



An Account of Responsible Citizenship

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Our world cries out for responsible citizens. In our families, communities, and countries, we face serious challenges. These challenges not only threaten our economic prosperity, the health of our countrymen, and the natural environment of our beautiful planet. They also pose existential threats to the continued existence of Western societies as the most prosperous and fortunate nations the world has ever seen.

We have overcome many grave threats in the past. However, we now stand at a unique crossroads in the West. We may no longer have the ability to summon the conviction, courage, nor the conscience to fight for survival. We are a society that is in serious need of moral and cultural renewal.

We must return to responsible citizenship.

Responsible and Irresponsible Citizenship

It is not rights that give life its meaning, but responsibilities. No one ever got out of bed to face another day simply because he had a right to do so. He got out of bed because he had responsibilities—to himself, to his family, to his country, to God— that made the work, the disappointment, the suffering amidst the joys of life worth it, and meaningful.

If our conception of citizenship is reduced primarily to our rights against others, which is irresponsible citizenship, we will witness the collapse of civic virtue. Take away a person's responsibilities and you take away his meaning. Take away his meaning and you watch him shrivel over time like fruit cut from the vine. We are witnessing this now throughout the West.

Irresponsible citizenship is dangerous. Authoritarian and totalitarian tendencies in governments and the technocratic expert classes thrive and grow on the sickness of irresponsible citizenship. When too many citizens feel little inclination to contribute to their communities or to be self-reliant, governments are always happy to step in and help. This always comes at the cost of freedom.

President Dwight Eisenhower saw this danger over sixty years ago:

“Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite. It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system – ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.”¹

Government and technocratic overreach are checked when citizens are animated by responsible citizenship. A lethargic citizenry coupled with excessive state planning can be catastrophic. James C Scott documents this reality in his classic political science of state-driven national failure and catastrophe. Scott's research showed that “the most tragic episodes of state-initiated social engineering originate in... a prostrate civil society that lacks the capacity to resist these plans.”²

Without responsible citizenship the future of modern society is bleak. Recapturing responsible citizenship will involve overcoming significant challenges.

Threats to Responsible Citizenship

What are the challenges that we face, the threats to our existence? What are the forces that are lowering our gaze and turning our priorities inwards? The West is besieged by three ominous enemies: the disenfranchisement of the young, the overbearing state, and the alarming decline of virtue.

Disenfranchisement of the Young

Responsible citizenship doesn't suddenly appear out of nothing. It is civic behaviour that must be learned from youth. It also has a special soil from which it can sprout, grow, and thrive. Although all our moral rights, duties and actions are best grounded in an objective, transcendent reality, historically speaking, the greatest incentive for responsible citizenship is private property.

The learned behaviour of responsible citizenship requires practice. Private property confers one of life's greatest incentives to work, to improve, and to take an interest in laws made by legislators. The more difficult it is for people, and especially the young, to save their own money and to own their own home, the less incentive they have to work beyond that which is necessary to survive in tolerable comfort. This also creates apathy about the activity of lawmakers, where laws never seem to make any positive difference.

Understandably, for many, the less one has to lose, the less one cares about losing because of bad government. History no doubt has people who strive for the common welfare without a thought of their own advantage or security, but they are the exception, and no theory of social organisation that assumes such people make up the bulk of the population can be plausible.

Mass appeal for socialism has always and everywhere thrived, especially amongst our youth, when property ownership for ordinary people seemed impossible. This is why communistic revolutions took place not in capitalist countries, but in backward command economies where property was owned by a tiny, wealthy minority.

The great historian of communism, Richard Pipes, in his classic *Property and Freedom* showed how in history the greatest preservative of freedom was private property rights.³ Is it surprising that younger generations will find themselves more inclined to gravitate to political parties that promise everything for nothing, if no matter how hard they work they find themselves increasingly alienated from the property market? Demographer Joel Kotkin warns us:

“People around the world, particularly the young, no longer embrace the basic notion of self-government. A majority of young Americans now favour large-scale government intervention in the economy; about a third call themselves socialists.”⁴

Private property perpetuates responsible citizenship across generations. We have an incentive to work when we own our own property. We must save for and pay our property off. Property requires maintenance. All this requires income. Property owners also have an interest in local government. The value of their property and the use they are allowed to make of their property will to some extent hinge on decisions made at the local government level.

