



## *Institute Inaugurates Kosciuszko Chair*

A new chair has been established at The Institute of World Politics named after a Polish general who served as one of the heroes of America's War of Independence: Thaddeus Kosciuszko. The Kosciuszko Chair of Polish Studies is the Institute's fourth academic chair, and on November 7th, the Marlatt Mansion hosted an event celebrating its inauguration. The guest of honor was Lady Blanka Rosenstiel, Founder and President of the American Institute of Polish Culture (AIPC), whose passion for American-Polish relations and the two coun-

tries' traditions of liberty was the chief catalyst behind the Chair's creation. Over a hundred guests came to show their support for the Institute and the new chair.

In 1998, the Kosciuszko Chair was established by AIPC at another university but, due to inactivity, the Chair was returned into AIPC's care until a suitable replacement could be found. Happily, following a nationwide competition among fourteen major academic institutions, including Harvard, Columbia,

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## *Army Colonel Starts Fellowship at IWP*

General Raymond Odierno's executive officer is no stranger to the challenges of strategy and the arts of effective leadership. Nevertheless, the United States Army has sent Colonel John C. Thomson to The Institute of World Politics to pursue advanced studies in statecraft and policy.

Colonel Thomson's year-long tour as Senior Army Fellow at IWP is under the auspices of the Army's Senior Service College Fellowship Program, which prepares officers for senior command and staff positions within the Army and the Department of Defense. Such a tour is in lieu of attending the U.S. Army War College. The Institute is one of just 36 institutions selected by the Army to host fellows under this program.

Colonel Thomson's service in Iraq under General Odierno and General David Petraeus (at the time, respectively the commanders of Multi-National Corps—Iraq and Multi-National Force—Iraq) has

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*Above: Lady Blanka Rosenstiel announces that the Kosciuszko Chair of Polish Studies has been installed at The Institute of World Politics.*

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### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

## *A Toast to Freedom*

JOHN LENCZOWSKI, PH. D.

*Editor's note: Dr. Lenczowski delivered the following toast at the annual dinner of the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, November 12, 2008.*

**D**uring the Cold War, we in the West were reminded of a key element of freedom that we tend to forget when we exercise that freedom too long without struggle. This is its moral core.

The Cold War was a war between two philosophies of life and between liberty and slavery. But ultimately, it was a war between good and evil. Perhaps the most dramatic manifestation of the moral core of liberty was revealed when we witnessed the Cold War going on within the Soviet Empire. We saw some people who were fully enslaved – those who had sold their souls to the communist system.

But we also saw others whose enslavement was only external. These were people who possessed what we can call an “inner freedom.” This inner freedom consisted of a refusal to submit to the false moral standards imposed by the regime – standards that did not comport with the Natural Moral Law – the Law of Decent Behavior – the law written on the human heart, some say by nature, but most say by God.

True, these people were enslaved by the fundamental injustice imposed on society by the regime. They had lost their external liberty because their human rights had been violated. But those possessed of inner freedom never lost sight of the fact of the injustice. They never accepted that their rights had been taken away – because they knew that they continued to possess those rights, which were inalienable. They knew that no one could take them away because they had been endowed those rights not by man but by their Creator.

Inner freedom, then, was the continued possession of the conviction that there is such a thing as justice no matter what the laws of the communist system said – because there exists a transcendent, objective, universal, moral order in the world by which they would live no matter what external injustices were imposed upon them.

These were the people who refused to be accessories to the repression of their fellow man. These were the people who refused to repeat the official falsehoods of the regime. This inner freedom required courage. But, ultimately, it was sustained spiritually.

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*A Toast to Freedom*  
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You could see it, for example, in the hearts of the millions of Poles who heeded Pope John Paul II as he repeated the words of Jesus: “Be not afraid.” You could see it in the witness of Whittaker Chambers, the American editor, a believing communist who spied for the Soviet Union, and converted from communism to the cause of freedom. Chambers saw that there is what he called a

*Army Colonel Starts Fellowship at IWP*  
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given him considerable experience in practicing the arts of leadership and strategic thinking. “I learned a lot from General Petraeus and General Odierno, such as the tremendous responsibilities of flag officers, and the vertical connectivity of policy, strategy and tactics,” said Colonel Thomson. “Generals don’t have it easy.”

