched with an alumnus/a to spend a day together in the workplace. Alumni from across the country, including Chicago, Washington D.C., and throughout Michigan, have volunteered their time and experience to benefit current students.

Such a program has been long awaited in the College. "Take a Madison Student to Work Day" aims to give JMC students a first hand glimpse of where their education can take them. The program also seeks to enhance alumni-student-college relations. The Student Senate and Alumni Association are confident that the program will succeed and become a permanent facet of James Madison College.

Steven Kautz (JMCD, '81)  
 Assoc. Prof. -Political Science  
 Emory University

## E Pluribus Unum: An Illiberal Ideal?

Rogers Smith (JMCD, '74)  
 Professor-Political Science  
 Yale University

Perhaps it would be useful to begin by saying something about certain agreements between the argument that Rogers Smith makes in his book and the argument that I make in *Liberalism and Community*. Here is the most important kinship between our two projects: we are both eager to develop strategies for defending liberalism against enemies of liberalism whose formidable power and enduring appeal, both by nature and in our particular historical experience as a nation, have too often been overlooked by friends of liberalism. As a result, many of these friends of liberalism are now unreasonably confident that the progress of history will consist of an inexorable march of liberal principles, and that the advance of those principles will sooner or later, but inevitably, sweep away the illiberal and inegalitarian politics of the past. We are both impressed, against this complacent liberal optimism, by the persistence of illiberal principles and practices, and so by the vulnerability of the liberalism that we want to defend.

A word, by the way, on terminology: by liberalism I refer not to the politics of the center-left in the United States today, but to the philosophical defense of the rights of man, the doctrine that liberty is the first and fundamental political good, or that (in the language of the Declaration) all men are created equal in their possession of certain inalienable rights, including above all the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Liberalism today is in peril. Or, more precisely, liberalism is naturally imperiled -- it is *always* more or less in peril -- because it is hard to see how it is possible to sustain a community on the basis of the thin sense of a shared common life, and the instrumental sense of loyalty, to which liberalism ordinarily gives rise. Human beings want more from community, including political community, than liberalism seems to offer. And so we will often turn elsewhere, to something beyond or more probably hostile to liberalism (religion, nationalism, one or another form of identity politics, who knows what?), in search of deeper roots of community: that is, in search of the sort of strong or thick community that summons us to serve the community as something nobler than our puny selves. . . . So it appears that certain *natural* dissatisfactions with liberalism give rise to illiberal parties of various sorts; and this seems to be an enduring fact about liberal political communities.

By now this sort of criticism of liberalism is an old story; let me describe that assault from a somewhat different angle, as I do in the book. Liberalism, it is said, is a doctrine of mean-spirited individualism, which, by emancipating baser (principally acquisitive) passions, has driven us to establish an unbearably contentious political and economic world of clashing interests. Our politics is now wholly constituted by the liberal language of interest and by its moral cousin, what Mary Ann Glendon calls "rights talk," to the exclusion of the older, republican language of the common good. Where is the com-

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The question posed in our topic--is "E Pluribus Unum" an illiberal ideal?--arises because the task of achieving unity can seem to require limits on freedom; and we U.S. citizens often think of ourselves as members of the world's premiere "liberal democracy," averse to limiting freedom. American identity is supposed to be defined, and always to have been defined, essentially in terms of allegiance to certain liberal democratic principles. As historian Philip Gleason has put this view in a widely quoted statement: historically, to be an American, "a person did not have to be of any particular national, linguistic, religious or ethnic background. All he had to do was to commit himself to the political ideology centered on the abstract ideals of liberty, equality, and republicanism. Thus the universalist ideological character of American nationality meant that it was open to anyone who willed to become an American."

Not just American identity but American unity is on this view supposed to arise essentially as a matter of shared embrace of liberal republicanism. Yet by themselves the precepts of liberal republicanism give no special reason to be an American, as opposed to a member of any other liberal democracy or liberal republic. In fact, this view presents American national citizenship as only something instrumental, as a political device to advance the influence of liberal democratic principles in the world. Those principles are understood to apply to, and be good for, all humanity; they are "universalistic." As Dean Allen has written about George Washington, a good liberal citizen should believe, as Washington did, that "the foundation of a good polity" is "the preference for justice over patriotism for souls forced to choose." Hence it is that in liberal traditions, especially in liberalism's Kantian variants, there is a strong thrust toward cosmopolitanism, toward achieving political membership ultimately in a world state or a worldwide federation of states ordered on liberal democratic principles, if such conditions could ever be achieved.

Thus pushing for too much unity, for ultimate devotion to the United States as an end in itself, or even devotion based on more than allegiance to liberal democratic principles, can seem too constraining, too particularistic, dangerously illiberal. And yet it is hard to see how a political society can be long sustained on the basis of such a relatively thin, instrumental sense of loyalty. Certainly political leaders generally want and often need their citizens to be more passionately loyal than that. Many people also want their primary political membership to seem more special than that. History suggests that for a political society to endure over time amidst internal quarrels and external assaults, it does indeed need a quite strong basis for unity and allegiance.

Yet achieving such unity is politically difficult, because while it may be natural for the world to be divided into

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(Continued from page 5) *Kautz Talk*

mon good in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," especially since our pursuits of happiness are so often, and by design, private pursuits? The republican idea that free politics consists in common deliberation regarding the common good has thus been defeated by our liberalism; our politics consists, rather, of the struggle of private interests seeking private gains, with little regard for the common good. There is, in brief, no place for citizenship in the liberal dispensation. Rather than building a political world of citizen friends engaged in a common enterprise, we have built a world in which natural foes are somehow able to live together in peace and prosperity, no mean achievement, but in which they remain, finally, moral strangers to one another. There is no community here: that's the indictment.

In the end, I should say, I embrace the liberal view that I have here attempted to discredit. But it is not hard to see how the liberal view might come to seem too austere, too cautious, too hard. For liberals seem to believe that we could be content to live alone, more or less, that there are no natural bonds among human beings, no truly natural community. Even if there were certain natural passions or sentiments that might, in favorable circumstances, bring human beings together in a natural community, these passions will most often be overwhelmed, says the liberal, by the strongest human passion, the desire to preserve oneself and to live in tolerable comfort in a world of human enemies (among other hardships) that does not readily provide for our preservation and comfort. We must take care of ourselves, liberals say; no one is going to take care of us. But where there is no common good that stands above all private goods, there can be no true community, no community that can inspire unwavering loyalty or that can rightfully demand significant sacrifices, let alone the greatest sacrifices, from its individual members. Indeed, for the liberal, those who talk too much about "community" will always seem to be either romantic utopians or dangerous authoritarians: if there is no natural common good beyond peace and security, then invocations of the spirit of community are either foolish or fraudulent, impossible dreams or wicked ideologies . . . True or not, human beings will ordinarily find this doctrine unbearable, and will be sorely tempted to seek more from politics than it can possibly offer and so liberalism alone can only rarely serve as the public philosophy even of a liberal regime.

Let me repeat the argument, from a slightly different vantage point: it is said that liberalism reduces us to a selfish and solitary existence, liberating us as individuals but thereby also causing us to forget that our identities are partly or wholly constituted by particular communal memberships. As a result, liberalism undermines neighborhoods and private associations. And it destroys families, churches, and even political communities, depriving us of the various moral comforts that these "homes" provide. What liberals call liberation, its critics call homelessness: liberation is a desperately lonely condition, or so it is said. We have been taught by our liberal teachers to take care of ourselves, to be self-reliant, to lead lives of "self-interest rightly understood," to think of ourselves as individuals first and as citizens only by choice and on the side (as volunteers, so to speak), and to be wary of authority because authority too easily becomes tyranny. Is it so surprising, the critics of liberalism ask, that we feel lonely, now and then?

Here, for example, is the social democrat Michael Walzer's

description -- it seems to me a powerful description -- of our "individualism with a vengeance," our liberal practice of freedom: "I imagine a human being thoroughly divorced, freed of parents, spouse, and children, watching pornographic performances in some dark theater, joining (it may be his only membership) this or that odd cult, which he will probably leave in a month or two for another still odder." "Is this a liberated human being?" What a "grim parody of Jefferson's pursuit of happiness," says Walzer. Just a bit unfair, you might say, but close enough, it seems to me, to bring a wince of unhappy recognition. In brief: do we not now have reason to fear that the way of life of human beings in liberal communities is too often marked not by the proud practice of freedom, but by grim dissipation, or careless self-satisfaction, or loutish conformism, or desperate self-expression, among other ordinary liberal vices?

