



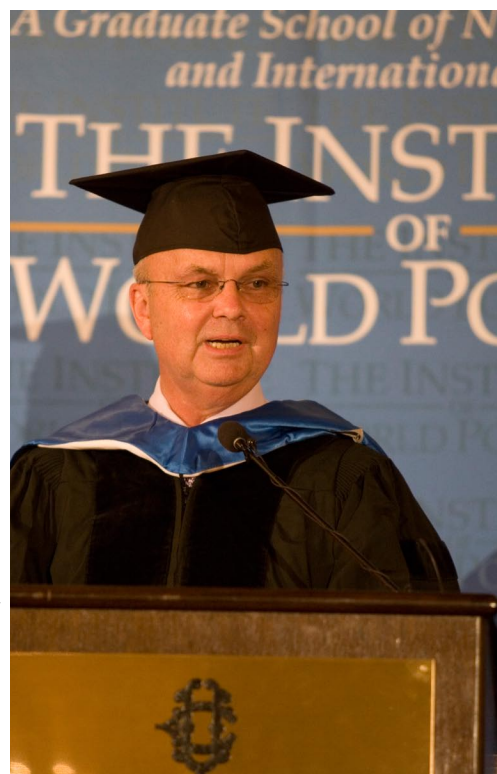
General Michael V. Hayden, Former CIA & NSA Director, addresses Institute's Class of 2009

It's a real honor for me to be here among you – not just to be here to recognize your achievements, but it's an honor to me that you have asked me to be included in such company, to be included in *your* company. By going through this program, by earning and accepting this degree, you have made a decision; you have opted to enter a vocation – not a job, not a task, but a vocation.”

That's what General Michael V. Hayden, the former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Agency, told the Class of 2009 of The Institute of World Politics at its Commencement Exercises on Saturday, June 6.

General Hayden explained: “I emphasize that idea of vocation because I know what The Institute of World Politics is all about. I know the principles that have animated it. I know the values that have become part

Please turn to page six.



Above: General Michael V. Hayden addresses the Institute's Class of 2009 on June 6.



Above: Gen. Ray Odierno answers a question from the audience at IWP's May 12 discussion.

Allied Iraq Commander General Ray Odierno Speaks in IWP Panel Discussion

General Ray Odierno, Commanding General, Multi-National Forces – Iraq, participated in a panel discussion hosted on May 12 by The Institute of World Politics. The discussion was entitled “Strategic Transition in Iraq: Challenges and Opportunities on the Path to Stability.”

Gen. Odierno thanked The Institute of World Politics for inviting him to participate in the event. He remarked, “IWP's commitment to developing leaders in foreign affairs, intelligence, and national security, with emphasis on statecraft and integrating the various instruments of power is critical in today's increasingly complex strategic environment.” In his remarks, he explained some of the intellectual foundations of the “surge” of early 2007, as well as the progress made towards a stable, secure, and sover-

Please turn to page seven.

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

From the President - p. 2

In His Own Words - p. 4



A Graduate School of National Security
and International Affairs

THE INSTITUTE OF WORLD POLITICS

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Owen T. Smith, *Chairman*

Beverly Danielson

Francis J. Kelly

John Lenczowski, *President*

John Lovewell

Jeffrey D. Ludwig

Thomas P. Melady

Abby S. Moffat

Erik D. Prince

B. Francis Saul III

Aldona Wos

THE AMERICAN STATESMAN

Charles Van Someren

Editor

Katherine L. Bridges

Justin Stebbins

Contributing Editor

The American Statesman

is the newsletter of

The Institute of World Politics,
a graduate school of national security
and international affairs.

The Institute was founded in
Washington, D.C. as a 501(c)3,
non-partisan, non-profit, tax-exempt
educational institution.

IWP relies upon tax-deductible
contributions from foundations,
corporations, and individuals
for support.