As part of his fellowship, Col. Thomson is attending Institute courses, lecturing, and organizing a seminar series, known as “The American Military Experience,” which has brought several notable military leaders to IWP, such as MGEN Ralph J. Jodice II, USAF, Commander of the Air Force District of Washington and former Defense Attaché to China; BGEN Michael T. Flynn USA, Chief of Intelligence at the Joint Staff; BGEN Gary H. Cheek USA, Assistant Surgeon General of Warrior Care and Transition; Col. Todd R. Wood USA; and Col. J.B. Burton USA.

Col. Thomson is also writing a monograph and an article for an academic journal. His research is focused on the lessons of the surge in Iraq for inter-agency cooperation. “During the surge, there were major changes all along the battlefield in Iraq, including but not exclusive to manpower,” asserts Colonel Thomson. “These lessons are theoretically sound and can help us integrate strategy for the whole of government to help us confront the atmosphere of persistent conflict and prepare us for the challenges of the modern world. The armed forces can’t do it alone (and it could go wrong if they try). The lessons learned in Iraq can help us in the future.”

While Col. Thomson was in Iraq late in 2007, he was asked to decide which Senior Service path he would


“logic of the soul” that was more powerful than the logic of mere human reason – the “logic of the mind.”

No matter how apparently logical were the mental constructs and political solutions of Marxism, they were always trumped by the little voice of conscience: the voice that would haunt some communists like himself; the voice that told them that their daily work in support of the communist system was causing gross injustice,

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like to take. The choices provided for him included several prestigious universities, such as Harvard, Georgetown, and the National War College. Reflecting upon his choice of institutions, however, Col. Thomson said, “What struck me most about the Institute was its mission, values, and principles.... Those who know [IWP] hold it in high regard, and word is getting out.”

After his fellowship with The Institute of World Politics, Col. Thomson will become a Brigadier General and assume command of an artillery brigade. In this two-to-three-year assignment, he will be responsible for more than twenty-five hundred soldiers. Once his time there is done, he will probably move to a high-level staff assignment at the Headquarters of the Department of the Army or with a combatant command.

The Colonel has fully immersed himself in the academic life of The Institute of World Politics. “I feel very blessed to be at IWP; it’s everything I thought it would be and more. It has very strong values, and the people who work and attend school here create a very friendly environment. I have learned much about statecraft and integrated national security strategy, and the experience is extremely gratifying and humbling.” 



*Above: Colonel John Thomson joins Ambassador Thomas Melady, IWP Trustee Jeffrey Ludwig, and Dr. John Lenczowski in an Institute classroom shortly before Christmas.*

## *Ambassador Leonore Annenberg, R.I.P.*

*Diplomat, Philanthropist, Educator*

*Annenberg Chair Has Been “Fundamental to IWP’s Growth and Success”*

The Institute owes an enormous debt of gratitude to Ambassador Leonore Annenberg and the Walter and Leonore Annenberg Foundation. In 2000, the Annenberg Foundation established the Walter and Leonore Annenberg Chair of International Communication at the Institute. As IWP’s first academic chair, it was a tremendous step forward for the Institute, and the chair was instrumental in helping establish three further chairs in its wake.

Founded in 1989, The Annenberg Foundation exists to advance the public well-being through improved communication. As the principal means of achieving this goal, the Foundation encourages the development of more effective ways to share ideas and knowledge. Mrs. Annenberg, as the Foundation’s President and Chairman, led the fulfillment of that mission since her husband’s death in 2002. Before dedicating herself entirely to philanthropy, Ambassador Annenberg served as the Chief of Protocol (1981-82) in the Department of State under President Ronald Reagan.

