

CRUSADE

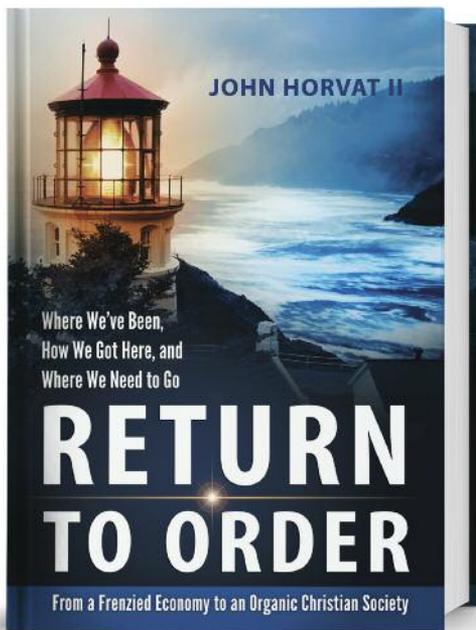
SPECIAL ISSUE

MAGAZINE



TRADITION
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**Organic Christian Order:
The Solution for America's
Socio-Economic Crisis**



How to Restore the Economy and the American Soul

Return to Order: From a Frenzied Economy to an Organic Christian Society—Where We've Been, How We Got Here, and Where We Need to Go

by John Horvat II

UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEM

Based on research and studies spread over twenty years, John Horvat traces the source of our economic problems to a restless spirit of *frenetic intemperance*. This spirit is pushing the nation towards economic collapse.

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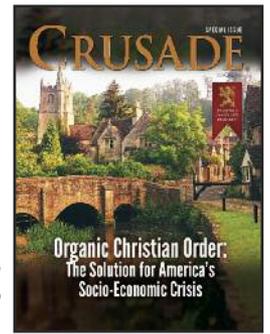
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"Return to Order. . . suggests a practical pathway to avoid the economic and spiritual crises that are looming before us. . . I hope that this work will receive the attention it so deserves."

Most Rev. John C. Nienstedt, Archbishop of Saint Paul & Minneapolis

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A view of the Oxfordshire Cotswolds in England helps us to imagine an organic society.

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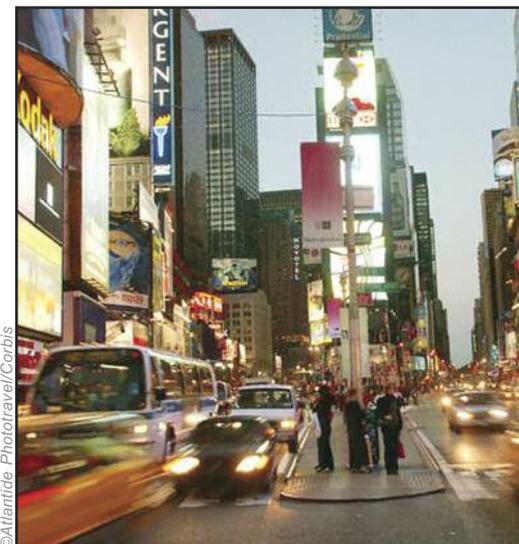
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CRUSADE

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THE AMERICAN TFP

The American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) is an organization of lay Catholic Americans concerned about the moral crisis shaking the remnants of Christian civilization. Its earliest origins date back to January, 1971, when the first TFP members started to group around the publication *Crusade for a Christian Civilization*. It is a civic, cultural and nonpartisan organization which, inspired by the traditional teachings of the Supreme Magisterium of the Roman Catholic Church, works in a legal and peaceful manner in the realm of ideas to

defend and promote the principles of private ownership, family and perennial Christian values with their twofold function: individual and social. The TFP's words and efforts have always been faithfully at the service of Christian civilization. The first TFP was founded in Brazil by the famous intellectual and Catholic leader Prof. Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira in 1960. His work inspired the formation of other autonomous TFP sister organizations across the globe, thus constituting the world's largest anticommunist and antisocialist network of Catholic inspiration.



The Introduction from Return to Order

BACK ON COURSE

BY JOHN HORVAT II

If there is an image that corresponds to the state of the nation, it would be that of a cruise ship on a never-ending cruise. On each of its multiple decks, we find every modern comfort and entertainment. The bands are playing, the theaters are full, the restaurants crowded, and the boutiques well stocked.

The atmosphere is outwardly marked by fun and laughter. Everywhere there is dazzling spectacle, amusing games, and gadgetry. There is always one more joke or one more dance to keep the party going. The cruise ship gives an almost surreal impression of fantasy, unrestraint, and delight.

Cruises are normally celebrations for special occasions, but this party cruise is different. Over the decades, many have come to see the cruise not as a holiday but as an entitlement; it is no longer an exceptional event but the norm. Rather than leave the ship, many seek instead to prolong the party on board without worrying about a final destination, or who will pay the bill.

Breakdown of a System

Even the best of cruises reaches a point of exhaustion. Even the best of parties can last only so long. Behind the festive veneer, things start to run down. Scuffles and disagreements break

out among passengers. Crew members quarrel and cut corners. Financial problems curtail the festivities. Yet no one has the courage to suggest that the party should not go on.

This image is a fitting way to explain the present crisis. As a nation, we are in the same dilemma as those on a never-ending party cruise. Economically, we have reached a point of unsustainability with trillion-dollar deficits, economic crises, and financial crashes. Politically, we have reached a point of immobility as polarization and strife make it difficult to get anything done. Morally, we have stooped to such great depths with the breakdown of our moral codes that we wonder how society will survive. The course is plotted to send us to our ruin, but all the while the bands play on.

Rather than leave the ship, many seek instead to prolong the party on board without worrying about a final destination, or who will pay the bill.

Instead of confronting these problems head on, many are looking for ways to prolong the party. No one dares to declare that the party is over.

Ill-equipped to Face the Storm

The problems inside our cruise ship are compounded by those outside it. We are facing an impending economic collapse that appears on the horizon like a gathering storm. Few want to admit the storm is approaching. When the full thrust of this storm will break—be it months or even a few years—is difficult to determine. We do not know exactly how it will

The state of the nation might be compared to a cruise ship on a never-ending cruise. The bands are playing and the decks are full of light and activity. No one wants to declare that the party is over.



Bert van Dijk

strike or the precise means to avoid it.

What we do know is that a storm lies ahead. It is not just a passing tempest for we already feel its strong winds. By its sheer magnitude, we sense there is something about this particular crisis that touches the very core of our American order. It will have political, social, and even military consequences. What makes it so grave is that our ship seems so ill-equipped and its crew so divided as we approach the ever more menacing storm.