It is natural and laudable to want to determine the use of the fruits of one's own labour and to provide present and future security for one's family. And yet there has always been a madness stalking the modern world that depicts a system that encourages gain from one's work and private ownership as unjust, but a system which permits living off the taxation (work) of others as just. Such is the skewed moral illogic of socialism.

Nothing makes this moral illogic *seem* logical more than depriving a generation of young citizens the ability to make its own money and own property. Socialism will not be defeated by property-owning baby boomers morally condemning it. It will be defeated by allowing young people to experience the meaningful responsibility of living in homes they have the inalienable right to call their own. If responsible citizenship is to be revived in the ranks of our youth, our future workers and leaders, then they must be able to *become* responsible citizens. They must be able to *access* the benefits of responsible citizenship. They must have a stake in their own future, rather than being condemned to merely pay for the irresponsibility of their forebears.

If we allow our youth to become disenfranchised, we do so at our own peril, and at the risk of their future.

State Bureaucracy and the Death of Freedom

The great temptation of the modern world is to relinquish our civic duties to the state, which is always more than willing to help carry the burden for us, if only we will grant it just a little bit more control over our lives. We must understand that governments are vast bureaucracies whose most powerful instinct is to grow and control. As one of the greatest sociologists of bureaucracy, Robert Michels, said:

“He who has acquired power will almost always endeavour to consolidate it and to extend it, to multiply the ramparts which defend his position, and to withdraw himself from the control of the masses.”⁵

For most people, government bureaucracies are purely utilitarian entities whose value depends on the extent to which they prove effective at providing their service. But to many insiders, the bureaucracy is a livelihood, it is a career, it is security... even a chance to “improve” the world, but without the consent of the citizenry.

Bureaucracies are absolutely necessary, even good, but they must be kept in check. Very often the instinct of the bureaucrat is not to whittle the bureaucracy down to all that is needed to effectively perform a task. It is to attract more public funds, to grow the bureaucracy bigger, to make bureaucrats safer in their jobs, and in the process, intentional or not, to create more work for others in order to justify the bureaucracy's existence. To quote another important sociologist of bureaucracy, James Burnham:

“Managerial activity tends to become inbred and self-justifying. The enterprise comes to be thought of as existing for the sake of its managers – not the managers for the enterprise.... This is conspicuously true of governments.”⁶

This is not cynicism, this is over one-hundred years of sociological analysis of bureaucracies starting with Max Weber and carrying on to Robert Michels, James Burnham, and beyond.⁷ Weber warned us that:

“The ruled, for their part, cannot dispense with or replace the bureaucratic apparatus of authority once it exists.”⁸

State Crisis and the Death of Freedom

How do modern governments manage to exert increasing control over our lives? As the political scientist Robert Higgs documented in his *Crisis and Leviathan*, by declaring that there are problems that only the government can solve.⁹ Governments, advised by unelected experts and bureaucrats, have through crises often expanded their powers into our lives. Take, for example, the following:

1. **World War I:** Governments censored newspapers to ensure true casualty numbers weren't released so that citizens would not be dissuaded from volunteering. German immigrants who had lived in Allied countries for generations were rounded up and put in internment camps.
2. **The Great Depression:** Governments took over more social services and welfare to meet the need of the economic catastrophe. It was a major step in the rise of the modern welfare state.
3. **World War II:** Governments took more and more control of their economies in order to fund the war. After the war many bureaucrats were inspired by how effective such control was in winning the war and maintained some of it to direct reconstruction and "social democracy". This was particularly the case throughout Europe and, for a time, Australia.
4. **The Cold War:** Most notoriously in America, law-abiding citizens with radical or leftist political views were brought before commissions to prove their innocence of being communist subversives.
5. **The 1973 Oil Crisis:** The welfare state was significantly expanded to address the problem of stagflation.
6. **Post-9/11 Terrorism:** As during the Cold War, police and intelligence agencies were given unprecedented powers to arrest and detain without the usual evidence threshold.
7. **The Global Financial Crisis:** Governments borrow trillions to bail out banks and lending societies, thereby saddling future generations with debt.
8. **Climate Change:** Governments around the world dismantle energy systems to introduce a new system of renewables. The result is an increasing reliance on foreign powers for energy, the risk of electricity shortages, and ever-increasing energy bills. Governments, for example in the Netherlands, place stringent rules on what counts as "sustainable" food production, thus rendering local farming prohibitively expensive and threatening the progress of producing the foodstuffs that have been lifting people out of hunger.
9. **COVID-19:** Governments around the world locked down cities and whole populations, surveilled citizens to an unprecedented degree, and implemented vaccine mandates while allowing corporations to do the same.