After leaving the State Department, Ambassador Annenberg dedicated herself towards promoting the appreciation and enhancement of culture in the United States. Her interest in the arts led her to become involved with many charitable organizations and to serve on many committees, including as a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and as one of the managing directors of The Metropolitan Opera.

Ambassador Annenberg was also a tremendous supporter of education. She was a member of the Distinguished Daughters of Pennsylvania and an active trustee emerita of the University of Pennsylvania. She also served on the governing boards of both Annenberg Schools for Communication at the University of

Pennsylvania and the University of Southern California and was inducted as a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. It was, of course, Ambassador Annenberg’s passion for education which led to the establishment of the Annenberg Chair of International Communication at IWP.

The Institute’s President, Dr. John Lenczowski, remarked, “The Annenberg Chair has been of fundamental importance to the growth and success of IWP over the last eight years. It has enabled the Institute to build a



*Ambassador Leonore Annenberg  
(Photo © Douglas Kirkland)*

completely unique curriculum in public diplomacy and all its related arts.” Public diplomacy refers to conducting relations with, and influence over, foreign publics, opinion makers and other non-governmental influentials. “Because of the work of Prof. J. Michael Waller, the first appointee to the Chair, IWP has become once of the principal forces in the field of strategic communications and the war of ideas. The Institute has been sought out by major foundations as the unique source of expertise on this subject in the academic

community. Dr. Waller has worked closely with the armed forces and other government agencies in numerous ways to improve their ability to detect, analyze, and counter the propaganda of terrorist organizations and to develop various methods of information policy, strategic communication, and political warfare. The Institute’s preeminence in the field has attracted many students as well as the attention of both domestic and international experts. In sum, the Annenberg Chair has become one of IWP’s foundational pillars, and we are profoundly grateful to Ambassador Annenberg and the Annenberg Foundation for their foresight and generosity.”

Below are several of the major accomplishments that the chair has made possible since 2000.

- Dr. Waller directs the Institute’s graduate

curriculum in public diplomacy and political warfare, and has developed four courses which comprise IWP's Public Diplomacy and Political Warfare specialization within the M.A. in Statecraft and National Security Affairs. The courses are 1) Foreign Propaganda, Perceptions and Policy; 2) Public Diplomacy and Political Warfare; 3) Political Warfare: Past, Present and Future; and 4) Strategic Information Warfare.

- Dr. Waller compiled and edited *The Public Diplomacy Reader* (The Institute of World Politics Press, 2008). Designed for students, diplomats, military officers, intelligence professionals and other practitioners, the *Reader* is composed of both classic and newly-commissioned literature that can serve as a guide in all different aspects of public diplomacy, including: cultural diplomacy, information policy, international broadcasting, opinion formation, counter-propaganda, and waging the war of ideas. It is the only one of its kind and has received much praise from public diplomacy experts.

- As part of his courses in public diplomacy and political warfare, Dr. Waller has published a second reader: *Founding Political Warfare Documents of the United States* (The Institute of World Politics: 2007).

- Dr. Waller also wrote a book, *Fighting the War of Ideas Like a Real War* (The Institute of World Politics Press, 2007), that has become an important part of the U.S. Military's Strategy for Strategic Communications. It is required reading in courses taught at the National Defense University, West Point, and the Army War College. It also has been credited with helping to drive the changes in the U.S. approach to the war of ideas that has been instrumental in the turnaround in Iraq.

- The Institute hosted a conference having commissioned eighteen original papers on various aspects of public diplomacy. The conference brought together an array of many of the most prominent experts and public diplomacy practitioners in America from both in and out of government. Dr. Waller, who commissioned the papers, has edited the conference proceedings: *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counter-propaganda, and Political Warfare* (The Institute of World Politics Press, 2008).

- As part of the larger program made possible

by the Chair, Institute Founder and President, John Lenczowski, has just completed a monograph, *Full Spectrum Diplomacy and Grand Strategy*, that advocates the integrated strategic use of public diplomacy and prescribes the intellectual, cultural, and structural reforms within the U.S. government that are needed to realize the full potential of all the diplomatic arts.