In the past, we had a unity and projection that helped us stay the right course in storms like these. We were a people solidly united around God, flag, and family, but now all seems fragmented and polarized. By our great wealth and power, we once held the respect and awe of nations, but now we are unexpectedly attacked by unforeseen enemies and forsaken by friends and allies. Now, our certainties are shaken; our unity is in doubt. There is anxiety and dark pessimism about our future.

Our Purpose

The American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) is a group of Catholic countrymen concerned about the state of the nation. This concern prompted the formation of a study commission that would delve deeply into the causes of the present economic crisis. Motivated by love for God and country, we now enter into the debate with the findings of this commission. We will be indicating where we as a nation went wrong. Our desire is to join with all those practical-minded Americans who see the futility of prolonging the party. The time has come to declare the party over. Now is the time to batten down the hatches and plot a course in face of the raging tempest ahead.

Although the storm be treacherous, we need not sail on uncharted seas. That is why these considerations spring from our deep Catholic convictions and draw heavily from the Church's social and economic teachings, which gave rise to Christian civilization. We believe these teachings can serve as a lighthouse; they contain valuable and illuminating insights that will benefit all Americans since they are based not only on matters of the Faith but also upon reason

and principles of the natural order.

Having this lighthouse is a matter of great urgency because we navigate in dangerous waters. We cannot follow the socialistic courses to anarchy and revolution that have shipwrecked so many nations in history. Unless we have the courage to draw upon our rich Christian tradition and place our trust in Providence, we will neither steer clear of disaster in the coming storm nor arrive to safe harbor.

Since the storm is principally economic in nature, that will be our main focus. However, this is not an economic treatise. Rather, we offer an analysis based on observations of economic developments in history from which we have constructed a number of theses, which we present succinctly without excessive proofs or examples.

To develop fully every thesis is a vast task beyond the scope of this work. Our purpose is to provide a platform for debate; to point in the general direction of a remedy. We invite those who enter into this debate to apply the broad principles found here to the concrete circumstances.

A Great Imbalance in Economy

Our main thesis centers on a great imbalance that has entered into our economy. We do not think it is caused by our vibrant system of private property and free enterprise as so many socialists are wont to claim. What is at fault is something much more profound yet difficult to define.

We believe that, from a perspective that will later become clear and not denying other factors, the main problem lies with a restless spirit of *intemperance* that is constantly throwing our economy out of balance. It is made worse by a *frenetic* drive generated by a strong undercurrent in modern economy that seeks to be rid of restraints and gratify disordered passions. We call the resulting spirit "*frenetic intemperance*," which is now pushing the country headlong into the throes of an unprecedented crisis.

In the course of our considerations, we will first look at this frenetic intemperance and see

Unless we have the courage to draw upon our rich Christian tradition and place our trust in Providence, we will neither steer clear of disaster in the coming storm nor arrive to safe harbor.

how it manifests itself in our industrialized economy. We will look at the unbalanced drive to reach gigantic proportions in industry and the mass standardization of products and markets. We will analyze its urge to destroy institutions and break down restraining barriers that would normally serve to keep economies in balance.

We will then show how this frenetic intemperance has facilitated certain errors that extend beyond economy and shape the way we live. To illustrate this, we will discuss the frustrations caused by an exaggerated trust in our *technological society*, the terrifying isolation of our *individualism*, and the heavy burden of our *materialism*. We will highlight the bland *secularism* that admits few heroic, sublime, or sacred elements to fill our lives with meaning. Far from promoting a free market, frenetic intemperance undermines and throws it out of balance and even prepares the way for socialism. The tragic effect of all this is that we seem to have lost that human element so essential to economy. Modern economy has become cold and impersonal, fast and frantic, mechanical and inflexible.

The Missing Human Element

In their zeal for maximum efficiency and production, many have cut themselves off from the natural restraining influence of human institutions such as custom, morals, family, or community. They have severed their link with tradition where customs, habits, and ways of being are passed from generation to generation. They have lost the anchors of the cardinal virtues that should be the mooring for any true economy.

The result is a society where money rules. Men put aside social, cultural, and moral values, adopting a set of values that attaches undue importance to quantity over quality, utility over beauty, and matter over spirit. Free of traditional restraints, those under this rule favor the frantic dealings, speculation, and exaggerated risks by which they have sent our economy into crisis.

Finding Remedies

If frenetic intemperance is the main cause of this economic imbalance, the quelling of this

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS

When referring to the *present economic crisis*, we are not referring to any specific speculative bubble or financial crash. We are generally speaking of the cumulative effect of massive debt, unbridled government spending, economic instability, and other factors that are already threatening to coalesce into a single global crisis that is likely to cause a major economic collapse.

restless spirit must figure in the solution. To this end, we need to reconnect with that human element that tempers the markets and keeps them free.

The model we will present is the organic socio-economic order that was developed in Christendom. Inside this organic framework, we find timeless principles of an economic order, wonderfully adapted to our human nature. This gives rise to markets full of exuberant vitality and refreshing spontaneity. There is the calming influence of those natural braking institutions—custom, family, the Christian State, and the Church—which are the very heart and soul of a balanced economy. Economy becomes anchored in the virtues, especially the cardinal virtues. Inside this order, the rule of money is replaced by another rule that favors honor, beauty, and quality.

Yet we must stress that this is a Christian order suited to the reality of our fallen nature. It is well adapted to both the sufferings and joys that this vale of tears affords. Indeed, we are reminded that it was born under the constant shadow of the Cross with Christ as Divine Model.

By studying the principles of this order, we can come to have a notion of what our ideal should be and how it might be obtained.

* * *

With the menacing storm on the horizon, the stage is set for a great debate over where we are now, and where we need to go. At this point, our principal concern will be to understand both the nature of the storm we face and that of the harbor we seek. Only then can we chart a course for the future. ■



COMMENTARY

How Do We Build an Organic Society?

BY PLINIO CORRÊA DE OLIVEIRA

Organic society: a social order oriented toward the common good that naturally and spontaneously develops, allowing man to pursue the perfection of his essentially social nature through the family, intermediary groups, the State, and the Church.

Upon describing organic society, the question remains as to how we might build such a society.