Well ... yes, we do have reason to fear that liberalism is failing us in these (and other) ways. There is more than a little to this assault on contemporary liberal political communities, including our own. And so, it is the responsibility of those of us who remain somehow liberals as I do -- to think again about liberalism, in order to show how what we treasure about liberal politics (above all, the freedom to cultivate our diverse faculties in pursuit of an inescapably private happiness) can be defended against illiberal parties that stubbornly refuse to be defeated by the progress of liberalism, that have reappeared in various ugly forms from time to time in our national life, and that even today gain strength from the natural vulnerability of liberalism to the sorts of criticisms that I have described. That is the challenge that I try to take up in *Liberalism and Community*. It is perhaps worth remarking that many contemporary liberals -- I am thinking of Dworkin and Rawls and kindred theorists -- are remarkably complacent about these sorts of issues, preaching to the converted, so to speak, as if we could safely ignore these powerful illiberal tendencies in the contemporary world, dismissing them intemperately as examples of a backward philistinism that will sooner or later be swept away by the progress of history. But what grounds are there for this extraordinary confidence? If these illiberal trends have their roots in profound dissatisfaction with the moral life prevalent in contemporary liberal political communities, dissatisfaction that is widely felt on both left and right, then liberals must learn how to answer the passions that lead and have led so many citizens, today and in the past, to repudiate liberalism in the name of one or another more robust myth of community.

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Here is the fundamental claim of the book: there is no natural party of liberty. Put otherwise, liberty is not a constitutive political ideal (it cannot constitute a political community) in the way that, say, equality and virtue are both constitutive political ideals (or in the way that ascriptive myths of national identity can be constitutive political ideals). Or put a third way: intolerance is a natural and ordinary temptation for human beings, and liberalism cannot succeed in eradicating it and can only rarely succeed in taming it, "so natural to mankind is intolerance in whatever they really care about" (Mill). The natural roots of intolerance are manifold, and its practice is nearly ubiquitous: it is, let's face it, fun to rule, to tell other human beings how to live their lives. As Madison puts it, "the latent causes of faction are sown in the nature of man," so much so that (if economic inequality and religion will not do the trick) "where no substantial occasion presents itself the

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most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions." Rogers has emphasized the extent to which this natural tendency toward intolerance or illiberalism has taken the form, in American political history, of ascriptive (and exclusionary) myths about what it means to be an American. I emphasize, rather, the ideological roots of contemporary illiberalism, focusing above all on what I call the republican (small-r) love of virtue and the democratic (small-d) love of equality. The argument of the book is that these natural parties, the parties of virtue and equality, are the contending parties in today's so-called culture wars, and that it is the task of liberals today to mediate between these parties, to negotiate settlements and surrenders, and above all to maneuver in defense of liberty in a dangerous political world where the party of liberty is much, much weaker than either the party of virtue or the party of equality.

Liberalism strictly speaking is the doctrine that liberty is the fundamental political good. Where there is no liberty, all other political goods -- justice, virtue, prosperity, equality, and all the rest -- are quite beyond our reach. And what is liberty? "Political liberty," says Montesquieu, "is that tranquillity of spirit which comes from the opinion each has of his security"; "in order for him to have this liberty the government must be such that one citizen cannot fear another citizen." That is liberty: *one citizen must not fear another citizen*. And this is so whether that other citizen be a ruler or a common thief: "The Injury and the Crime is equal," says Locke, "whether committed by the wearer of a Crown, or some petty villain." "Should a Robber break into my House, and with a Dagger at my Throat, make me seal Deeds to convey my Estate unto him, would this give him any Title?" Surely not. But "the Title of the Offender, and the Number of his Followers make no difference in the Offence, unless it be to aggravate it. The only difference is, Great Robbers punish little ones, to keep them in their Obedience, but the great ones are rewarded with Laurels and Triumphs, because they are too big for the weak hands of Justice in this World, and have the power in their possession, which should punish offenders." *One citizen must not fear another citizen*, and so the first task of the liberal polity is to secure citizens against offenders, petty and great: against the criminal on the dark city street corner and against the tyrant, who sometimes comes in numbers (the "tyranny of the majority") and who would strike at our lives and liberties under color of law. All the institutions, practices, and principles of the liberal state aim at this goal that one citizen must not fear another. That is all. But it is enough. It is the principal task of my book to explain why we should ask no more from our political communities, though we might from time to time be eager to do so.

Here is the present perplexity. In this, the preeminent liberal democracy in the world, where is the party of liberty? The argument is a long one, but it seems to me that the principal political parties today have become parties not of liberty but of virtue and equality: today's liberals often seem to be partisans of equality rather than or before liberty, and today's conservatives often seem to be partisans of virtue rather than or before liberty. (Hence liberals are no longer attached to the principles of limited government, or to rights of property, because equality demands an energetic government and a commitment to distributive justice as prior to rights of property; and conservatives are no longer in the front lines of the fight for freedom of speech, freedom of and

for religion, and what might be called, more generally, moral freedom from the community, freedom from the zeal of moral reformers. For today's so-called liberals, equality is a more fundamental political good than liberty; for today's conservatives, virtue is a more fundamental political good than liberty. Hence the culture wars.) This is a long story, which I can't fully develop here, so let me simply bring forward the testimony of one of the leading contemporary liberals, Ronald Dworkin, who makes the same argument: liberty, says Dworkin, is not a "constitutive" principle of liberalism; we should not permit the name liberalism to perplex us, he says. Rather, "a certain conception of equality, which I shall call the liberal conception of equality, is the nerve of liberalism." And so, on the other side, conservatives have now begun to abandon the language of classical liberalism in favor of the language of a politics of virtue. Now this is an extraordinary fact: in *the* liberal polity, there is no party whose *principal* aim is the defense of liberty (of course, it is a secondary aim of both parties). What is our task, then, we who do love liberty more than we love virtue or equality?

Begin again: we now live in the midst of culture wars, pitting so-called (by the left) fundamentalists against so-called (by the right) cultural elitists in battles that concern a remarkable variety of moral, religious, and cultural issues: remember Murphy Brown? Family values, the new patriotism, gay rights, feminism, religion in the schools, the National Endowment for the Arts: the list is endless. And the tone of these disputes is remarkably bitter and nasty. Often the partisans are literally almost speechless, for it is hard to speak to give reasons to those with whom one has so little in common, so great is the chasm that has now opened between the cultural left and the cultural right in the United States. Partisan opponents are now routinely demonized in various ways: our foes are not merely wrong but wicked. One contemporary scholar, speaking of the unimpressive opinions in the 1986 Georgia gay rights case, describes the quarrel as follows: "It is only a slight exaggeration to say that the two main opinions in *Bowers v. Hardwick* make the case look like a battle between Yahoos and perverts." Just so; and, what is more, this is increasingly the character of many of our political battles. . .

One step more and the argument is more or less complete. These quarrels between elitists and fundamentalists have their roots, I argue, in certain enduring popular passions: the love of equality and the love of virtue. This is a natural feature of democratic life, and liberals must learn to come to terms with this fact about human nature: that virtue and equality will be powerful political ideas, more powerful than the idea of liberty itself, in any democratic community, including liberal democratic communities. It is surely natural and ordinary in democratic communities for the people to lean left on economic issues and to lean right on cultural and moral issues: populism is as naturally hostile to intellectual elites (dissenters of one sort or another) as it is to economic elites, because the people naturally love both equality and virtue (more than they love liberty). The rise and fall in political parties will reflect the rise and fall in the fortunes of these competing populisms, of the left and the right. And the love of virtue and the love of equality will often lead their partisans to become impatient with praise of liberty (sometimes the parties of virtue and equality will even make common cause against the defenders of liberty, as in the strange and surprising alliance of feminists and conservatives against pornography). This hostility to liberty of those whose constitutive political ideals are virtue or equality is unsurprising; for the natural consequence of liberty, of the

(Continued on page 8)

practice of freedom, is inequality and vice. And so it is the task of liberals to somehow persuade partisans of virtue and equality, who are by nature more powerful in democratic communities, that inequality and vice are the price that is worth paying for the security of our liberties. That is a hard nut to crack.