Every instance saw the government taking on more power and control, and not always relinquishing it all once the crisis was over. There is a kind of tragedy to this: *not* in that such government control was always the wrong thing to do at the time, or even that it was avoidable. The problem is that crises make state expansion easy to justify and implement. This mentality is lethal for liberty in the long run, because a series of crises over a period of time will lead to increasingly strong centralised control of society. Liberty is diminished by this control and not easily returned, if ever.

Speaking of the COVID response, Kotkin warns us, "For some, the lockdowns served as a 'test run' for necessary measures to realise their preferred climate-change policies."¹⁰ There may come a point when a crisis-addicted government itself becomes the crisis. Crisis-addicted governments are the enemy of responsible citizenship. Even a virtuous citizenry cannot take responsibility for themselves when the government takes that responsibility from them by force of law.

Thus, a major part of modern responsible citizenship is thinking critically of crisis claims made by governments and technocrats and identifying when they are lapsing into a perpetual crisis mentality. We must remember that during a crisis or emergency, discussion and normal legislative procedure must

be suspended. Crisis pathology is anti-democracy. It is now common for governments to employ behavioural psychology to manipulate citizens.¹¹ Lord Sumption's words on this are important:

“Our society craves security. The public has unbounded confidence, which no amount of experience will dent, in the benign power of the state to protect them against an ever wider range of risks. In Britain, the lockdown was followed by a brief period in which the government's approval ratings were sky-high. This is how freedom dies.”¹²

Responsible citizens must make it as difficult as possible for politicians and bureaucracies to lean into a crisis mentality, in which they will feel less inclined to engage in public debate, and more emboldened to relinquish responsibility to anonymous experts who are less likely to be held responsible for their decisions. If responsible citizens are not vigilant, they will find themselves irresponsible citizens through no choice of their own.

The Collapse of Virtue and the Rise of Nihilism

The other great enemy of responsible citizenship is its own success.

The history of the human race is the history of rising, flourishing, and dying civilisations. But how do civilisations die? Historians from the ancient Roman Livy to the modern greats like Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee warn us in unison: we die by our own hand.

It is never external forces that strike the fatal blow to a great civilisation, but internal decay and corruption. What causes this internal decay? The answer is unanimous: decadence, selfishness, nihilism, and hedonism.

In the first century BC Livy spoke of “these modern days in which the might of a long paramount nation is wasting by internal decay.”¹³ Why was Rome in decay, according to Livy? It had become a victim of its own success. The success of Rome in war made her prosperous, but this made the Romans comfortable and increasingly indifferent to living lives of virtue and uprightness. Livy explained the process:

“Then as the standard of morality gradually lowers, let him follow the decay of the national character, observing how at first it slowly sinks, then slips downward more and more rapidly, and finally begins to plunge into headlong ruin, until he reaches these days, in which we can bear neither our diseases nor their remedies.”¹⁴

Humans naturally inquire into the meaning of life. As Aristotle said, “For it is owing to their wonder that men both now begin and at first began to philosophize,”¹⁵ and as holocaust-survivor and psychiatrist Victor Frankl said:

“What man actually needs is not a tensionless state but rather the striving and struggling for some goal worthy of him. What he needs is not the discharge of tension at any cost, but the call of a potential meaning waiting to be fulfilled by him.”¹⁶

History teaches us that it is not hardship and challenge that distracts us from searching out meaning, but comfort and ease. It is a great mercy of providence that our conviction of human dignity, with the blessings of science and technology, have led us to construct societies of plenty, in which even the worst off have no fear of starvation. Societies in which even those we would call “struggling” still have a living standard that would have been the envy of most people only one hundred years ago.

Our modern danger is that the more we become accustomed to comfort, health, and long life, the more austerity and mortality present themselves as alien, unnatural, and to be resisted at all costs. This is dangerous, as sometimes sacrifice and hardship are necessary to achieve great things. The cost was extremely high during the COVID-response years. We sacrificed responsible government, the economic wellbeing of future generations, and even life itself, as lockdowns and the suspension of life-saving medical services, such as cancer screening, took their own toll.