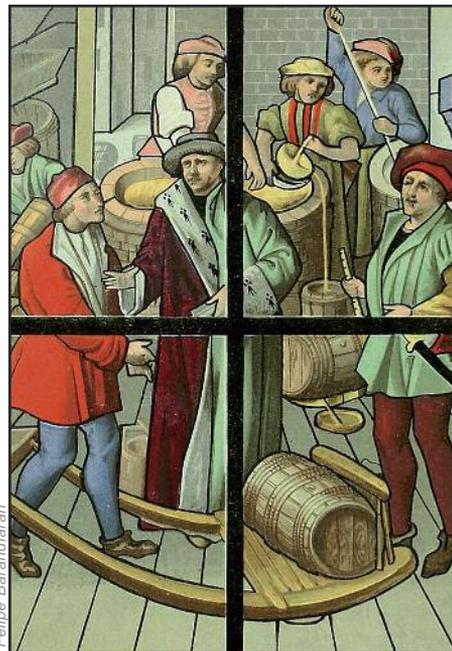
The answer is quite simple. We must do it in the same manner as our ancestors did at the dawn of this civilization. We must understand, as they understood, that it is not enough that we follow the Ten Commandments and respect the rights of the Church with all due intransigence and strictness. Above all, we must allow the institutions of society to gradually walk on their own feet.

In our case, this means freeing society from the iron gauntlet of Statist dictatorship (whether it be in its legislative or executive form). The family must be allowed to return once again to the fullness of action and influence it once reached. Professional, social and other intermediary groups that stand between the individual and the State must be free to exercise the activities necessary to fulfill their duties on their own and according to their own procedures. The State should respect everyone's autonomy by giving every region the right to organize according to its socio-economic structures, character, and traditions. Finally, the State itself, operating within its own and supreme ambit, should exercise its sovereign power with honor, vigor and efficiency.

Someone might ask what the final

result would be if these principles are respected. Would it be a return to the Middle Ages? Or would we move toward a new and absolutely unpredictable future society?

Both questions should be answered in the affirmative. Human



Felipe Barandiarán

A medieval marketplace. Our proposal does not seek a return to the historical medieval economy but to those basic and timeless Christian principles that can be applied to any economy.

nature is constant; it is the same in all times and places. The basic principles of Christian civilization are likewise immutable. Thus, this new order of things—this new Christian civilization we envision—obviously will be profoundly similar, or rather identical, to the old one in its essen-

tial traits. Since this order is linked to God (Who does not change), its principles are just as applicable in the thirteenth as in the twenty-first century.

On the other hand, such a society would have many new elements. The technical and material conditions of life have profoundly changed since the thirteenth century. Nothing would be more inorganic than to ignore these changes.

To build an organic Christian society, we must take care not to make many complex plans. The founders of Christian civilization in the Middle Ages did not make such plans to reach the height of medieval civilization in the thirteenth century. They simply had the general intention of building a Catholic world. For this end, each generation gradually solved, with its own sharp insight and Catholic sense, the problems within its reach. As for the rest, they did not get involved in complicated speculation.

We must do as they did. Generally, the whole framework of this society is already known to us through history and the Magisterium of the Church. As for the details, let us go forward step by step without abstract theoretical plans drawn up in some bureaucratic office, following the Gospel maxim: "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." ■

Praise for RETURN TO ORDER

“Return to Order provides an interesting analysis of how the United States has departed from the spiritual, cultural, and economic precepts that supported the founding and the early history of our republic. It also sets forth valuable recommendations for restoring our society to its foundation of ordered liberty and traditional values.”



The Heritage Foundation Think Tank

— *The Honorable Edwin Meese III*
Former Attorney General of the United States

“This is a timely and important book as our nation faces one of the most critical challenges in its history. Overcoming the economic disaster America is facing cannot be solved simply through economic policy. Americans and their leaders must put in place policy that will restore values, work ethics, and, as the author points out so well, honor.... Restoring honor to our economic landscape will put the nation on the path to recovery.”



US Army

— *Lt. Gen. Benjamin R. Mixon, USA*
(Ret.), Former Commanding General,
United States Army Pacific

“The depth of knowledge and originality of Horvat’s analysis, plus the scope and inspiration of his vision for a true solution to our current economic crisis, make *Return to Order* worthy of becoming the bedside book for those who believe America is worth fighting for.”

— *Joseph M. Scheidler*
National Director, Pro-Life Action League



Pro-Life Action League

“Horvat’s fabulous analysis of our present crisis can and should be a most important instrument in reshaping the educational foundations of our youth, preparing them for leadership. . .”

— *David S. Miller*
Senior Vice President, US Bank

“John Horvat sounds a clarion call for a return to fiscal and moral sanity. A must read!”

— *Col. George E. “Bud” Day, USAF (Ret.)*
Medal of Honor recipient and former POW

“The central theme of frenetic intemperance is original, interesting, and compelling. The diagnosis of contemporary social maladies must focus on moral failings, and *Return to Order* rightly does so. Its insightful thesis deserves wide circulation and consideration.”

— *Kevin E. Schmiesing, Ph.D.*
Research Fellow, Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty; Book Review Editor, Journal of Markets & Morality

“If our nation ever needed to return to traditional values, it is now. We are committing suicide; but each of our problems has at its roots a moral solution found in the tenets of the Christian tradition that is at the foundation of our being. *Return to Order* does a great job of highlighting the source and solution to our impending demise.”

— *Maj. Gen. Patrick H. Brady, USA (Ret.)*
Medal of Honor recipient



US Army

“Anyone who considers the ongoing public debate as superficial—indeed most reform proposals merely want to cure the symptoms, yet do not address the underlying causes—should study Mr. Horvat’s *Return to Order*. It is to be hoped that this book reaches a large reading public and will have an impact on public policy, theoretical debates and personal decisions alike.”

— *Gregor Hochreiter*
Director, Institute of Applied Economics and
Western Christian Philosophy (Vienna, Austria)

“[Horvat] would likely fall into the company of such traditional conservative scholars as Russell Kirk or Richard Weaver. This is a perceptive and exciting book explaining how these traditional understandings and principles can form the bedrock of our personal and corporate philosophy today.”

— *G. Daniel Harden, Ph.D.*
Emeritus Professor of Education, Washburn University
Chairman, Kansas Governmental Ethics Commission

“This excellent work is an in-depth study of the history and cause of our present-day economic and spiritual crisis, and it gives us a well-reasoned solution to our plight as well. I am pleased to recommend it.”