Liberalism is unnatural, and rare; liberals will always be threatened by enemies more powerful than they. The interests, passions, and opinions that draw human beings to embrace a politics dedicated to establishing equality or inculcating virtue are more fundamental, more immediate and urgent, and more pleasing than the interests, passions, and opinions that lead human beings to love liberty. Above all, the love of equality and the love of virtue can both answer our hope to establish a robust community of common purposes of the sort that I discussed earlier, because both seem to answer certain deep intuitions of human beings about how we ought to order our lives together. True communities can be built on the ideas of justice advanced by lovers of equality and lovers of virtue; for the reasons already discussed, the idea of liberty can only rarely serve this function in the life of a moral and political community. So how does the liberal make his way in this world, between the enemies of liberty who love virtue on their right and the enemies of liberty who love equality on their left. Here is the answer of the book: cautiously, and with moderation or restraint.

Love of liberty can emerge only when we learn to recognize the dangers of illiberal politics: especially in times of civil war. Today's culture war is the cold cousin of civil war; a prudent regard for the dangers of such civil strife leads liberals to embrace a politics that seeks in various ways, institutional and other, to tame the partisans in these struggles. Moderation is the first political virtue, for liberals. So we learn to care about liberty when we see that caring too much about equality or virtue, among many other possible constitutive political ideas, is politically dangerous or self-destructive. But this caring about liberty is always indirect and uncertain. Most human beings really do care more about virtue and equality, not to mention the various ascriptive myths of political unity that Rogers has discussed, than we care about liberty (only children or childish adults love liberty for its own sake), and so we must constantly remind ourselves and others to hold back a little in politics, to choose liberty as second best but better than nothing, because to seek more is too likely to bring us to blows. So, to return to present circumstances, a liberal today must refuse to take sides in the culture wars, because he will be eager to point to the fact of the culture wars as evidence that it is time to remember our national commitment to a politics of liberty, which we have lately (in some measure) forgotten, and which we have from time to time in our political history forgotten, to our discredit and sometimes to our disadvantage.

That's the core of the analytical framework developed in the book. Let me, to conclude, say something about how this framework helps us to think about toleration and patriotism, which are two central themes in my book.

Imagine an old-fashioned liberal dissenter who is challenged by a nosy republican or democratic interloper (a lover of equality or virtue) to justify his or her private choices, with the community as the tribunal. Here is that liberal's proud but moderate speech: Mind your own business. Now, what is the meaning of

this speech? Such a liberal refuses to admit the right of the community or its meddling agents to interfere (by threatening public sanctions) with private pursuits of happiness. But this liberal speech is not merely an angry outburst, for it contains a second thought, a dignified but friendly peace offering: as I do not need your permission, says the liberal, so I do not ask your blessing. That is the political posture that I aim to defend. Moderation often requires liberals to rest content with toleration or permission, and not to seek in addition praise or respect, for their private (heterodox, dissenting) ways of life. Often enough, this will work: democrats and republicans are happy to let alone the liberal individualists in their midst, so long as their heterodoxy remains obscure, and so unthreatening. But the dissenter who seeks not only permission but also praise, or who asks to be treated with equal concern and respect (in Dworkin's phrase), sometimes overreaches. In seeking the respect of the community, the dissenter implicitly admits that private choices are indeed the business of the community; such an anxious liberal is not happy to be left alone, and is not willing to leave others alone. He does not mind his own business. Once the right to equal concern and respect becomes a political entitlement, or once this is understood to be the meaning of true toleration, its vindication requires (no less than republican or democratic moralisms) that the community undertake to teach each citizen, and especially the lovers of virtue and equality, what to think: sensitivity is the new liberal cousin to republican virtue. Think of the comic threats to civility in the theory and practice of political correctness, which often trivializes the real achievements of the liberal policy of toleration, besides giving it the odor of republican moralism.

What is more, a sober liberal might even be obliged to admit that angry democrats and republicans also offer good reasons, from time to time, for resisting liberal advances. Unlike the republican, the liberal knows, as Montesquieu says, that even virtue has need of limits. But the republican knows, what the liberal sometimes forgets, that self-government (even in a liberal democracy) presupposes virtue more than other forms of government do, as Madison famously remarked. Thus, those liberals who are also in some measure republicans must be prepared to answer their more wholehearted republican friends, who will from time to time be heard worrying that toleration of this or that practice of freedom undermines the civic and moral virtue that is required for self-government. So too, democratic love of equality, which is often at odds with the liberal practice of freedom, sometimes also reflects a public-spirited, and so respectable, concern that necessary habits of self-government may be threatened by obnoxious forms of inequality. Today's friends to liberty, on the contrary, are too often reduced to sneering at popular ignorance and prejudice: they are Yahoos. These liberals thus altogether fail to respect either the sometimes honorable motives for popular intolerance or the often formidable power of the parties of intolerance.

Liberals, democrats, and republicans have long lived together in uneasy harmony in our community. That is an impressive achievement, considering that the natural hostilities that divide the parties of liberty, equality, and virtue, are so deep and abiding, and have so often inspired civil tumults and even tyrannies. We live in an uncommonly civil polity that accommodates and even honors many of its liberal individualists (with academic freedom, artistic freedom, economic freedom, religious freedom); and yet, it also respects the arguments and prejudices of democrats and republi-



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cans, who may worry that the practice of tolerance merely excuses inequality and vice, with unhappy consequences for the community as a whole. That settlement is today under fire, from every party: liberals today are sometimes troubled by the stingy limits of our collective tolerance and respect; republicans are worried that excessive tolerance gives rise to corruption or vice both in our public life and in our private lives; democrats are troubled that tolerance is a fraud that enables elites to rule unnoticed. Each party must be reminded of the good reasons for the original settlement (but especially the liberals, who are perhaps its principal beneficiaries): that peace and security, which is the fundamental condition of any civil politics, is permanently threatened by the naturally immoderate passions of human beings (of every party). Democrats and republicans must be made to admit that the security of individuals, to which they are not naturally committed, serves the real needs of the community, even the democratic or republican community: what good is virtue or equality, if life and liberty are insecure? And liberals must be reminded that obnoxious forms of inequality may be intolerable in a democratic community, and that certain sorts of heterodoxy or nonconformity may always be disreputable in a republican community, for reasons that are sometimes honorable and sometimes not. Anyway, the liberal settlement does provide homes for ambition and private virtue (as well as mere eccentricity) in a democratic republic that is not naturally hospitable to such uncommon ways of life, and that is a notable achievement.

Finally, and even more hastily, on patriotism. (I will not resume the argument of my book here; rather, I want to say something about Rogers' argument.) Here is my fear regarding the project that Rogers proposes, of forging a stronger sense of national unity: we liberals will lose. We will lose the quarrels over specifying the meaning of that national unity. We will lose to the virtuecrats, or we will lose to the radical egalitarians, or we will lose to one or another of the ascriptive mythologists who Rogers describes, but we will surely lose. That is because of the nature of the liberal principle, what I have elsewhere called the natural weakness of the party of liberty. So I don't want to pick this fight about the meaning of our national unity . . .

Consider the case of Lincoln, who might seem to refute my portrait of liberalism. Here, if ever, liberalism was made a fighting faith. That is true, more or less, but it seems to me the exception that proves the rule, so to speak: the example of a terrible civil war is not a very hopeful one. Perhaps it is enough to say, with Lincoln, that our patriotism must at the end of the day be an emphatically liberal patriotism. As he once said (to be sure, in private letter): "Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal.' We now practically read it, 'all men are created equal, except Negroes.' When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read 'all men are created equal, except Negroes, and foreigners, and Catholics.' When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty -- to Russia, for instance, where the despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy." Or, in another letter: "The fourth of July has not quite dwindled away; it is still a great day -- for burning fire-crackers!" Or, as he said on a more solemn occasion, a eulogy to Henry Clay: "He loved his country partly because it was his own country, but mostly because it was a free country; and he burned with a zeal for its advancement, prosperity, and glory, because he

saw in such, the advancement, prosperity, and glory, of human liberty, human right, and human nature. He desired the prosperity of his countrymen partly because they were his countrymen, but chiefly to show the world that free men could be prosperous." Partly, chiefly gets it exactly right, it seems to me: we liberals, at the end of the day, chiefly love liberty not as Americans but as human beings. ■

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particular political communities, no political community is simply natural. All contain significant populations with histories, experiences, outlooks, and affiliations that can be mobilized on behalf of different, conflicting senses of political membership than those advanced by their current governors. Even a long established country like Great Britain contains Scottish, Welsh, and Irish nationalists, as well as conflicts over new immigrants. In the U.S. today, native Hawaiians are considering some form of secession or separatism, native tribes on the mainland continue to claim significant sovereignty, some Amish still refer to other Americans as the "English," in the northwest we have an Aryan Nation, in Texas a "Republic of Texas," in many of our cities a Nation of Islam whose leader has said God will destroy the United States.