THE INSTITUTE OF WORLD POLITICS

1521 16th Street NW

Washington, D.C. 20036

(202) 462-2101

WWW.IWP.EDU

© 2009 *The Institute of World Politics.*

All Rights Reserved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Moral Leadership in Statecraft

JOHN LENCZOWSKI, PH.D.

*Editor's note: The following is excerpted from Dr. Lenczowski's
commencement remarks on June 6, 2009.*



One of the key elements of our curriculum – and it is something on which we place a disproportionate amount of importance – is that of moral leadership. Our students study the Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian moral tradition, and the ethics that derive from the philosophy of that tradition, and how those ethics should be applied to the use of power. Power, like liberty, can be abused, and we want our students to exercise power with responsibility, with prudence, and toward good ends.

A huge part of our emphasis on moral leadership concerns not only theoretical matters of ethics, but it concerns what kinds of people our students turn out to be. Many of you have heard me preach before about the lesson of the ancient Roman historian Livy, who said that the surest way to defeat a foreign enemy is to spread amongst his population the ideas of selfishness and hedonism, because a people who are seized with selfish pleasure-seeking, in fact, are ultimately incapable of defending themselves.

Such people give their nation a weak national immune system – a concept that I have developed which describes the strength of a nation's convictions, its commitment to certain principles and values, and therefore, the ability to recognize both internal and external threats to those values and principles which it prizes above all. A strong national immune system consists of the ability to protect the nation and its most important values and principles in all of the different ways that it can be done – morally, politically, economically, diplomatically, and militarily.

Since our nation's ability to resist the kind of moral decline that weakens our national immune system depends heavily on the character of its leadership, we pay attention to what kind of leaders our students will ultimately become.

These graduates are destined for leadership positions. They are highly competitive students, who have chosen this school, and they could have attended – indeed, many were accepted at – to elite schools elsewhere, but they came here because of the special and unique curriculum that we have. It

makes a huge difference as to what kind of people they are, and what kind of people they will try to turn out to be, through the habits that they develop and cultivate throughout the course of their lives.

And this isn't just a matter of intelligence and education; this is a matter of their moral character. Character is exhibited in how you behave when nobody is looking. It involves the cultivation of conscience, it involves the cultivation of will, it involves development of good habits, and it begins with the consciousness of the virtues that make up good character.

The professions that we teach at the Institute involve the most sensitive functions of government. They involve questions of war and peace, of life and death. Mistakes made in these professions are the costliest mistakes in terms of blood and treasure that can be made by anybody in the public life of the nation. Of course, a good many of those errors are usually intellectual errors, which is why we are dedicated to raising the educational standards in these various fields.

But many of the mistakes are the result of moral weakness or failure. The highest level of the conduct of our professions is called statesmanship. And statesmanship involves making and implementing national policy in a way that is characterized by civic and personal virtue.

And what are those virtues? General Douglas MacArthur made a wonderful list of them in his valedictory speech at West Point when he talked about duty, honor, country. He also talked about other virtues, like morally-ordered pride, humility and modesty, heroic self-sacrifice, patriotic self-abnegation, loyalty and reliability, and many others.

I would like to call special attention to some of these virtues that we stress here at IWP, because all of these virtues are not just for our men and women in uniform. They are also for those in civilian capacities in our country who end up making and implementing those decisions that would put our brothers and sisters into harm's way.

One of these virtues that we care about a lot is honesty and integrity, both personal and intellectual. We stress commitment to the truth and the ability to discern

Please turn to the last page.

News in Brief

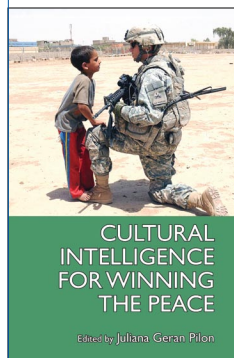
NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE: IWP IS "REBOOTING AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY"

In an article published September 18 on National Review Online, columnist Mark Hemingway said of IWP: "If there is any hope of fixing America's national-security apparatus, there's a good chance that hope lies within a large, but discreet, brick townhouse in downtown Washington, DC... IWP ... is fast becoming an influential force in the world of international affairs." According to Hemingway, "[IWP's] combination of expanding America's strategic vision and exposing students to the moral questions surrounding their work has earned the school lots of fans who happen to be heavyweights in the foreign-policy world."