— *Most Rev. James C. Timlin*
Bishop Emeritus of Scranton

“Horvat calls for an order that combines the virtues of tested traditions with the creative potential of the free economy: a combination of a structured order based on traditional values and the spontaneous order of economic systems based on private property. He uses the term ‘frenetic intemperance’ to describe the type of life which does not leave room for family, creative leisure, and prayer. A call for more balance in our economies and our lives.”

— *Alejandro Chafuen, Ph.D.*
President, Atlas Economic Research Foundation

“Like the true cultural conservative he is, John Horvat takes on the idols of technological, economic, and political power. These powers exacerbate the human tendency toward frenetic intemperance.”

— *Richard Stivers, Ph.D.*
Emeritus Professor of Sociology, Illinois State University

“The restoration of economic and social peace in our disordered society is something for which all men of good will yearn. John Horvat has given us in his excellent book, *Return to Order*, a catechism of principles to guide all our efforts to restore economic and social peace to America.”

— *Most Rev. Rene H. Gracida*
Bishop Emeritus of Corpus Christi



“In this very well-documented and argued work, John Horvat ingeniously demonstrates how the four cardinal virtues are the basis of a free and prosperous society. This is a work that should be on every economics and social science bookshelf. It touches on the very basis of the problems in our modern economy and society. I highly recommend this enjoyable book.”

— *Prof. Harry C. Veryser*
Author and Former Director of Graduate Studies in Economics, University of Detroit Mercy

“It’s rare that a book of this depth is also such a pleasure to read. Horvat’s critique of contemporary America’s ‘frenetic intemperance’ rings true, laying bare modern man’s confusion and anomie amid plenty. An erudite cultural sculptor, Horvat chisels away materialism’s false promises and points toward God as the source of the higher revelation that makes beauty, heroism, nobility, sacrifice and true vocation discoverable and meaningful.”

— *Robert Knight*
Columnist and author

“*Return to Order* touches on matters that apply not only to America but everywhere. Modern economy is in trouble and this book zeroes in on the problem of frenetic intemperance in an original and convincing manner. Best of all, author John Horvat offers organic Catholic solutions that are both so needed and so refreshing. I hope this book gets wide circulation and recommend it to all those who want real answers to vital questions.”

— *H.H. Duke Paul of Oldenburg*
Director, Brussels Office of Fédération Pro Europa Christiana

“*Return to Order* is a clear, engaging read that, by delineating some fundamentals of the natural order, will empower you to spot many of today’s disorders—even some you may have unconsciously bought into. Such was my experience. . . I was enlightened. . . . The book is interesting, clear and enlightening.”

— *Patrick F. Fagan, Ph.D.*
Director, Marriage & Religion Research Institute (MARRI)



“We have abandoned morality in the economic life, together with beauty and the Christian spirit. In *Return to Order*, John Horvat argues that the return to Christian values and their observance, both by entrepreneurs and government leaders, is the best protection against the present, constantly recurring crises.”

— *Pawel Tobola-Pertkiewicz*
President, Polish-American Foundation for Economic Research & Education

“Horvat’s thesis that frenetic intemperance has driven many, if not all, of today’s economic problems bears close consideration. . . . This book should be read and its recommendations followed by those who know a *Return to Order* in the twenty-first century is sorely needed.”

— *Lt. Col. Joseph J. Thomas, USMC (Ret.), Ph.D.*
Distinguished Professor of Leadership Education, United States Naval Academy

“By calling the reader to embrace the cardinal virtues of temperance, justice, prudence and fortitude, *Return to Order* suggests a practical pathway to avoid the economic and spiritual crises that are looming before us and, by means of religious conversion, reestablish a right order for human flourishing. I hope that this work will receive the attention it so deserves.”



Mary E. Gibson

— *Most Rev. John C. Nienstedt*
Archbishop of Saint Paul and Minneapolis



“In an intellectually compelling and practical way, *Return to Order* reminds us that economy and religion are deeply connected, and that, with the family at the center, we can hope to be freed from the frenzy in which our society finds itself. I highly recommend this book.”

— *Fr. Frank Pavone*
National Director, Priests for Life

“This book proposes a revitalization of long standing Christian practices as an antidote to current economic discontinuities. Using practical minded recommendations to resolve massively complex societal issues, *Return to Order* is a proposal that should be welcomed by those looking for a path to economic recovery and a tempering of future disruptions.”

— *John B. Powers*
President, Chicago Daily Observer

“A fabulous study!”

— *Malcolm S. Morris*
Chairman, Stewart Title Guaranty Company

A “WAY OF THE CROSS” SOCIETY

BY JOHN HORVAT II

Let us be accused of glorifying the past, any dream of an ideal society cannot exclude the reality of hardship and suffering that comes from God’s punishment of our first parents: “With labor and toil shalt thou eat thereof all the days of thy life” (Gen. 3:17). Dreams become nostalgic and romantic fantasies if they are not linked with the reality of suffering and tragedy. We must therefore take to heart the model of the Cross.

Just as consumer society presupposes the consumer, Christian civilization presupposed the Christian. The Christian was not just a religious label. Rather it was the development of “the human type that had been produced by ten centuries of spiritual discipline and intensive cultivation of the inner life.”¹ He was and is “another Christ,” inseparable from His Cross.

What characterized early medieval man was his understanding that once disordered passions were let loose, they would unleash a tyrannical rule upon everything. This applied to private life, but this could also be seen in the barbaric and unruly passions of invading peoples who wreaked such havoc on medieval Europe.

Thus, medieval man perceived that the fight against these unbridled passions must play a central role in his private life. He also understood that in society there must always be dedicated sectors on the front lines of this great battle that, inspired by the Faith, take an attitude of fighting to the death at any moment to defend society as a whole.² The medieval knight, for example, held this ideal literally, as the civilizing monks of the

West did analogously in their interior martyrdom.

Making a Sacrifice

When these dedicated sectors flourished, the spirit of their constant personal self-sacrifice and restraint permeated and set the tone for all society and helped all to control and counter their disordered passions. It was by this spirit that the barbarians were gradually both restrained by force of arms and tamed by prayer and penance under the loving gaze of the Church.

Hence, Summerfield Ballwin succinctly writes that “it was the Way of the Cross . . . which preoccupied the minds and hearts of Christendom.”³ The sublime perfume of this spirit of abnegation permeated economy, art, and thought, and gave value, meaning, and beauty to all things human.

. . . in society there must always be dedicated sectors on the front lines of this great battle that, inspired by the Faith, take an attitude of fighting to the death at any moment to defend society as a whole.

“The Way of the Cross” by José R. Dias Tavares (1987). A marvelous civilization is only possible when linked with the reality of suffering and tragedy. It must take as its model Our Lord and His Way of the Cross.