My book *Civic Ideals*, argues that such circumstances mean that political leaders, in the U.S. and elsewhere, always face two fundamental political imperatives. If you aspire to govern a people, you first need a people that thinks of itself as a people; and second, you need a people that thinks of itself as properly governed by someone like you. I also contend it's hard to foster such a sense of "peoplehood" on the basis of liberal and republican principles alone. Taken alone, both are demanding ideologies--liberalism requires us to use our private economic freedoms well or suffer hardship, republicanism demands we show our virtue as participatory citizens--and again, neither explains why there's anything special about being an American, as opposed to a citizen of any liberal republic.

*Civic Ideals* argues that historically, American leaders have responded to these political imperatives of nation-building, or people-building, and the limitations of liberal and republican principles for this task by also invoking what I call ascriptive inegalitarian civic ideals, versions of "ascriptive Americanism." These are stories that, for those included in them, make being an American seem special because of traits people are said already to possess--like Mr. Rogers, these stories tell people they are special "just the way they are." Such stories thus do important political service; but they also always present dangers through their potential to justify the exclusion, subordination, and stigmatization of people who do not possess the traits labeled "special" in these stories.

The evidence of American citizenship laws demonstrates that these kinds of stories, and their dangers, are a much bigger part of American history than Philip Gleason's quotation indicates. The nation's first naturalization act in 1790 said you had to be

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"white" to become an American; racial restrictions on immigration were later added in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and many of those lasted until 1965. When you add it up, it turns out that for almost 90% of U.S. history, the majority of the world's adult population was legally ineligible for full U.S. citizenship explicitly because of their race, national origins or ethnicity. And for at least 2/3 of U.S. history, the majority of the domestic adult population was legally ineligible for full U.S. citizenship, if that includes voting rights, explicitly because of race, ethnicity, or gender. Those restrictions, responding I believe to various imperatives of nation-building according to many Americans' values, meant that for most people, American citizenship was not an option no matter how much they willed it nor how much they believed in liberty, equality, and republicanism.

We can see political imperatives prompting reliance on ascriptive stories of Americanism right from the nation's start. In Tom Paine's famed 1776 pamphlet, "Common Sense," he invokes liberal doctrines of universal human rights and endorses republican government. But he also tells Americans they are like the ancient Israelites, a chosen people of the biblical God, with a divine mission to build a special land of liberty in the New World. This account of an American providential destiny is striking proof of the impact of political considerations, since Paine was a deist if not an atheist who did not believe God interfered in human affairs. Paine then defines the people thus chosen as ones who can claim "brotherhood" with

"every European Christian." The language sounds inclusive, and in context it was meant to be: Paine was telling the colonists they were not simply English. But note there is also an exclusion implied by every word. "Brotherhood," taken literally, implies that only men are full members of the political community--and though some of Paine's friends championed women's rights, he never did. "European Christians" leaves out many others whom Paine knew to be residing in North America. He refers later to the "Negroes" and "Indians," whom he contrasts with "us." It's clear why he felt politically impelled to define the "chosen" American people in these restrictive ways. Many of the colonists he hoped to rouse to revolution held slaves and coveted Indian lands. They would not join the cause if all North American inhabitants were included in it as equals. But whatever the motives, Paine provided authority for later stories saying that only Europeans could truly be Americans, in accordance with God's will.

Those ascriptive accounts came to the fore increasingly in the 19th century as agitation over slavery grew. In response, Stephen Douglas offered this vision of American unity in the 1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates. He said, "I am opposed to Negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this Government was made on the white basis. I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity for ever, and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men, men of European birth and descent, instead of conferring it upon Negroes, Indians, and other inferior races." In response, Lincoln defended the eligibility of all races to claim the basic rights of the Declaration of Independence; but Lincoln lost that race, and though he won the Presidency in 1860, 61% of the electorate voted against him and in favor of the other three candidates, who all offered variations on the "white America" civic ideal Douglas advocated.

And though the Civil War allowed Lincoln's more liberal and democratic vision to be written into the Constitution via the postwar amendments, Reconstruction soon gave way to resurgent racial ideologies. Again these served nation-building purposes of fostering American unity along restrictive lines. In 1900, for example, Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana made the following argument to explain why the inhabitants of the colonies the U.S. acquired in the Spanish-American war should not be made citizens:

"...this question (of the status of the new colonial inhabitants) is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adept in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples...And of all our race He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man."

The galleries thundered applause, Beveridge was put on the committee to oversee the colonies, and his preferred policies prevailed. In the context of W.W. II, waged against racist Nazis, and the Cold War the U.S. came to repudiate officially such racial visions of the nation. But the notion that Americans are in some sense a special, chosen people remains, as shown by President Reagan's remarks at the Statute of Liberty Centennial celebration in 1986. He said:

"Call it mysticism if you will, I have always believed there was some divine providence that places this great land here between the two great oceans, to be found by a special kind of people from every corner of the world, who had a special love for freedom and a special courage that enabled them to leave their own land, leave their friends and their countrymen, and come to this new and strange land to build a New World of peace and freedom and hope."

Reagan's message here was chiefly one of inclusion, of America welcoming freedom-loving people from around the world. But this story of how America is special and chosen still has exclusionary potential. It can still imply that those who did not come were less special kinds of people, who did not love freedom or have much courage. In a different political climate, those implications can be used to support invidious exclusions. In the early '90s, for example, changed circumstances led to rising support for immigration restriction. The best selling of the books on immigration to come out of that very recent period, Peter Brimelow's *Alien Nation*, explicitly argued that modern immigration was undermining the historical "white racial hegemony" that had characterized American civic life and that this "experiment" was dangerous. He contended that "certain ethnic cultures are more crime prone than others,"

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specifying "Blacks," and said education didn't seem to help, so exclusion of blacks and Latinos, especially, was desirable. His positions remain extreme, but they show that the politics of people-building via accounts of why we are special that have great negative potential remains with us today.

Certainly, if we try to build unity in America on the basis of many of these ascriptive, exclusionary conceptions that have competed to reign as America's "civic ideal," then "E Pluribus Unum" will indeed be an illiberal ideal. Yet it is still true, as this very history confirms, that building unity purely on the basis of allegiance to liberal principles seems very difficult in practice.

What then, are Americans who seek a unity that is not illiberal to do? Contemporary multiculturalist democratic and liberal philosophers like Iris Young and Will Kymlicka, with whom I have many sympathies, unfortunately offer no solution to this problem of an appropriate basis of national unity. They rather endorse greater embrace of difference. The answer I offer is two fold:

First, we should try to build unity on our shared history. We should recognize that American identity, whether gained by birth or consent, is membership in a particular and remarkable historical entity that transcends our individual lives, in that it exists before and after us in time; that shapes our significance, in that it helps define who we are, what we care about, and what possibilities are open to us; but it is nonetheless an entity whose historical significance we can meaningfully shape. We cannot change our nation's past; we cannot alter the fact that in our lives we will in some way or another carry that past forward; but we should also recognize that we are, collectively, going to be chief authors of the next stage in that great historical entity's story. I think this sense of shared history, linked fate, and linked responsibilities and opportunities can serve as a powerful basis for a sense of national unity, even if we have strong disagreements over the significance of what history has been and how it can best be continued.

But second, I suggest that we can make that historically-based conception of American national unity even more compelling if, through democratic decision-making, we choose to view that historical entity as an enterprise with shared purposes, and if we take our liberal principles, broadly conceived, as definitive of our purposes. It is here that I depart from Steve Kautz, who offers a reasonable but in my mind insufficiently robust view of American liberal unity as based on seeing our political principles as a peace pact that fosters peace and prosperity, but no greater sense of shared aims and enterprises. I depart also from liberal theorists like John Rawls, Ronald Dworkin, and Bruce Ackerman, who say liberal societies must be neutral on the question of the good life and so can have no very concrete vision of a common good the nation strives to realize. I suggest instead that we see our national history as one in which in our finest moments we have chosen to dedicate ourselves to achieving liberal purposes, never uncontested, of building economic, political, educational, and cultural systems that provide people with meaningful capacities and opportunities to lead lives expressive of their own reflective choices. We should as a people judge that we can best continue our contested history by seeing the task of realizing those principles for all as even more central today, so that we would combat the obstacles imposed on many by our heritage of illiberal

exclusions and subordinations and seek truly to secure the blessings of liberty for all Americans, and for others insofar as we are able to do so . . .