INSTITUTE'S FIRST SUMMER NATIONAL SECURITY SEMINAR A RESOUNDING SUCCESS

On Monday, June 8 six IWP professors addressed an audience of over a hundred potential students, benefactors, and other friends of the Institute on a range of strategically-relevant topics, including U.S.-China relations, intelligence reform, and the rise of militant Islamism. The Institute expects that the Summer National Security Seminar will become an annual event, supplementing the regular lectures and discussions that it already hosts and makes available to the public.

IWP PRESS LAUNCHES NEW ANTHOLOGY



IWP Press has recently published a groundbreaking anthology edited by the Institute's Research Professor of Politics and Culture, Dr. Juliana Pilon. In *Cultural Intelligence for Winning the Peace*, a score of experts examine ways in which the study of foreign cultures may be used

by policymakers, peacekeepers, military and intelligence officers, and diplomats. The book presents a modern approach to the ancient art of subduing the enemy without fighting – what Sun Tzu called “the acme of skill.” To buy a copy, please visit Lulu.com.

IN HIS OWN WORDS

Stephen A. Fausel

“I believe that the strength of our country must flow from ideas, our creativity, our educational systems, and most importantly the core values of our people.”

Editor’s note: It is rare that we have the honor of presenting such a thoughtful, heartfelt, and poetically-expressed explanation of a benefactor’s motivation for supporting the Institute, and we are deeply grateful for Mr. Fausel’s many contributions to IWP. A brief biographical sketch of him appears on page five.

We have no title – deeds to house or lands.

Owners and occupants of earlier dates

From graves forgotten stretch their dusty hands

And hold in mortmain still their old estates.

-Unknown Author

My father was a mechanical engineer by profession and a gifted theologian, and through my youth my family followed the job market across America; from Michigan in the north, to Mississippi in the south. Dad was a dedicated sportsman and on about any weekend he and I were prowling cornfields and weed patches, or venturing out around, or onto, the Mississippi River. Boats, dogs, shotguns, and hunting were the essence of our life. The Mississippi River creates lasting impressions on all that it touches, and I was no exception. As it did for Samuel Clemens and Aldo Leopold, the Mississippi created in me a permanent bond with, and a loyalty to, nature.

We had a scull boat built by my grandfather for sneaking ducks. It was about eight feet long and was as finely built as a piece of exquisite drawing room furniture. The ribs were close and tight and though olive drab in color, one could easily see the craftsmanship and care in all its fittings and appointments. It was designed for two people and had an arched deck and a stern deck where a single sculling oar was mounted. There was a thin six-inch strip of molding all around the passenger compartment, which kept water from coming into the hull when it was rough, or when we were moving



particularly fast. My dad camouflaged the boat further by lashing brush and weeds onto the deck and sides. In late summer, when it was particularly hot and still, I would kneel in the bow with my .22 rifle and we would scull quietly down an irrigation or drainage ditch in pursuit of bullfrogs. Those were good times. I learned whatever shooting skills I have in the nose of that boat. Life was short for any frog found sitting within my killing zone. The river taught me many things, besides just shooting guns and catching fish.