“Way of the Cross” Economy

The economic implications of this spirit were particularly reflected in a “Way of the Cross” economy, where the need for sacrifice and restraint in supplying human needs coincided with the consuming ideal of seeking the Cross of Christ. Medieval man looked for ways to offer up his sacrifices in the economic dealings of every day.

One immediate manner of doing this was by offering to God the best fruits of one’s labor. The farmer, for example, planted his wheat thinking that his best grains might be turned into hosts for the Consecration. The vintner saw his wine being used for Mass as the highest honor. Builders gave their best to build magnificent churches to house Our Lord. Fine linens and silks adorned the altars. Members of the ancient guild of joiners and cabinetmakers under the patronage of Saint Anne “looked upon the making of tabernacles wherein God may dwell in our churches as their most choice work.”⁴ The first and best apple of an orchard might be put in the hand of the Virgin statue at the village church as a symbolic gesture of this sacrifice.

In this way, man “immolated” as an offering the best products of his hands in the service of the God Who immolated Himself for us.

Pursuit of Excellence

With Christ as the perfect model, this “Way of the Cross” economy also served God’s glory by awakening in men a passionate pursuit of excellence for excellence’s sake.

To medieval man, this pursuit of excellence was an arduous task, not unlike a Way of the Cross that ultimately led not to profits but to God. He believed he could give glory to God by making His creation even more excellent. By making beautiful things, the artisan’s sacrifice taught all society to love excellent things as a way that they might know and love God more. In this way, even the most modest things in Christian civilization tended to have a certain splendor, so that all creation could better sing the glory of God and thereby elevate souls towards Him.

One could see this in the craftsman who set about his arduous tasks motivated by this higher ideal. “The laborer toiled not merely to win sustenance,” writes Richard Weaver, “but to see this ideal embodied in his creation.”⁵ The perfume-maker, for example, was motivated by a desire to produce a most excellent perfume. It was with great

metaphysical joy that he made more effort and accepted less money in this quest to leave mankind a better perfume.

Rewards of the Cross

When such a metaphysical spirit permeates everything, all society cannot but grow in quality and excellence. The lawyer presents a magnificent legal brief or a cobbler searches for a marvelous shoe for the sake of the beauty of their actions. The artist—so sensitive to such an outlook—produces his masterpiece and dies content even though he be not rich. Even the most modest of men, generally speaking, pursued their crafts as if they were arts and came to be great appreciators of beauty.

Indeed, writes Lewis Mumford, “The purpose of art has never been labor-saving but labor-loving, a deliberate elaboration of function, form, and symbolic ornament to enhance the interest of life itself.”⁶ And in the practice of this art, the act of labor becomes a veritable prayer.

Such an economy involved arduous effort, but God rewarded this sacrifice by conferring upon society the flowering of what we consider the better things of life: education, books, art, music, charity, and culture. All these rewards, Ballwin claims, “were, in the Middle Ages, the very paving, so to speak, of the Way of the Cross.”⁷

* * *

Such artistic production finds little resonance in an industrialized world based on frenetic intemperance and unbridled consumption. However, this spirit of immolation and abnegation, found in the Way of the Cross, is like the ballast of a ship or the brake of a car. It puts things in order and gives stability to economy. With this ballast, the “Way of the Cross” economy produced results beyond all expectations and gave value, meaning, and beauty to all things human. With God’s grace, it could do so again. ■

Notes:

1. Dawson, *Religion and the Rise*, p. 9.
2. “The life of man upon earth is a warfare” (Job 7:1).
3. Summerfield Ballwin, *Business in the Middle Ages* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1968), p. 5.
4. Prosper Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year*, trans. Laurence Shepherd (Great Falls, Mont.: St. Bonaventure Publications, 2000), 13:192. If the Blessed Mother was the ciborium of Christ, Saint Anne was the tabernacle.
5. Weaver, *Ideas Have Consequences*, p. 73.
6. Mumford, *Pentagon of Power*, 2:137.
7. Ballwin, *Business in the Middle Ages*, p. 68.



COMMENTARY

While Supplies Last

BY NORMAN FULKERSON

The biggest shopping day of the year, known as “Black Friday,” has now invaded the most family-centered holiday. The electrifying shop-till-you-drop excursion formerly began in the wee hours of the morning after Thanksgiving. It eventually crept up to midnight of the same day and this year stores such as Wal-Mart, Target, and Toys R Us opened at nine o’clock on Thanksgiving evening. With barely enough time to digest the annual turkey dinner family members entered the consumer war zone.

The familial rules of civility and common courtesy enjoyed at dinner hours before are replaced by a “dog-eat-dog” competition. The winners take home a coveted item whose perceived value was increased not by the essential excellence of the product as by three simple words, “while supplies last.” The losers are unable to see the futility of this consumer rat race. The object of their desire will, all too soon, sit idle on store shelves collecting dust as the next new gadget comes along.

This irrational and intemperate spending frenzy makes the book *Return to Order* by John Horvat all the more important. It is exactly this “frenetic intemperance,” so prevalent during every Black Friday, that he points to as the primary cause of our economic woes.

The calm of the Thanksgiving dinner now gives way to the competition at the stores.

“This intemperance is not just an economic problem,” Mr. Horvat explains, “but a moral and psychological dilemma that resides deep inside the soul of modern man that manifests itself in economy.”

American version of the “running of the bulls”

The term “Black Friday” first came into existence in 1961. Its original negative connotation was linked to the traffic jams and pedestrian congestion that occurred on the busiest shopping day of the year. It later came to signify the period when retailers were finally able to turn a profit and go “into the black,” on their balance sheets.

Stores vying for customer attention offer reduced prices on a limited amount of the most coveted items. The key word here is limited or “first come first served,” which explains the insanely long lines. Then there are the infamous “door-buster” bar-

gains which got their name because they lead consumers to both figuratively, and in some cases literally, bust the door down to get them. Such was the case at a Long Island, New York Wal-Mart in 2008.

The store was set to open at 5:00 a.m. but shoppers who had been waiting for hours began to get anxious, much like hungry piranhas at feeding time. The crowd of 2,000 began screaming and chanting “push the doors in.” As the doors broke free from their hinges, Wal-Mart workers climbed atop vending machines “to avoid the horde.”¹ A 34-year-old employee, Jdimytai Damour, was not so fortunate to escape the human tsunami. He was subsequently trampled to death as fellow workers and later police officers tried in vain to hold back the crowd.