In a way, we could say that it is the death of responsible citizenship that precedes the death of a civilisation. *Responsible* citizenship is when our energies are dedicated primarily to the *virtue* of living up to the duties that, when met, facilitate a healthy society. These duties include starting and nurturing families, looking after our parents as they age, success in the economy by working to make the most of our talents and gifts, and taking an active interest in our local communities and the welfare of our nations as a whole. Irresponsible citizenship, on the other hand, is being more inwardly focused; being more concerned with what others can do for me.

Comfort, complacency, and fear of the unknown have crippled the West. Responsible citizens must display courage and strive to live up to the civilization they have inherited. If we cannot teach and encourage one another to value our society and its institutions, then they are already lost.

Christianity and the Historical Foundations of Responsible Citizenship

There are great challenges to responsible citizenship. If we are to resurrect responsible citizenship in the West, we must look to its foundations in the Christian worldview and the fact that every human being is created equal in worth and dignity.

Responsible citizenship rests on the conviction that humans have an inalienable dignity that no state or bureaucracy dare seek to extinguish through the deprivation of freedom and truth. The foundation of our duties to others, even our duties to ourselves, is this inalienable dignity.

One of the greatest political manifestoes of the modern world, The American *Declaration of Independence* of 1776, locates where this dignity originates. Thomas Jefferson does not merely assert our rights to liberty and our status as equal. He asserts that they flow from a deeper reality, that “all men are created equal, and they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.”¹⁷

Jefferson’s references to our Creator are not merely rhetorical. His immortalized thoughts capture a revolution that took place in the West with the rise of Christianity, the light of which we still live in, although it seems to be dimming. Historian Tom Holland says:

“To live in a Western country is to live in a society still utterly saturated by Christian concepts and assumptions.... Whether it is the conviction that the workings of conscience are the surest determinants of good law, or that church and state exist as distinct entities.... The West, increasingly empty though the pews may be, remains firmly moored to its Christian past.”¹⁸

In the West, responsibility to and for others is inextricably linked to each person’s unique dignity as a human creature, whether this is publicly acknowledged or not. Preserved in our Western laws and

institutions is the belief that people are valuable and worthy of respect because God has declared so through creating them.

Perhaps we should ask an uncomfortable question: if humans are not created beings, then what are we? The only alternative answer is cosmic accidents. And yet it was this latter answer that animated so much philosophical thought of the 20th century, and which also animated the communistic regimes. These regimes suffered the worst of irresponsible citizenship, widespread disenfranchisement, a tyrannical state, and a devouring nihilism.

Official state atheism has been the doctrine of the USSR, China, Cambodia, North Korea, and others—certainly among the worst human rights abusers in human history. If all life is an accident, then it has no *objective* value. This is why Alexander Solzhenitsyn said:

“Militant atheism is not merely incidental or marginal to Communist policy; it is not a side effect, but the central pivot.”¹⁹

But when life is created by a supremely good God, and this God *values* the lives He has created, or, to take the Christian view, He *loves* them, then they are valuable.²⁰ They are valuable even if they are not actually valued by any other human being. Indeed, if we cannot offer a compelling argument for human dignity that is premised on a meaningless universe, then the existence of human dignity itself points to the existence of such a God.²¹

The political implications of this are that the existence of God means that humans have dignity and therefore cannot be rightfully degraded by either state or society. Without God the whole idea of human degradation makes no ultimate sense, for we can only degrade that which has rightful dignity and value.

The existence of God places limits on what the state may demand of citizens—it must not violate their dignity. Here we have the foundations of modern human rights. Os Guinness calls this the “Sinai Revolution”, the “Magna Carta of humanity”.²² From the point of view of responsible citizenship, the citizenry that places God higher than the state holds the state accountable to Someone higher than themselves as individuals, or as a society, and certainly Someone higher than the state itself.

A True View of People Makes for Good Policy

Christianity specifically is worth singling out as a foundation for responsible citizenship not only because of its teaching that all humans bear God’s image, but because of its doctrine of original sin, which is the enemy of utopian schemes.