One sultry July afternoon, Dad and I were paddling around in some of the backwaters on the Iowa side of the river. We were lazing along, Dad was at the sculling oar and I crouched in the bow, rifle in hand. It was very hot and I remember that the boat’s ribs were particularly uncomfortable on my knees that day. There was a sapling sticking out from the bank. As we drew near we could see a shiny green frog hanging like a gymnast, his arms extended to full length from one slender limb. The lower half of the frog’s body was in the wide-open mouth of a large water snake. The frog was hanging a solid 20 inches above the water, yet much of the snake’s body swayed rhythmically in the current. We pulled the boat in close to watch this living theater of life and death. The snake’s jaw contractions slowly, but surely, advanced the snake’s hold. What was in the mind of this tiny frog I wondered? What call, what affirmation, what testimony of life required such struggle for survival? For some reason that incident has remained firmly in my mind all these years.

In many ways the serpent is swallowing us today, right here in America. We struggle and the fight for our way of life is still unsure. When the window dressing is stripped away, survival is at the core of us, driving

all earthly creatures. Today, as much as ever before, we in America face these survival challenges, all of which seem so exacerbated by the harsh clarity of our economic crisis, our security needs, and too often our lack of fundamental ethic. We have changed, our country has changed, and the growing division between our people often goes unseen.

I believe that the strength of our country must flow from ideas, our creativity, our educational systems and most importantly the core values of our people. Positive values are learned values and historically were learned in rural life settings always in close contact with the natural creation. Nonetheless, whatever our demographics, we are measured by our determination to stand for certain positive core values in the face of lesser but easier paths to some end.

The Fausel Foundation supports actions that enhance all life including human life and we support freedom as a common thread within all life. We support people and results rather than programs or organizations. We so strongly support IWP not only because of its unique and excellent academic program but also because of its people and thus its leadership. In the end we fight for those persons and principles that we love and the IWP will create a human factor, a wonderful crop of bright and correctly educated people who will fight for us all.

Within the above confines we have also been instrumental in developing and leading a partnership

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Stephen A. Fausel, a man of deep commitment to the environment and conservation causes, is the Director of The Fausel Foundation, and CEO of Fausel Companies. One of his companies, LaMont Limited, is the nation's foremost manufacturer of wicker furniture for the home. Voice Assets, another of the Fausel Companies, has a stockholder interest in the Cohen Home Building process – a unique system of building high quality homes of nearly any size in a plant without shipping components.

He is the Chairman of the Environmental Conservancy Group, which has two large conservancies in Namibia, and which aims at creating general economic sustainabil-

ity with the USDA – Forest Service in the creation of a 3200 mile trail across America which will allow both rural and urban Americans of all religious faiths and ethnic backgrounds to see and appreciate the splendor of our nation along the Continental Divide from Canada to Mexico. Such things support the core positive values of our people, the future voting record of individuals in the support of wild-life and wild-places and the basis for the ethical fiber of our nation.

On a different front we are striving to implement cutting edge wave technology that is more physics than chemistry and could lead to the treatment or cure of tuberculosis, thus reducing the suffering of some two billion humans.

And in our small way we continue to reach out to and work with organizations such as The Institute of World Politics and other friends

within the intelligence community to the end of a safer and a freer America. We pray for an America where we are simply unwilling to trade our most precious right of freedom for any short-term security because as a nation we are suddenly pressured by having failed to educate, to dedicate or to be measured by our stand for what is right. We desire a process within our nation where arrogance, greed and dishonesty are replaced with strength of character, statesmanship, and compassion and where uncompromised national security and military supremacy are a hallmark of our ability to offer such balanced restraint.



ity for humans as well as territorial sustainability for other creatures. His interest in Africa has stimulated a desire to help its economy grow through other business ventures as well.

When he was not hunting, fishing, or building his extraordinary businesses, Mr. Fausel has served in the military, and as an adjunct professor at West Virginia University. He has received an honorary doctorate from The American University of Rome.

Mr. Fausel currently serves on the Advisory Board of the American Foreign Policy Council, and has served on the Board of the Congressional Sportsmen's Foundation, and as founding board member, Honorary Chairman, and National Spokesperson for the Continental Divide Trail Alliance. In addition, he serves on the Advisory Board of The Institute of World Politics.