Such a spectacle has led eyewitnesses to refer to this as the American version of the “running of the bulls.”²



nystrng

“This intemperance is not just an economic problem, but a moral and psychological dilemma that resides deep inside the soul of modern man that manifests itself in economy.”

The big difference is that the victims, lying helpless in a fetal position, are not gored by angry bulls but trampled by fellow human beings. Not much has changed since 2008. This restless state of spirit, in men who only think of gratifying their disordered passions, led to a string of similar abominations this year.

Shoppers Step Over Dying Man

A shopper at a Kmart in Sacramento, California was caught on tape threatening to stab anyone that tried to cut the line.³ A fellow customer laughed it off but police were called to the scene to prevent the situation from becoming ugly. A similar incident occurred at Sears in the South Park Mall in San Antonio, Texas where two customers got into a fight over merchandise. One man threw a punch, the other pulled a gun and pandemonium erupted causing a stampede which injured a third customer.⁴ A similar thing happened in a Wal-Mart in Tallahassee, Florida. Only this time threats were followed by action when two people were shot outside over a dispute for a parking spot in a busy area.⁵

A woman trying to improve her chances to buy cheap electronics at a Wal-Mart in Los Angeles, California came armed for battle also. When things got hot she chose to pepper spray fellow shoppers.⁶

The most striking example of Black Friday frenetic intemperance was the callousness of shoppers at a Target in South Charleston, West Virginia. Mr. Walter Vance was among them, buying Christmas decorations, when he got sick and fell to the floor. Those around him simply kept on shopping; some even went

so far as to step over his lifeless body⁷ as they continued their search for a bargain. Finally, Kimberly Rowland, a nurse, stopped and unsuccessfully tried to revive him. He was eventually taken to the hospital where he died of a heart attack.

Sue Compton, an employee of Mr. Vance, described how he treated them all “like family.” Choking back tears she asked, “Where is the Good Samaritan side of people?”⁸ She was simply unable to understand how people could walk by and do nothing and wondered if it was greed.

“This is not for the faint of heart, this is a war.”

“It’s not just greed or ambition,” Mr. Horvat explains in *Return to Order*. “They have existed throughout history. Rather it is an explosive expansion of human desires beyond the normal bounds and leads man to scorn or even resent restraint.” Sadly, this has led to the type of behavior which changes many Americans from Dr. Jekyll at Thanksgiving dinner to an almost unrecognizable Mr. Hyde after the sun sets.

In rural Owensboro, Kentucky things were more subdued; nevertheless one could not help but see the same frenetic intemperance driving people on. Lana Browder from McLean County braved the long lines at Target and admits saving a buck is not her main incentive for returning every year. “It’s the excitement,” she said, with a characteristic Southern accent. “This is not for the faint of heart, this is a war.”

Sheila Jarboe, a homeschooling mother from Red Hill, Kentucky knows this all too well. She recalled the time she strategically placed her 10-year-old son Jeremiah by a door

buster sale bin at Wal-Mart. As employees ripped the plastic off, his little eyes grew wide and a look of panic came across his tender face. He was nearly crushed by the throng and feared he might not survive the melee.

“My son almost died for this?” Mrs. Jarboe reflected.

She no longer braves the crowd and is wise for refraining. A Wal-Mart employee at that same location described some of the behavior he has witnessed during his nine years at the store. “I saw someone spit in the face of another,” he said, “and I also observed exasperated customers taking a Wal-Mart employee and putting her in a garbage bin then placing the lid on top.”

“Black Friday” is merely one example that illustrates the harmful effects of “frenetic intemperance.” Cheap supplies are not the only thing running short these days, simple charity is also. More than a bargain, what we are in greater need of is a serious “Return to Order.” ■

Notes:

1. <http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/worker-dies-long-island-wal-mart-trampled-black-friday-stampede-article-1.334059>

2. Originating in Pamplona, Spain, this marks the beginning of bull-fighting season and involves running in front of a small group of bulls towards the city arena.

3. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/23/man-stab-kmart-customers-line-black-friday_n_2178898.html

4. <http://www.latimes.com/news/nation/nation-now/la-na-nn-black-friday-walmart-shooting-20121123,0,5316248.story>

5. Ibid.

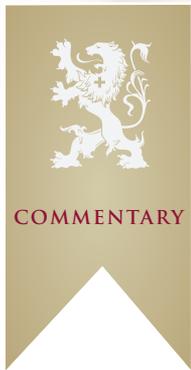
6. Ibid.

7. http://articles.nydailynews.com/2011-11-27/news/30445630_1_black-friday-shopper-early-bird-sales-shopping-center

8. Ibid.

A Brutal Pace of Life: THE FRUIT OF INTEMPERANCE

BY JOHN HORVAT II



Many people associate the virtue of temperance with the control of one's appetite. A temperate person does not eat or drink in excess. This perception is undoubtedly true, but temperance involves much more.

Temperance involves the control of one's appetites, sentiments, passions and instincts according to the light of reason. It is the virtue that keeps everything in balance and functioning according to its nature.

One aspect of temperance is related to speed. Whenever someone practices the vice of intemperance, it often comes accompanied with a desire for an excessive and disproportional speed. The person develops a taste for super-rapid, excessive speeds as might be seen in physical speeds of traveling. There is the speed of a quick thrill found in the person who is inebriated or drugged. The thrill of constant and quick communication found in modern gadgetry can easily throw a person out of balance.

Intemperance can also be found in excessive slowness. The desire for a quick high often leads to a corresponding low. A person falls victim to false slowness, lethargy and depression. This frenzy of action is followed by a period of unproductive listlessness. The stressful person simultaneously feels he has no time for anything, yet senses that he does nothing at all with his time.

The stressful person simultaneously feels he has no time for anything, yet senses that he does nothing at all with his time.

On the contrary, the temperate individual likes speeds appropriate to normal human development. This person enjoys invigorating and ordered action in which one's full potential can be developed. The same individual also enjoys refreshing leisure and profound contemplation. All of these actions and

their corresponding speeds are proportional to our human nature.

When a person loses this equilibrium, the appetites and passions begin to take hold, and one begins to be intoxicated by the sensation of speed for the sake of speed, or slowness for slowness' sake. The means become an end.

Modern society and economy favor such intemperate speeds. Ever since the days of the Industrial Revolution, the inventions that attracted the most attention and inebriated the public the most were those that favored a rapid pace of life and instant connectivity. The exhilaration of the markets has an element of frenetic intemperance which promotes the sensation of speed and constant transaction.