If shared history is the starting point for a basis of national unity that is not illiberal, it can be sustained only insofar as we see continuing that history as important, which I think requires that we see ourselves as partners in an ongoing national project. And I believe that, through democratic deliberation and reflection on our historical experiences, we can and should conclude that it is our liberal aspirations that define the most inspiring vision of the purposes of that national project, of the way we as a people can and should continue to strive to build a more perfect union, with ourselves and with our endlessly troubled and

(Continued from page 1) *The Princeton Review* . . .

### **James Madison College is among the Top 10 'Politically Incorrect' Colleges in America**

*Insight Magazine*, a publication of *The Washington Times* Corp., selected Madison as one of the Top 10 Politically Incorrect Colleges in America. The winning colleges were announced in the magazine's September 8<sup>th</sup> issue.

Contrary to the negative connotations often associated with being "politically incorrect," the award sought to "find colleges to which parents could get enthusiastic about sending their sons and daughters, that students might be eager to attend and that would provide a good education for those who sincerely want to be educated." Some of the criteria that the editors used to guide them in their comparisons of liberal education programs include: "(1) colleges and universities that are true to themselves and haven't altered their traditions to fit academic fashions or fads, (2) colleges that educate the whole student, (3) institutions that don't promise that education will be easy, (4) emphasis on undergraduate teaching by full professors long experienced in their craft, and (5) schools that emphasize civility and character."

Jeffrey Wallen, Pres. of the American Academy for a Liberal Education (AALE) said that "James Madison was one of several colleges (the Univ. of California-Berkeley established another) founded two or three decades ago to be real teaching institutions at America's large state universities." Madison is the only program that still survives today. Madison survives today not just because of its strong programs in education and competent faculty, "but because a professed goal is quality public policy (the *Federalist Papers*, for example, are required readings) and several of its graduates (and most ardent supporters) happen to sit in

**Michigan State University Alumni Association Membership Application**

PLEASE PRINT-FIRST, MIDDLE INITIAL AND LAST NAME

Applicant Name MSU Graduation Term/Year 19

Job Title Employer

Preferred Address

City State Zip

Home Phone Business Phone

PAYMENT PLAN



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- Life Membership-\$500.00
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Winter '97

Card Number

Exp. Date

Signature

9/30/97

Dear Dean Allen:

After graduating last May, I started working with Andersen Consulting as a business process analyst. I work designing and implementing business systems. Working with Andersen has been fabulous. I have learned volumes about technology, computer systems, and business.

You may find it curious that a PTC D graduate was able to find a job that is so technically involved. This becomes particularly striking when one considers I had very little technical experience prior to my start with Andersen Consulting and that I am now working with engineers and business majors. My being hired by Andersen Consulting is a testament to the marketability of a fine liberal arts degree like the one I received from JMC. When I was being recruited, Andersen people told me they were very impressed with my communication skills, and the learning environment of which I was a part while studying at JMC. Further, one recruiter told me that they do not hire many liberal arts majors but he thought I was particularly gifted.

Fortunately for JMC students, I am by no means an exception at JMC. I believe there are many gifted students who Andersen recruiters would view as being very qualified candidates. Unfortunately, many of these gifted students are much like I was a year ago. Last fall, if you asked me what I thought I would be doing after I graduated, I would have told you that I would probably work for a Senator while waiting tables at night to pay rent and student loans. I am certain that many JMC students are interested in working for a consulting firm that provides services to Fortune 500 companies. However, I am also certain that most of these individuals are not aware of the opportunities that exist for a JMC student who can creatively market a resume.

I am so grateful for my experiences at James Madison College that I want to give back to the institution that is largely responsible for my current success. I want to communicate to JMC students that tremendous opportunities exist with a firm that almost immediately delegates tremendous responsibility to new hires. To achieve this, I have been able to create a relationship with the director of Andersen's college recruiting. While they have never before actively recruited JMC people, I was able to convince them of the imprudence of this oversight. Now, JMC could be visited by Andersen Consulting recruiters, giving JMC students a new and direct pipe line to employment in an industry that has been to date deprived of the gifts and talents of JMC people. I would like to discuss with you ways that we could initiate recruiting efforts.

Benjamin A. Roberts (PTCD,'97)

**Regional Activity**

**Metro Washington, DC Alumni Chapter . . .** Come celebrate the new year with your fellow JMC Alums in DC! The Washington DC area chapter of the JMCAA is having a wine and cheese party on January 15th, 1998 from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m. We are holding it at MSU's Government Affairs Office in Washington, DC: 499 S. Capitol St., SW, Suite 500A.



You can catch up on old friends and meet new ones for a mere \$10. Please RSVP by January 9th, make your check out to the MSU Alumni Club of Greater Washington and mail it to: JMCAA/DC, c/o: Jennifer Canty, 1211 South 20th St., Arlington, VA 22202.

If you need directions or want more information on the JMC happenings in DC, please contact Adrienne Rakotz at (703) 549-2939 or Chris Dumler at (202) 588-9626. Alternatively, you could e-mail Chris Dumler at dumler@econ.yale.edu.

**Happy Holidays and we look forward to seeing you all in the coming New Year!**

*If you would like to host a regional alumni interest meeting in your area, contact Alumni Relations for details.*

**70s**

**Martha Cohen** (Ethnic, '70) is a Social Worker with Heartland Health Care Center-Kalamazoo.

**Terry Terry** (JMCD, '74) is Executive Director of The Message Makers in Lansing, MI.

**Mike Tinnon** (Urban, '75) is the Market Development Coordinator for Superior Services, Inc. in San Antonio, TX.

**80s**

**Anne Mervenne** (Urban, '82) is the co-Director of the Michigan Political Leadership Program. Previously, Mervenne served as the Director of Gov. Engler's Southeast Michigan office in Detroit. She is also a member of the College's Board of Visitors.

**Sue Rubin** (JMCD, '84) is Co-founder and an Ethicist at The Ethics Practice in Berkeley, CA.

**Mike Brown**

(JMCD, '86) joined the law firm of Howard & Howard in August of this year. Prior to this appointment, Brown represented the firm of Dykema Gossett in Lansing. He specializes in commercial and insurance defense litigation and employment law. Brown is a member of the Ingham County Bar Association and past president of the Young Lawyers Section.



**Paul Long** (Urban, '88) joined a four person panel at the Detroit College of Law at MSU on assisted suicide. Long represented the Michigan Catholic Conference at The Federalist Society sponsored event.

**90s**

**Pam Aronson** (IR, '90) is one of two winners of the 1997 American Sociology Association political sociology section graduate student paper. Aronson wrote "Rethinking Political Generations: The Life Course, Personal History and Feminist Identities" while a student at the University of Minnesota.

**Julia Ruffin** (SR, '90) is the Special Projects Coordinator with WJLB FM 98/Mix 92.3 WMXD-FM in Detroit.

**Lawrence S. Sheets** (IR, '90) is the Caucus Bureau Chief for Reuters in Russia.

**Victoria Chenoweth** (IR, '91) is a Financial Systems Consultant for CTR Business Systems, Inc. located in Portland, Oregon. Chenoweth attended Thunderbird in AZ where she tackled a new language- Japanese, honed her accounting skills, and earned a Master of International Management degree in the Spring of '94.

**Jennifer Ehrmantraut** (IR, '92) is the Assistant State's Attorney for Lake County, Illinois. She earned her JD at Washington University (St Louis) in '96.

**Jennifer (Zbytowski) Foutz** (IR, '92) is an Attorney with Honigman, Miller, Schwartz and Cohn in Detroit. She earned her JD at the University of Michigan.

**John Gormley** (JMCD, '92) is an Associate Attorney with Joseph K. Cox & Associates in Webberville, MI. He earned a JD from Thomas M. Cooley Law School and married in 1995.

**Gary Savine** (PE, '93) is an Attorney with Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather and Geraldson Attys. at Law in Chicago, IL.

**Rachel Harrington** (IR, '94) and Jan McDonough are the creators of the Blue Pearl line of children's clothing which hit store shelves one year ago and is now in about 125 upscale clothing stores across the country. The company is headquartered in Crystal Lake, IL.