We pray for an America where we are simply unwilling to trade our most precious right of freedom for any short-term security because as a nation we are suddenly pressured by having failed to educate, to dedicate or to be measured by our stand for what is right.

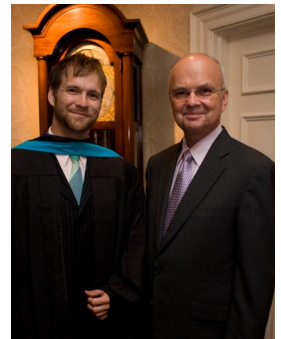
The Class of 2009: "Not a job, not a task, but a vocation"



Above: The Class of 2009 with Dr. John Lenczowski, Gen. Michael V. Hayden, and Owen T. Smith, IWP Chairman. Clockwise from upper right: Capt. John Rose USA with Msrs. Smith, Lenczowski, and Hayden. Col. John Thomson USA receives a certificate as the first Army Senior Fellow at IWP. Peter Kromhout poses with Gen. Hayden. Mark Beall receives his



diploma from IWP Dean, Dr. Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, and Dr. Lenczowski. Maj. Santee Vasquez USA celebrates with Dr. Chodakiewicz. Valedictorian Kemal Okudo addresses his class. Graduates examine the program before the ceremony. Msrs. Smith, Hayden, and Chodakiewicz pose.



of you because of your formation here. And so it's your embracing of these values, it's your acceptance of this vocation that motivated me to be here, and frankly, I think, honors me by your including someone like myself in your circle."

The General joined an audience of IWP trustees, faculty members, staff, benefactors, students, and families in recognizing the academic achievements of the Class of 2009. In his remarks, he emphasized two key personal virtues essential for a life of public service in the world of international affairs and national security: "You need to be wholly what you are – and for most of you that means being an American, a citizen of this country – as well as being wholly a responsible global citizen, a member of humanity that reaches beyond national identities." He noted that in his view these two concepts are complementary, not contradictory: "You can't be fully an international citizen without fully embracing the identity of what it is you are.... For most of you that means being American."

General Hayden has devoted more than four decades of his life to the service of the United States, chiefly in roles related to intelligence. In addition to service as an officer in the U.S. Air Force, he has been Director of the National Security Agency, Deputy Director of National Intelligence, and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. He concluded his remarks by reminding the audience of a renowned passage from the Gospel of St. John: "'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' That, I believe, is your task. I envy your future."

Owen T. Smith, Chairman of the Institute's Board of Trustees, joined the Institute's Founder and President, Dr. John Lenczowski, and Academic Dean Dr. Marek Jan Chodakiewicz in presenting General Hayden with a Doctorate of Laws, *honoris causa*.

Also recognized in the ceremony was Col. John Thomson USA, the Institute's first Army Senior Fellow under the Senior Service College Fellowship Program under which an elite group of graduate schools provide

education for selected field-grade officers that is the full functional equivalent of attending the U.S. Army War College or the National War College. Dr. Lenczowski praised Col. Thomson's achievements while at the Institute, and noted many of his contributions to the academic and social life of the school.

The Valedictorian of the Class of 2009, Kemal Obi E. Okudo, a Nigerian national awarded the Master of Arts in Statecraft and National Security Affairs, spoke on behalf of his fellow graduates in telling the Institute's faculty, "We remain immensely inspired by the resourcefulness, character, personal experiences, profound brilliance, humility, and deep patriotism of the faculty and staff at IWP. You can all be assured of the positive legacy you are bequeathing to future generations and to this greatest country on earth."

Mr. Okudo elaborated on the ceremony's themes of fulfillment of one's vocation and employment of moral rectitude in service of the nation: "We will always be proud ambassadors of the Institute and will always have the courage of our conviction and the strength of character to consistently choose the harder right instead of the easier wrong in all situations."

During the awarding of Master's degrees and Certificates of Graduate Study, Dr. Lenczowski introduced the members of the Class of 2009 to the audience, describing students' achievements at the Institute and their future plans.