- Also under this program, Dr. Lenczowski has published an essay: *Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy* (The Institute of World Politics Press: 2008) that covers one of the most neglected, yet cost-effective, instruments of American influence in the world.



Left: Dr. Waller shown during a visit to Afghanistan in 2007, during which he performed hands-on research in political warfare and information operations methods.

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*No other educational institution in the United States is dedicated to the development of leaders who understand international realities, the role of American founding principles and the Western moral tradition in contemporary statecraft, and the ethical and prudential use of all the instruments of power. Our faculty has given more than 500 years of service to the United States, and with their record they inspire a new generation of leaders – our students.*

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## *Institute Inaugurates Kosciuszko Chair*

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and Princeton, IWP was chosen as being best suited to carry out the Chair's mission.

The Kosciuszko Chair will enable its holder to study, teach, and research about history, culture, politics and civilization of the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (which today include Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, and parts of Russia), Polish-American relations, Poland's geo-strategic neighborhood, and east-central Europe's relations with Western Europe and Russia.

Much of the history of this part of the world is unknown, including the fact that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was for several centuries the largest power of imperial scope in Europe, yet without being an empire. This is as close a historical analogue to the United States as exists in history because the Commonwealth elected its own kings. The study of Poland's past, with its five century-old noble democracy, elective monarchy, habeas corpus, property rights, religious liberty, and political freedom yields vital lessons for the political health of free societies, particularly the United States.

Marek Jan Chodakiewicz has been appointed the first holder of the Kosciuszko Chair. He teaches a number of courses, including "East-Central Europe Since 1918," "Russian Politics and Foreign Policy," "Genocide and Genocide Prevention," and "Geography and Strategy." Dr. Chodakiewicz earned his M.A. (1990), M.Phil. (1992), and Ph.D. (2002) in history from Columbia University, where he was a Richard Hofstadter Fellow (1989-1994). He is arguably one of the most productive scholars in the world in the field of east-central European history.

In addition to many popular and scholarly articles, Dr. Chodakiewicz has authored or coauthored over a dozen books, including *The Massacre in Jedwabne, July 10, 1941: Before, During, After* (2005); *Between Nazis and Soviets: A Case Study of Occupation Policies in Poland, 1939-1947* (2004); and *After the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War Two* (2003).

The Kosciuszko Chair was named after a truly remarkable man. A member of the Polish nobility, Kosciuszko was recruited in Paris by Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin to fight for the fledgling American struggle for independence. By the end of 1776, the young Pole was Chief Engineer of the entire Continental Army. His talent with defensive fortifications repeatedly played a crucial role in the American war effort, most notably at the Battle of Saratoga. Kosciuszko's fortifications of West Point are still visible today. During his time in America, Kosciuszko also met and became close friends with Thomas Jefferson, who once referred to him as "as pure a son of liberty as I have ever known." After the war, Kosciuszko returned to Poland where his military talents and leadership were called upon once again. A man of unwavering principle, Thaddeus Kosciuszko died an exile in Switzerland in 1817. He is remembered in America as an adopted son and in Poland as one of its greatest heroes.

The Kosciuszko Chair was awarded as a \$1,000,000 challenge grant by AIPC. As part of the agreement, the Institute pledged to match AIPC's original gift within three years of the signing. At the inauguration ceremony, Lady Rosenstiel announced that she intended to contribute an additional \$25,000 on top of her initial major investment in this chair. As well, Adam and Ava Bak announced a \$100,000 gift towards the match.

Reflecting upon the inauguration of the Chair, the Institute's Founder and President, Dr. John Lenczowski, remarked, "The establishment of the Kosciuszko Chair at IWP offers our school a rare opportunity to sponsor a scholar whose teaching and research can shed important light on the lessons taught by the history of a country, which, like America, has had a longstanding mission dedicated to the cause of liberty and the defense of Western civilization."



*Left: Dr. Marek Jan Chodakiewicz embraces Lady Blanca Rosenstiel as Dr. John Lenczowski passes by.*

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human suffering, slavery, and murder.

So freedom has a moral – and ultimately, spiritual – core.