**Johnnie Kaberle** (IR, '94) works for Congress in the Office of Lamar Smith (TX). Formerly Kaberle worked for Congressman Dick Chrysler.

**James W. Metz II** (IR, '94) is in his last term of school at the Detroit College of Law at MSU. He will take the Bar Exam in February.

**Maryann (Farrugia) Bruder** (SR, '95) is the Deputy Clerk for the Hon. Judge John J. McDonald in Oakland County.

**Jennifer Chomistek** (IR, '95) is the Assistant Director of Corporate Membership at The Atlantic Council in Washington, DC.

**Robert Sampson** (IR, '95) is a Junior Defense Analyst for Science Applications International Corp. in McLean, VA.

**Megan Barnhart** (IR, '96) is a Staff Assistant for Congressman Knollenberg (R-MI). She lives in Arlington, VA.

**Kristin M. Corra** (IR, '96) was an International Election Supervisor for the Bosnian Municipal elections held in September.

**Brian Larson** (SR, '96) is Associate Producer for a joint venture between MTV and Yahoo! in San Francisco, CA. His creative abilities can be viewed at <http://www.unfurled.com>. Previously, Larson worked with MTV Online in New York.

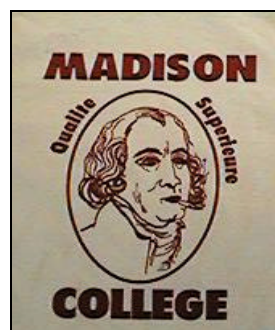
**Anne Provencher** (IR, '96) is a Tracing Specialist with the American Red Cross. She helps locate family members that have been displaced after war.

**Matthew Schneider** (IR, '96) is a first year law student at Catholic University of America in Washington, DC. Previously, Schneider was the Public Events Coordinator for Michigan Governor John Engler.

**Karin A. Peterson** (SR, '97) is a Consultant with Health Management Associates of Lansing.

**Lynn Spangler** (SR, '97) is a first year law student at Case Western University in Cleveland.

SEND YOUR ALUMNI UPDATE TO THE COLLEGE, ATTN: *JMC SCENE*.



(FRONT)

The James Madison College Student Senate has t-shirts available in long (\$15) or short sleeve (\$11). Shirts are navy w/ white lettering and come in L or XL.

Make your checks payable to JMC and send to the Student Senate c/o the College.

(BACK)

**James Madison College**  
*30 years and growing . . .*

## Faculty Finds

**Mohammed Ayoob** traveled abroad from July-September to conduct research and participate in several conferences. He visited New Delhi, India, in July & August to conduct research for his project on "State Building and Security in India." While in New Delhi, he gave two seminars at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, on "International Relations Theory and the Third World" and "Beyond Proliferation and Kashmir: South Asia's Real Security Dilemmas."



Ayoob attended the 17th World Congress of the International Political Science Association from August 17-21 in Seoul, South Korea. He presented a paper titled "Explaining Political Decay and Political Regeneration: The Crucial Role of Political Society and Political Culture."

From August 23-27 Ayoob visited Hong Kong to discuss issues of East Asian security, especially the likely roles to be played by China and Japan in the region, with specialists at the Chinese University and at other institutions in Hong Kong.

From Sept. 6-16 he visited Sri Lanka where, among other engagements connected with his project on South Asian security, he delivered a public lecture at the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute in Colombo on "The Future of the Indian Polity: Implications for Regional Stability in South Asia." From September 10-16 he attended a workshop on South Asian Security in Kandy, Sri Lanka. Ayoob gave the keynote address titled "Security in South Asia: Searching for the Key Variable."

**Allison Berg** received a Faculty Development Initiative Grant to complete a book manuscript titled Mothing the Race: US Women's Narratives of Reproduction, 1890-1930. In October she presented a paper titled "Speaking for and to a Collective Black Public: Pauline Hopkins and the *Colored American Magazine*" at the American Studies Association



annual meeting in Washington, DC. The paper was part of a collaboratively-authored book project titled Mass Appeals: The Public Work of Women's Popular Fictions.

**Richard Evans** is spearheading an effort to increase the College's use of technology in the classroom and among alumni through the utilization of discussion groups. Soon Madison students and alumni will be able to communicate with each other on subjects of interest. The discussion groups would operate in a similar fashion to AOL, with boards representing topical issues and aspects of the College.



**Norman Graham** was in Seoul, Korea to participate in an international conference on "Global Transformation Toward Sustainable Civil Society," September 26-28, 1997. The Conference was hosted by the Korea Planners Association. Graham chaired a panel on "Prospects for Unification of North and South Korea" and delivered a paper at another session on his research on Eastern Europe. The paper was titled: "Globalization and Civil Society in Hungary and the Czech Republic: Lessons and Prospects."



**Douglas Hoekstra** wrote "Presidential Beliefs and the Reagan Paradox" in the Summer 1997 issue of *Presidential Studies Quarterly* and "Centralized Power and the Modern Presidency" in *H-NET Review*.

On November 14th, Hoekstra participated in a discussion of the "serious student" concept at the MSU Board of Trustees meeting. The discussion stemmed from a recent conversation between President McPherson, Provost Simon, and members of the Faculty Affairs Committee in the College that the academic environment at "U" does not sufficiently encourage many to be "serious students."

**Michael Rubner's** article entitled "Conflict Resolution for Artists/Teachers in Matters of Tenure and Promotion" was recently published in Theatre Southwest: The Journal of the Southwest Theatre Association (vol. 24, 1996), pp. 15-27.



Presented a paper on "The Denial of Tenure and Promotion: Drawing Lessons from Negative Outcomes," at the National Conference of the Association for Theatre in Higher Education, New York City, August 7-11, 1997.

Rubner also provided commentary to several media outlets regarding the U.N. Security Council and Iraq's refusal to allow weapon inspections. *JMC Scene* recently had the opportunity to speak with Rubner.

How would you like to see the conflict resolved?

... through further diplomacy, i.e. the Security Council could agree to review Iraq's compliance with its obligations on an accelerated schedule (now, the next review will take place in April, 1998); I am opposed to the use of force: it will hurt innocent civilians, and will generate opposition from our allies (France, Russia), China, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Short of using force, we could simply expand the number of U-2 flights, or increase the area of the "no-fly" zone in southern Iraq, simply to keep Saddam on his toes.

How could the crisis have been prevented, if at all?

Only one person could have avoided the crisis, and that is Saddam. He is very erratic, and in this case, totally miscalculated the likely UN reactions to his moves.

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**Louis Hunt, Folke Lindahl, and Eric Petrie** participated in the Northeastern Political Science Conference on November 13-15, 1997. The Philadelphia conference featured presentations by Hunt, Lindahl, and Petrie on "Two Faces of Civil Society," "Towards an Anti-Foundational Liberalism: Reflections on John Gray and Richard Rorty," and "Against the Good," respectively. Hunt and Lindahl were participants on the "Liberalism and Post-Modernity: Conflict or Compatibility?" panel.

**Katherine O'Sullivan See and Kathleen**

(Continued on page 15)

**Globalization and its (Dis) Contents:  
Multiple Perspectives, April 3-4, 1998**

**April 3, 1998**

**8:30 am** Registration Sign-in  
**9:00-9:15 am** Welcome: Big Ten B  
Peter McPherson, President  
Michigan State University

**9:15-10:30 am** Session 1-A: Corniche

**Clarifying Key Concepts**

Chair and Discussant: Michael Schechter, Michigan State University

*Globalization in Political Perspective*

*Globalization and Power*

*Actually Existing Globalization, Peter Dorman*

*Global, Glocal or Globaloney?*

**10:45-12:00** Session 2-A: Corniche

**Institutions and the Process of Globalization**

Chair and Discussant: Sandra Gleason, Michigan State University

*Education for All and the Deterioration of the State: Making Policy in Mozambique*

*Sisterhood Becomes Global: The United Nations and the Globalization of Gender*

*Migrants and Refugees in the Contemporary Security Discourse*

**10:45-12:00** Session 2-B: Big Ten B

**Culture as an Aspect of Globalization #1**

Chair and Discussant: Don Lammers, Michigan State University

*Motivations of Western Researchers Investigating Indigenous*

*Healing Knowledge: A Critical Interpretative Approach*

*Chinese and American Discourse on Modernity and Identity in the Modern Era: Issues of Cultural Universalism and particularism in the Theory of Globalization, Simei Qing*

*Globalization's Impact on the Marking(/Marketing?) Of Is-*

*(Continued from page 14) Faculty Finds*

**Dowley** published a briefing paper on "Michigan Families: Perceptions of the Causes of Divorce and Single Parenthood." The two examined the effects that gender, ethnicity, and marital status and age have on Michiganders perception of what causes lead to divorce and single parent families in the state. The research was sponsored by the Institute for Public Policy and Social Research at MSU. Copies of the paper may be obtained for \$2 each by calling 517-355-6672 x132.