To conclude the ceremony, Lawrence Buckley (Class of 2007) formally welcomed the Class of 2009 to membership in the Institute's Alumni Association.

Portions of the Institute's Commencement Exercises were televised on C-SPAN in following days. Complete transcripts of the remarks of Mssrs. Hayden, Lenczowski, and Okudo may be obtained by contacting the Institute.



Top U.S. Commanders in Iraq Brief IWP

(continued from first page)



Above: From left, Brig. Gen. Steve Salazar USA, Gen. Ray Odierno USA, IWP Annenberg Professor Dr. J. Michael Waller (the moderator for the event), and Rear Adm. Dave Buss USN at the discussion.

eign Iraq and the remaining dangers confronting the nation. Success in achieving an acceptable postwar order in Iraq will depend much more on non-military factors rather than the use of armed force. His remarks reflected the thinking behind the successful counterinsurgency strategy that, according to the philosophy of statecraft taught at IWP, has employed many the instruments of national power.

Hundreds of invited guests participated in the event, which was held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. IWP students, faculty, staff, and friends were joined by officers of all branches of the United States armed forces, officials of the U.S. State Department, staff members of the National Security Council, and numerous other senior officials and policy experts.

Rear Admiral Dave Buss USN (Deputy Chief of Staff, Strategic Plans and Assessment for Multi-National Forces – Iraq) and Brig. Gen. Steve Salazar USA (Commander, Joint Headquarters Army Advisory Training Team in Iraq) joined Gen. Odierno in answering audience questions.



Your support is vital to the mission of The Institute of World Politics.

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.

For more information about supporting the important work of the Institute, please contact Tricia Lloyd, Vice President for Institutional Advancement, or Justin Stebbins, Development Officer.

“The ethos of this school: willingness to serve a cause higher than oneself”

the truth. But this means having the courage not only to see the truth, but ultimately to tell the truth to power. The courage to see the truth is a very big deal, particularly in our intelligence community and in the ability of our foreign and defense agencies to see foreign realities correctly.


Sometimes you don't see reality correctly because of the propaganda and deception that is being perpetrated on us by other powers. And sometimes, it's because of willful blindness, wishful thinking, or what George Orwell liked to call the will to disbelieve the horrible. And there emerges oftentimes a kind of a mass willful blindness when all about you refuse to see, and you are called to see the truth.

We also stress justice, based on a recognition of the fact that there are objective moral standards rooted in the natural law – the law written on the human heart. We care about the dignity of the human person, as a foundation of justice. Peace is impossible without justice.

Another virtue we care about is prudence, and prudence at one level is the ability to exercise wisdom, reason, caution, and discretion in the conduct of policy. But in a larger sense, prudence is the application of universal principles to particular situations. So what prudence requires first is knowledge of those principles,

and particularly moral principles, because it is that virtue that enables a person to discern good ends, achieve good ends, and ultimately to be a good person oneself.

And so in one way or another, all of these virtues that I've talked about point to one larger virtue, which lies at the heart of the ethos of this school, and that has to do with selflessness – the willingness to serve a cause higher than oneself. And this is what these students have been taught, sometimes through homilies by tiresome professors like me, but also through the example of our extraordinary faculty who have given of themselves to this country, who have served and made huge sacrifices, as well as by the example of many of their fellow students, some of whom you'll be introduced to soon, who have served this country in extraordinary capacities, including putting themselves in harm's way.

With the education that you graduates have received, both intellectually, and, we hope, in the cultivation of your consciences, we expect great things from you. You have been given a very special education. And if it's not you who will rise to the occasion, who will? Who will? It is you who have to do so. America and The Institute of World Politics are blessed to have you, and we wish you good luck and Godspeed. 



*A Graduate School of National Security
and International Affairs*

THE INSTITUTE
OF
WORLD POLITICS

1521 16TH STREET NW

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

WWW.IWP.EDU