What was lost was the internal equilibrium of man, which is the essence of his innocence. There is no longer that sense of calm and peace that comes when a person governs himself proportionately according to human nature. What is needed is the practice of temperance where a person is free to develop himself to the fullest without disturbing the equilibrium of passions, appetites, instincts and sentiments. What is needed is a return to order. ■

JOIN THE DEBATE!

John Horvat II, the author of *Return to Order*, regularly updates www.ReturnToOrder.org with insights about the cause and solution for our economic crisis. He invites you to share your insights, too.

From www.ReturnToOrder.org subscribe to a weekly newsletter and receive a free chapter of the book!



COMMENTARY

The Last Twinkie

BY GARY J. ISBELL

From an economic point of view, it was an almost insignificant event. A major American firm lamentably went bankrupt as many do. These things are to be expected in the present financial climate. However, from a cultural point of view, this particular failure, and the manner in which it happened, resonated deeply inside the American soul. Its demise signaled the closing of an era.

The company was of course, Hostess, the makers of Twinkies, cupcakes and other popular products. Generations of Americans grew up with these snacks that reflected less complicated and more optimistic times. Hostess was an iconic American firm that harkened back to the days of great prosperity when everyone seemed to get along.

It reminds one of an America that ran much like one big Hostess Corporation where everyone was, as it were, a shareholder in the nation. Life was full of legitimate benefits with measured risks, voting privileges, few liabilities and plenty of recreational opportunities. Everyone looked after his personal interests, enjoyed life and made money. As long as an atmosphere of well-being and comfort existed, everyone got along in that America. Life was like the Twinkie, sugary sweet on the inside and soft and spongy on the outside.

Yet this consensus was an artificial one. It functioned well in prosperity but not in adversity. As the postwar

boom waned during the seventies, this get-along world of unlimited prosperity began to unravel. America had to face problems, misfortunes and sufferings that are an unavoidable part of life. Instead of facing these problems head-on, many citizens of this nation-corporation acted like shareholders who demanded their benefits as entitlements and blamed the nation's problems on everyone but themselves. Elections began to resemble boardroom brawls that never get to the root of the problem.

Our nation has become fragmented and polarized. It is not by chance that Hostess was victim to an acrimonious labor dispute where no one could agree on anything. Union employees demanded unsustainable benefits as if they were entitled to them as the goose that laid the golden Twinkie died. No one could agree; everyone lost.

As the last Twinkie comes off the production line, it can be seen not only as the failure of a well-known firm but as a model of our society. It represents the crumbling of the sweet yet artificial consensus that long governed America. It leaves in its wake an uneasy feeling about harder times that are to come.

What is missing in our country is a vision that goes beyond self-interest,



Joel Kraut

Life was like the Twinkie, sugary sweet on the inside and soft and spongy on the outside.

a comfortable life, easy money and an endless party. We must be able to brave adversity. There must be a return to an order where the common good is more important than the individual good. We need idealistic, self-abnegated leaders and a framework of principles to unify America, not as one big corporation, but as an authentic people willing to sacrifice and work together as a great nation.

Much of what plagued Hostess as a company plagues America as a country. If we fail to recognize where we went wrong as a nation and do not begin to guide ourselves with sound principles, America too will suffer the same demise as Hostess. ■



INTERVIEW

Why Return to Order?

An interview with the author

John Horvat II is a scholar, researcher, educator, international speaker, author and regular contributor to *Crusade Magazine*. His writings have appeared worldwide in numerous publications and websites. For more than two decades, he has been researching and writing about the socio-economic crisis inside the United States that has culminated in the ground-breaking release of his new book *Return to Order: From a Frenzied Economy to an Organic Christian Order—Where We’ve Been, How We Got Here, and Where We Need to Go*. Recognized as one of the most important books on the subject to be published in the past ten years, Mr. Horvat describes what went wrong in our economic model and what can now be done to put us back on course. He lives in Spring Grove, Pennsylvania where he heads the Tradition, Family, and Property Commission on American Studies.

Crusade: What is new about *Return to Order’s* solution?

Mr. John Horvat: Most people, when they think of solutions, they think of systems. They think, “What system can I put in place that will resolve all the problems?” They try to find a one-size-fits-all solution and then impose it upon society.

Our solutions are different in that we want what we call an organic Christian society. Organic solutions take a framework of very basic principles from which solutions can naturally develop and adapt to situations and human qualities.

It is not a rigid system or socialist program that imposes a whole set of rules and regulations upon society. It is not a one-size-fits-all solution.

What we propose is having recourse to those timeless Christian principles that are wonderfully in accordance with man’s nature and result in a world of applications. These principles are extremely stable since they are



John Horvat II

guided by natural law which is the same for all peoples and all times. However, they also can give origin to a refreshingly rich and diverse culture and a vibrant economy.

This is what is new (and old) about our solutions. We do not favor those one-size-fits-all systems that never really resolve problems. We favor those adaptive solutions that favor virtue and consider the human side of things.

Crusade: Could you give an example of an organic Christian society?

Mr. John Horvat: An example of how things in an organic Christian society work brings to mind the family. You can’t simply invent a brand new kind of family and then impose it upon a people by saying a family must be exactly this way or that.

No. A true idea of the family is established when in accordance with a few general principles based on natural law and the nature of the family. Using these notions as a founda-

tion, you leave it up to the family to adapt and to develop its own way of being, its own way of operating and its own way of living. From this comes an authentic culture where society develops a very rich life full of spontaneity, vitality and beauty.

This is an organic solution. It's not a mechanical solution or a rigid system that imposes itself upon people and stifles culture. It does not let government get involved in areas where it should not be involved. Best of all, this organic Christian society is the foundation and properly speaking the heart and soul of a balanced economy that we so need.

Crusade: What's wrong with our current economy?

Mr. John Horvat: We have an economy that is constantly working itself into a frenzy—what we call frenetic intemperance.

Frenetic intemperance is a term coined to describe a restless and reckless spirit inside certain sectors of modern economy that fabricates a drive to throw off all legitimate restraints and to gratify disordered passions.

Frenetic intemperance is not just greed and ambition, but an explosive expansion of human desires beyond traditional and moral bounds. It leads to economic activities where people resent the very idea of restraint and scorn the spiritual, religious, moral and cultural values that normally serve to order and temper economic activity. It creates an almost irrational element that enters into the economy and leads to frantic dealings, speculation and exaggerated risks.