**Simei Qing's** article "American Visions of Free Trade System and Their Impacts on State-Society Relationship in China (1945-1946)" will be published in a book on U.S.-East Asian relations by the American University Press in Spring 1998.

**Kenneth Waltzer** presented his new "American Identity Explorer: Immigration and Migration" CD-ROM at the "Envisioning the Future: The Humanities Classroom of the 21st Century" conference held at Michigan State University, Sept. 27, 1997. The CD-ROM will be marketed nationally by the McGraw-Hill Companies.



Waltzer is working on a new MSU/Hebrew University Overseas Study Summer Program to begin June-July, 1998. The program is a joint venture between the College of Arts and Letters and James

*amic Space/the Islamic Fait*

**1:15-2:15 pm** Big Ten B

*Should Feminists Be Wearing Global Sneakers?* Cynthia Enloe, Clark University

**2:15-3:30 pm** Session 3-A: Corniche

**Culture as an Aspect of Globalization #2**

Chair and Discussant: **Linda Racioppi**, Michigan State University

*Situating Ecology and Anthropology in Eco-Archaeological Tourism: The (Re) Production of Nature, Culture and Travel Along El Costa Maya, Quintana Roo, Mexico*  
*Cultural Components of Technology Transfer: The Case of Retooling in China*

*Language and Learning in Belize: Teaching English as a Second language to Creole Speaking Populations*

**2:15-3:30 pm** Session 3-B: Big Ten B

**Globalization and the Environment**

Chair and Discussant: Jim Bingen, Michigan State University

*Can the ISO 14000 International Environmental Management Standards Service Provide an Avenue for Globalization of Businesses in a Developing Country Such as Mexico?*

*Globalizing the Agrifood System: A Tough Row to Hoe*  
*Sustainability of Salmon Fisheries: Binational Perspectives*

**Glocalization**

Chair and Discussant: **Norman Graham**, Michigan State University

*Globalization and Local Responses: Experiences from Central America*

*Globalization is Not a Win-Win Game*

*The Struggle Over Globalizing and Localizing Malaysia's TV Industry*

**3:45-5:00 pm** Session 4-A: Corniche

**Globalization and the Global South**

Chair and Discussant: **Kathleen Dowley**, Michigan State University

*Strategic and Economic Development Implications of Globalization Through Franchising: Evidence from U.S.*

*Franchise Expansion into Mexico*

*Financial Globalization and its Impact on Emerging Markets*

**7:30-9:00 pm** Big Ten B

*Can We Have Globality with Equity?* Jan Aart Scholte, The Institute of Social Studies, Netherlands

**April 4, 1998**

**9:00-10:15 am** Session 5-A: Corniche

**The Place of Business Enterprises in the Globalization Process**

Chair and Discussant: Preet Aulakh, Michigan State University

*A Critical Examination of Globalized Marketing Strategy*

*Utilizing a Multidisciplinary Approach*

*Maneuvering in the Global Market Place; Using Less and Getting More*

*Let Them Eat French Fries*

*The Globalization of the Navstar Global Positioning System (GPS): Civilian Uses and Concerns, and International Security Threats*

**10:30-11:45 am** Session 6-A: Corniche

**Globalization and the Global South**

*(Continued on page 18)*

## Daniel Rosenthal Legislative Internship Award Program

On Wednesday, April 22, 1998 (tentatively) the College and Spartans Under the Dome, MSU alumni who work in the State Capitol Buildings, will sponsor the 21st Annual Daniel Rosenthal Legislative Intern Award Ceremony. The program will be held at the State Capitol Building.

To nominate an intern for the award, please contact Grant Littke at 517-353-6757 or littke@pilot.msu.edu for guidelines and an application. The deadline for nominations will be in early March.

## Founders Circle

The Fall Founders Circle Event was held on Monday, October 6th in conjunction with the College's 30th Anniversary Celebration. Mr. Leslie Lenkowsky, Professor of Philanthropic Studies and Public Policy at Indiana University's Center on Philanthropy, was the featured speaker.

Dr. Lenkowsky inspired the crowd to reinvest in service and volunteerism, after an intriguing discussion of the history and progress of philanthropy in America.

The occasion also featured a pinning ceremony for Founders Circle members not present at the inaugural event in the spring. Alumna and former Board of Visitors Chair, **Anne House Quinn** (JMCD,'83) and Dean William Allen pinned each other.

Special guests included Janet Freeman, mother of **Marilyn Darling** (Ethnic,'75) and James Spaniolo, Dean of Communication Arts and Science.

## Freeman-Darling James Madison Fellows Scholarship

The Freeman-Darling Scholarship is the newest endowment in the College this year. The scholarship honors Mrs. Janet Freeman and Ms Marilyn Darling (Ethnic,'75). Mrs Freeman, a member of MSU's class of '42, is the mother of Ms Darling.

The scholarship is established to attract

talented students to MSU for a Madison education.

## Gordon Guyer Internship

A reception honoring the first recipients of the Gordon and Norma Guyer Endowed Internship was held at the Cowles House on September 12, 1997. The awards were created to support students from across the university interning in public affairs-related placements.

Madison students Colin Ford (PTCD) and Jamal Ware (PTCD) were among the first five recipients. Colin is interning with the Michigan State Medical Society. Jamal is interning in the Office of the MSU Vice President for Governmental Affairs, **Steve Webster** (Urban,'75).

*The College welcomes your contributions .  
For more information contact Development at 517-353-3381.*

## Campus Briefs

- ⇒ Nancy Brent is the Associate Director of the MSU Alumni Association. Brent was the Asst. V.P. of Univ. Relations and the Dir. of Public Relations.
- ⇒ Joseph Pirch is the new Executive Director of MSU Health Team, the University's healthcare practitioners.
- ⇒ The Honors College at MSU received \$3 million gift from Detroit businessman, Jeffrey Cole. He is CEO of the largest recycling firm in Michigan, Ferrous Processing and Trading Co.
- ⇒ Domestic partner benefits were approved for "U" employees. The MSU Board of Trustees has grappled with the issue since November of 1995, but managed to come to terms on September 12, 1997 and approve same-sex partner benefits.
- ⇒ "U" received the Corporate Minority Business Advocate of the Year Award from the MI Minority Business Development Council in Detroit.
- ⇒ A one-ton Rice Krispies Treat broke records for *Guinness Book of World Records* and MSU Safe Place. Proceeds from the event help to provide a safe haven for victims of domestic violence on campus.
- ⇒ MSU and the City of East Lansing formed an alliance to address student issues, of housing, alcohol, and safety.

*(Continued from page 2) JMC: The Future* able students and endowed as well as operational funding for special College programs, assuring that they will continue indefinitely. And we have assumed larger responsibility for University-wide initiatives, integrating us more closely in the life and resources of the University as a whole.

In short, James Madison College has a past to boast of. That fact constitutes the challenge of its future. For all of the accomplishments of the past five years – as in the past thirty years – add up to obligations for the future. Few of the recent accomplishments will be self-perpetuating, and none will make a positive contribution if not periodically renewed through mission energizing conversations in the community at large. If the future will not look like the past has looked – and no one should expect it to do so – that will largely be because the future must be shaped out of the same necessities that governed the past. There is this important difference, however: none can avoid the reality that the community members who will shape the future have themselves been shaped for the task. Faculty, students, and staff bring to this task renewed sensibilities to the College mission. If they undertake their tasks in the same spirit as those who came before them, privileging the value of open conversation and dedication to the mission, then mutually enhancing conversations will follow and will surely trace a course to inspire admiration from their predecessors no less than from their successors.