Utopianism teaches that human nature can be perfected, that humans can be turned into angels. Of course, what the 20th century has taught is that the attempt to transform humans into angels requires intense coercion, fear, and violence, and even then, all we do is degrade the soul, rather than elevate it.

Original sin tells us that we cannot be perfected in this life, and so we are better off creating political institutions that hold everyone accountable, and that do not attempt to perfect that which cannot be perfected this side of eternity. Original sin, when confessed by the citizen, demands humility, and thus weakens the impulse to see oneself as big-hearted and righteous, and those with differing views as necessarily malevolent. The humility that flows from admitting that we all have a propensity to miss the mark pushes against the kind of civic dogmatism and sectarianism that can transform mere civic disagreement into socially destabilising polarisation.

Christian Freedom Creates True Service

The Biblical faith has likewise blessed us in manifold material ways through its core message. If acknowledging sin begets humility in someone, then acknowledging salvation through the sacrifice of a loving God does so all the more. On this bedrock, the believer is called to serve. The Christian message says that those who trust in Christ are not saved *by* their good works, but are saved *for* them (Ephesians 2:8-10).

The historical fruit of Christians going into the world to serve cannot be exaggerated. Throughout history, Christians have served as responsible citizens for the benefit of others. No one claims Christians and their churches to be free from blemish, even serious blemish and crimes. But overall the churches and committed Christians have functioned as salt and light in a decayed and dark world.

As shown in the work of historian and sociologist Rodney Stark and historian Tom Holland (among many others), ancient Christians saved countless newborns from exposure and murder, helped the sick when others left them to die, bought slaves out of servitude, and offered empathy and a new life to former prostitutes. Christians went on to form monasteries that would be havens for the poor and itinerants, preserve important texts that would otherwise have been lost, educate local children, and contribute significantly to local economies.

During the Reformation, Protestant Reformers like Philip Melanchthon would devise national education programmes, which spread around much of the world. And, of course, there were the Christians who over decades successfully dismantled slavery in the British Empire, and lobbied successfully for socially ameliorative policies like poor relief, education, and better living and working conditions during the industrial revolution.

As Robert Woodberry has shown, Christian missionaries were largely responsible for laying the social infrastructure that allowed democracy and economic prosperity to flourish in many nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Oceania.²³ The tradition of Christian activism continued into the 20th century with countless Christian charities and hospitals, anti-segregation movements in Africa and the United States, the Christian contribution to the rise of modern human rights, the defeat of European communism, and missionaries spreading around the developing world sacrificially providing crucial medical services. And the list could be expanded.

Can a love of responsible liberty, a belief in inalienable human dignity, a conviction that both state and society are to be accountable to truth and goodness survive if Christianity completely dies? Could responsible citizenship survive? Are we merely what Os Guinness has called a “cut flower civilisation”, now in the process of wilting to death? Perhaps the best we can hope for is that there could be a revival of Christianity. But this may only occur once things become as bad as they can in its absence. Given the historical contribution that Christianity has made to so much of what we cherish as good and noble in political life, responsible citizenship may well also be concerned with the renewed vitality of this incredible world-historical faith.

We remember Solzhenitsyn as the great critic of communism and the author of *The Gulag Archipelago*. What is less well known is the criticism he went on to direct towards the free world, America in particular, in his 8 June 1978 Harvard Commencement Address.²⁴ This speech is one of Solzhenitsyn’s greatest gifts to the free world. Indeed, as the Biblical book Proverbs says, “The wounds of a friend are faithful; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.”²⁵ Solzhenitsyn warned America that its greatest threat was not from without, but from within. It had confused liberty with license. Solzhenitsyn diagnosed the problem:

“[The] mistake must be at the root, at the very basis of human thinking in the past centuries. I refer to the prevailing Western view of the world which was first born during the Renaissance and found its political expression from the period of the Enlightenment. It became the basis for government and social science and could be defined as rationalistic humanism or humanistic autonomy: the proclaimed and enforced autonomy of man from any higher force above him. It could also be called anthropocentricity, with man seen as the center of everything that exists.”²⁶

But as John Adams said, speaking of the American constitution, “Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious People. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other.”²⁷ Solzhenitsyn was merely reminding America of this, and I think we need to be reminded of it again today.