Our Founders recognized this. They said that a free people must be a self-governing people. And to govern oneself means to control oneself, to control one's evil impulses, one's basest passions. People who cannot control themselves are incapable of producing order. And because society demands order even before liberty, it will demand government to impose that order so that the most basic functions of society can take place.

True freedom, then, is freedom first from one's vices, freedom from evil, freedom from dishonesty – because only when we pursue lives of virtue do we avoid inviting big government to come and restrain us. Only when we possess inner freedom do we avoid becoming accessories to the violation of other people's rights and freedoms.

We in the West, with our allies in the East who possessed inner freedom, won the Cold War. It was truly an epic moral conflict.


Let us raise a toast to that victory of freedom and be grateful that we are still free to pass the lessons of that war on to the next generation. 

## *Marine Corps Commandant Addresses IWP Pearl Harbor Dinner*

For thirteen years, The Institute of World Politics has held a dinner intended to remind Americans of the importance of intellectual and strategic preparedness in our foreign policy. In December 2008 the Institute's commemoration was marked by the participation of the Commandant of the United States Marine Corps, General James T. Conway.

General Conway delivered a fitting and inspirational address that described how surprise at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels affects foreign policy. He contrasted the surprise of December 7, 1941 to the tactical surprises inherent in the war on terrorism, which he characterized as "fighting in and amongst the people." The Commandant also discussed how various far-reaching geopolitical events, such as the rise of China and Russia's resurgence, will affect the United States.

He stressed the need for eternal vigilance and described in general terms the readiness of the Marine Corps and its contribution to overall U.S. preparedness for strategic surprises. He noted with pride that the Marine Corps strives to be "most ready when the nation is least ready."

The Institute of World Politics awarded a Doctor of Laws degree, *Honoris Causa*, to Gen. Conway in recognition of his extraordinary service to our country. In awarding the degree, Owen T. Smith, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Institute, remarked: "General Conway has in his heart... all the men and women in his command." 



*Upper left: Gen. Conway addresses IWP friends, students, and faculty at the 2008 Pearl Harbor Day Dinner.*

*Upper right: Gen. Conway meets longtime benefactors of the Institute, Mrs. Abby Moffat and Mrs. Diana Spencer (back to camera).*

*Center: Dr. Lenczowski and IWP Chairman Owen Smith present General Conway with an honorary Doctorate of Laws.*

*Bottom: IWP intern Marco Pinho greets Gen. Conway.*

# Enduring Wisdom

People who believe arms control agreements can tame the world are placing faith in, and would base national security on, parchment barriers to the dark furies of history. For ardent believers, arms control is a superstition, impervious to evidence of its futility. ... [M]ore often than not, arms control is impossible until it is unimportant.

—George F. Will, “Politics and the Test Ban Treaty,” *Newsweek* (1999)

The fidelity of the United States to security treaties is not just an empty matter.

It is a pillar of peace in the world.

—Dean Rusk, on the 10th anniversary of the fall of Saigon (1985)

These, then, are the qualities of my ideal diplomatist. Truth, accuracy, calm, patience, good temper, modesty and loyalty. They are also the qualities of an ideal diplomacy. But, the reader may object, you have forgotten intelligence, knowledge, discernment, prudence, hospitality, charm, industry, courage and even tact. I have not forgotten them. I have taken them for granted.

—Sir Harold Nicholson, *Diplomacy* (1939)

A state that denies its citizens their basic rights becomes a danger to its neighbors as well: internal arbitrary rule will be reflected in arbitrary external relations. The suppression of public opinion, the abolition of public competition for power and its public exercise opens the way for the state power to arm itself in any way it sees fit.... A state that does not hesitate to lie to its own people will not hesitate to lie to other states.

—Václav Havel, *An Anatomy of Reticence* (1986)



Above: The cover of a new booklet created by the Institute to explain the mission of the Kosciuszko Chair and the prominent role played by Thaddeus Kosciuszko in Polish and American history. To obtain a copy, please contact the Institute's Development Office.



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