*James Madison College provides liberal education in public affairs for undergraduates. This means, among other things, that our primary activity as a faculty and staff is undergraduate teaching. We are dedicated to the highest standards of excellence, both for our students and for ourselves. Our curriculum and individual courses are multi-disciplinary, cultivating in our students skills of rigorous thought, lucid prose writing, and articulate speech. We learn in a residential setting that nurtures a collegium of scholars among students, faculty, and staff; and we draw on the resources of the wider University to enrich our program. ■*



(Continued from page 1) **30th Anniversary Roundup**

The 30th Anniversary was a time for reflecting upon the ideals the College was founded upon, as well as its future. Hearing the experiences of alumni with interesting career paths was an inspiration to a student who always seems to be swamped with the next paper deadline. It shows that the College itself has a direction and the community is past, present and future. The weekend was a good mix of academic and social events. My favorite event was the Madison Moments dinner, at which I was able to meet a lot of alumni and people who had advice on my future. It was a unique experience to have the opportunity to meet so many people that could relate to my experience as a student in Madison.-Jeff Hengeveld (IR/PTCD, junior)

I attended the Madison Moments Banquet during the Anniversary Celebration at which I enjoyed socializing with fellow alumni, professors, staff and current students. It was interesting to hear others' experiences and to enjoy the many talents of Madison students and alumni. The dedication of all to maintaining Madison's residential liberal arts tradition is encouraging, as I feel that my experience at James Madison College left me well-prepared for my continuing education and future career.-Hollyce Kurth (SR, '97) [Madison Moments was by far the most successful event of the weekend. Close to 170 Madisonians gathered at the Kellogg Center for an evening of student entertainment including dazzling musical selections, tear jerker speeches, and great conversation. The JMC Student Senate truly outdid themselves with the Second Annual Madison Moments.]

THANK YOU for all your hard work on JMC's 30th. I had a wonderful time and thoroughly enjoyed myself. It was also my pleasure to meet Dean Allen. The chance to connect with old friends and remember some by-gone times was fun. Thirty-five is next, eh?-Deborah Miela (JMCD, '71)

[Yes, thirty-five is next and it is never too early to start planning. The College is interested in hearing your comments about the 30th Anniversary. Please send your feedback to Alumni Relations c/o the College.]

It was an impressive sight to see 6 Rhodes and Marshall Scholars all seated at high table talking about how James Madison College and Oxford University work well together. It says something about the College's success that we have these graduates and that they would trouble themselves to come back for a reunion. It was memorable to hear members of the pioneer class of James Madison describe how exciting were the changes on campus during the late Sixties: the police clearing Grand River of demonstrators by forming a line, shoulder to shoulder, and marching slowly down the street. All the men remembered their draft lottery numbers; many of the women remarked how issues of gender equality were not discussed at that time. -Eric Petrie (JMCD, '80)

I especially liked the panel's (Rhodes and Marshall) comments on their experiences in the UK. They were so candid in ways that would be helpful to future winners - I wished we had taped it so that our own advisers could see and hear it. I was surprised and pleased to see so many grads from different classes at the Breakfast, too. What an impressive group of young adults! Faculty and staff can take comfort in knowing that this "educational experiment" really works, and students can be sure that the Madison degree is a valuable asset. I had a great time.-Dixie Platt

[The Rhodes and Marshall panel was video taped. Individuals wishing to view the discussion should contact Public Relations in 358 S Case Hall or call 517-353-3381.]

(Continued from page 3) **Student Leaders**

Mindy Sofen, president of the International Relations Organization, said "The group as a whole did very well, and we are looking forward to our conferences next semester at Harvard and then at the UN in NY!"

### Community in Action

Over 60 Madison students and the Madison writing faculty shared a meal together in the Case Cafeteria prior to attending the MSU Theatre Department's production of *Taming of the Shrew* on Nov. 13, 1997. Frank Rutledge set the Shakespearean drama in 1920s England and cast Petruchio as a rough and ready Canadian woodsman visiting Oxford, University. Reactions to the play were mixed, with some feeling that the meat of the play was lost with the changes in setting. Others found the fantastical elements of the play entertaining. Yet all concurred that attending the play as a group was enjoyable and built community. Plans for more in the future? Rumor has it that the writing faculty is planning to incorporate *Inherit the Wind*, the MSU Theatre Department's Spring production, into MC 112 sections. Students may read the play, see film versions, and attend the play in April.

### Madison Wins Madison vs Briggs Annual Canoe Race

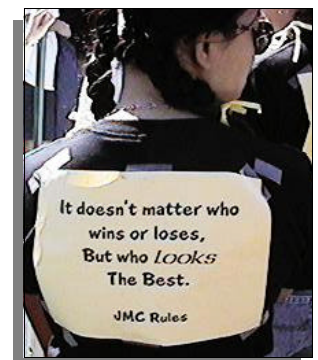
September 27th is a day that will live in fame. Not because it was a bye week for MSU football or because it marked the first week of autumn. Things were changing on campus but it was not the leaves. On the banks of the Red Cedar, Madison reclaimed victory over Lyman Briggs. The winner of two out of three competitions takes all and Madison took the male and co-ed races.

The Rock displayed a cryptic message, "Johnny Puts James to Shame," inscribed by Briggs do-gooders, but it was not good enough to catapult the Briggs team to victory. Little did they know that Briggs would be the ones hanging their head in defeat.

"HAMILTON, MADISON, JAY, HO!"



Brent Bushy and Prof. Eric Petrie watch Madison win, again!



Coordinators make Peace-Craig Stillwell (Briggs) & Dr. Ann Minnick (Madison)



## CALENDAR

### January

24 JMCAA Board Meeting, TBA, 319L S. Case Hall

### February

25 JMCAA Alumni Law Night, TBA, Career Services

### March

7 JMCAA Board Meeting, 2:00pm, TBA

30 Board of Visitors Meeting, Kellogg Center

### April

3-4 Globalization and its (Dis) Contents: Multiple Perspectives

22 Daniel Rosenthal Award Program, TBA, MI State Capitol Bldg.

23 Parade of Honors, 7:30pm, Kellogg Center-Aud.

### May

9 Graduation, 7:30pm, MSU Auditorium

# James Madison College Alumni Directory

I want to order \_\_\_ copy(s) of the James Madison College Alumni Directory at a cost of \$15 each (including shipping and handling). Please mail the directory(s) to the following address:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street address \_\_\_\_\_

City, state \_\_\_\_\_

Zip code, country \_\_\_\_\_

Home phone number \_\_\_\_\_ - \_\_\_\_\_ - \_\_\_\_\_

I have enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_ directory(s).

The JMC Alumni Directory is a comprehensive publication including general information on graduates. The directory is divided into three main sections: graduate listing, occupational listing, and regional listing.

The College hopes that the directory will help alumni to renew old acquaintances and network personally and professionally.

## James Madison College

William B. Allen, Dean

Constance Hunt, Director of Institutional Planning

Grant Littke, Director of Field Experience

Ann Minnick, Director of Academic and Student Affairs

Sandra Hewitt, Admissions Officer

Natalie Preston, Alumni and Public Relations Officer

Questions, comments and suggestions may be sent to:

**JMC Scene**

James Madison College, 369 South Case Hall

E. Lansing, MI 48825-1205

517-353-3381-voice, 517-432-1804-fax

prest028@pilot.msu.edu-electronic mail

(Continued from page 15) *Globalization and Its (Dis) Contents*

Chair and Discussant: Ruth Hamilton, Michigan State University

*Economic Globalization and Political Stability in Developing Countries*

*Political Implications of Globalization for the Anglophone Caribbean, Folke Lindahl*

*Globalization and Social Territoriality in Central America*

**1:00-2:00 pm** Corniche

*Global Marketing: A New Framework for Analysis and Strategy*

Douglas Lamont, Managing Director, Douglas Lamont and Associates

**2:00-3:15 pm** Session 7-B: Michigamme

**The Process and Future of Transnationalism**

Chair and Discussant: Barry Stein, Michigan State University

*Transnationalism: Its Potential for Understanding Migration in a Globally Integrated World*

*TNCs and Globalization: Creeping Constructions of a Reality, Hassan Rahmanian, Antioch College*

*Globalization, Transnationalization of Crime-Fighting, and the State, Okechukwu C. Iheduru*

**3:30-4:45 pm** Session 8-A: Corniche

**The Future of Globalization**

Chair and Discussant: **Aaron Brenner**, Michigan State University

*Globalization and Bladerunner Capitalism*

*After Globalization*

*The Quebec Question and its Global Impact*

*Globalization and Income Distribution, Jonas Zoninsein*

**For more info contact: Gail Campana at ph: 517-353-5925 or Gail.Campana@ssc.msu.edu**



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