It was not the success and comfort of our forebears that won us prosperity today. It was not their power, might, or ingenious laws given effect through institutions. It was their Christian understanding of the world that animated their interaction with their families, neighbourhoods, towns, and societies. Understanding that human beings are created in God’s image, precious, yet also fallen through rebellion—helped shape the character of responsible citizenship that we so desperately need today.

Conclusion

Nothing this side of eternity lasts forever. And yet that is no reason not to cherish, protect, and improve something. If it were, we would not care about anything in this life, not even ourselves. This is why Edmund Burke taught us to think of our social institutions not so much as mere things to be used for our benefit—like cloth or coffee—but as precious heirlooms carefully preserved and lovingly passed down to us. We never receive them in perfect condition, and some generations are less careful about maintaining them than others. But for what we receive we should be truly grateful, and endeavour to hand them down to our children and grandchildren in at least as good condition, but preferably better. Shamefully, we are failing in this duty, as we dismantle historic freedoms of speech, association, and conscience, and make it so difficult for young citizens to own property that property rights themselves become less meaningful by the day.

Perhaps it is best to end such an essay on a practical note pertaining to what each of us can do. Below are some points of direction that will help readers to become responsible citizens, and equip them to withstand the assaults on their freedom and dignity that fly from all directions nowadays. They are offered in the spirit of constructive advice, and if followed, will reap dividends forever.

1. Read (do not merely listen to) good books to sharpen your mind, broaden your horizons, and equip you to see things clearly. A citizenry that reads books cannot be easily fooled.
2. Understand that your soul is the prize of ideologues in government, the media, entertainment, and corporations—they want to possess and shape your soul and, especially, your children’s. Resist by thinking and teaching your children to think for themselves.
3. Seek self-discipline in terms of your sleeping habits, reading habits, eating habits, exercise, and social life. The greatest enemy of the pursuit of excellence is the sentence, “I’ll do it when I feel like it.”
4. Join or at least help the political party or civic movement that most closely reflects your ideals. This will help you to understand politics, but also give you an opportunity to offer input and accountability.

5. Embrace the responsibility and meaning of starting and raising a family and committing to it. The vast majority of those who do so do not regret it, and besides, it is a marvellous antidote to the selfishness which so corrodes our societies.
6. Love what is worth loving and turn your attention from what is not worthy of it. Train yourself to notice, understand, and over time, love that which is true, beautiful, and good.
7. Seek life's meaning, lest you become overwhelmed by nihilism or other false routes during life's journey, with all its tests. If I may be so bold: consider Jesus Christ.

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- ⁵ Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociology of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (New York: The Free Press, 1962), 206. Cited in Neema Parvini, *The Populist Delusion*, (Imperium Press, 2022), 46.
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- ⁷ For an overview see Parvini, *The Populist Delusion*.
- ⁸ Max Weber, "The Bureaucratic Machine," in *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*, ed. C. Lerner (New York: Macmillan, 1999), 109.
- ⁹ Robert Higgs, *Crisis and Leviathan* (Oakland, California: Independent Institute, 2013).
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- ¹⁷ "Text of the Declaration of Independence," Declaration Resource Project, Harvard University, accessed September 11, 2023, <https://declaration.fas.harvard.edu/resources/text>.
- ¹⁸ Tom Holland, *Dominion: How the Christian Revolution Remade the World*, (New York: Basic Books, 2021), 25.
- ¹⁹ Cited in Os Guinness, *The Magna Carta of Humanity: Sinai's Revolutionary Faith and the Future of Freedom* (Westmont, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2021), 31.
- ²⁰ The argument is spelled out in length in Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Justice: Rights and Wrongs*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), chapter 16.
- ²¹ Ibid, 361.
- ²² Guinness, *The Magna Carta of Humanity: Sinai's Revolutionary Faith and the Future of Freedom*.
- ²³ Robert Woodberry, "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 106 (May 2012): 244-274.
- ²⁴ Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *1978 Harvard Commencement Address*, American Rhetoric Online Speech Bank, delivered June 8, 1978, <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/alexandersolzhenitsynharvard.htm>.
- ²⁵ Proverbs 27:6.
- ²⁶ Solzhenitsyn, *1978 Harvard Commencement Address*.
- ²⁷ "From John Adams to Massachusetts Militia, 11 October 1798," Founders Online, accessed September 12, 2023, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-3102>.



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