You can't solve this economic problem by legislation, regulation and planning. It's a problem deep inside the soul of modern man. The only real response to frenetic intemperance is a corresponding return to temperance.

Crusade: What is an example of frenetic intemperance?

Mr. John Horvat: You need only look back to the 2008 subprime mortgage crisis. It's a textbook example of frenetic intemperance. Here you have a case of home buyers who took



Protesters from the Occupy Wall Street movement in New York City represented radical alternatives that could resurrect again. These options must be rejected since they will fragment the nation.

out loans without the means to pay for them. You have bankers who extended loans to people knowing that many of these were risky. You have brokers who took all these bad mortgages and put them into securities. Then investors came and snatched up these securities, many of them knowing that these mortgages were not the best mortgages. Everyone threw caution to the wind and as a result the whole system almost came down.

One of the aspects of frenetic intemperance is that it is a reckless drive to throw off restraints and to gratify desires. These restraints normally temper economy and make it human by keeping it within bounds. With this frenetic intemperance, we see the quickening of the pace of life, the erasing of the human element from economy so that we're always talking to machines and keeping up a machine-like pace in life. People have been reduced to cogs, so to speak, in a giant economy.

Frenetic intemperance takes the warmth of human interactions out of economy. It makes life brutal by taking out the moral aspects. It is part of the reason why communities have broken down. When people communicate more on their cell phones and not face-to-face, you don't have those relationships you had once before. It takes away what economists call "social capital." That is to say, we are losing the idea of community where people are linked together with the bonds of confidence and trust

that allow an economy to work in a very smooth and human way.

Crusade: What is the “rule of money”?

Mr. John Horvat: When frenetic intemperance dominates, money tends to rule. Men put aside cultural and moral values and adopt a different set of values that attaches undue importance to quantity over quality, utility over beauty, and matter over spirit.

The tragic effect of all this is that modern economy has become cold and impersonal, fast and frantic, mechanical and inflexible.

We need to put the human element back into the economy and society in general. We need a return to order—a Christian order.

Crusade: What is the best response to the “rule of money”?

Mr. John Horvat: The best response to the rule of money is what we call a “rule of honor.”

Honor conveys the idea of values that cannot be bought and sold. It supposes an appreciation of things that have quality. It spreads an atmosphere of tranquility and temperance over the marketplace.

The rule of honor naturally leads men to esteem and seek after those things that are excellent. It introduces into the marketplace a set of values that includes quality, beauty, goodness, and charity. We find the calming influence of the cardinal virtues.

The greatest product of the rule of honor is not capital but character.

Someone might ask, “How do you implement a rule of honor?” I would say fill society with principles, ideas, and moral values and the influence of the rule of money will greatly diminish. One of the goals of the book is to introduce these ideas into society and the marketplace.

Crusade: How do we resolve our current economic problems?

Mr. John Horvat: First, we don’t need reams of government legislation. This is something much more profound. We need to refocus our priorities, reorder our lives and practice temperance and the cardinal virtues.

We need a return to organic Christian society. Such a society is termed “organic” because this order does not treat people like parts of a machine, but like the living human beings that we are.

By organic society, we mean a society that reconnects with the human element that has been lost in modern society. It allows the natural restraining influence of customs, morals, family or community to rebuild social networks, calm markets and prevent frenetic intemperance.

By a Christian society, we mean a society anchored in virtue, especially the cardinal virtues. It is a society guided by natural law and a social order that takes our fallen nature into consideration. It is oriented toward the common good and facilitates virtuous life together in community. It is a society full of nuance and meaning, poetry and passion.

Crusade: How does one implement this return to order?

Mr. John Horvat: Organic solutions cannot be forced upon a people. They must be developed naturally.

In our book, we show how the present socio-economic model is collapsing. And when this happens, we will need to adopt a model that will bring us through the crisis.

That is to say by force of circumstance, we will be looking for models to implement. We will need to avoid socialist and liberal models that will be proposed.

There’s nothing better than to return to the roots of our Christian order that are already part of our heritage and tradition. It’s tried and true. This book puts this option on the table and shows how we can already start moving in this direction.

Crusade: What makes these principles “tried and true”?

TobyotterT



The pace of our lives means that we have less time for face-to-face conversations.

Mr. John Horvat: The testimony of history comes to the defense of these principles. Their track records are excellent. People tend to think that civilization before the Industrial Revolution was primitive and backwards. This is far from the case—Christian civilization actually prepared the way for true progress.

The principles that gave rise to Christendom helped usher in a period of incredible dynamism and enormous technological advances. Historian Samuel Lilley reports that the technological changes of the Middle Ages were greater in scale—by a very large factor—and more radical in kind than any since the start of civilization.

This was a society that didn't make an enemy of technology. Men in medieval times introduced machinery into Europe on a scale no civilization had previously known. Some historians claim that the Industrial Revolution was actually an extension of processes that began in the Middle Ages. Historian Lynn White states that Christendom was the first complex civilization in history that was not built on the backs of slaves. This dynamic progress was not something limited to technology but also extended to advances in law, education, medicine, economics and government.

If you don't trust the history books, then at least visit the monuments, cathedrals, universities, and castles that still stand in Europe. They give some idea of what was accomplished.

Crusade: What can the average American do?

Mr. John Horvat: We are part of the culture of frenetic intemperance. And so in *Return to Order*, we discuss how in our personal lives, we can all find ways to disengage ourselves from the frenzied, fast-paced lifestyles that we have created for ourselves.

We can reject what we call the rule of money and the mass markets that feed frenetic intemperance. In our personal lives, we can reconnect with that missing human element of society and economy. Any measure that strengthens the family, community and parish is a positive measure we can take to return to order. Any measure that increases our appreciation for reflection, beauty, duty and

virtue is a positive measure by which we can return to what we call the rule of honor.

Much more important, we need to understand the crisis and engage in the debate over the future of our nation. *Return to Order* invites everyone to join the debate over these issues which we believe will be gaining ever great importance as the present crisis deepens.

Crusade: Why is a return to order necessary now?

Mr. John Horvat: One of the most compelling reasons why a return to order is necessary is because the present American model, which sustained us over generations, is now unraveling. Our American way of life is not what it used to be. Our industrial production is diminishing. We have difficulty getting along with others in society. The polarization of the country is pushing people into irreconcilable camps. These developments make a return to order essential.

People already need to have in mind that certain options are available. You already have some options being proposed by people on the right and on the left that are vague and simplistic. When the time of reckoning comes, when the time of crisis comes, I fear that people will simply take the first thing that's presented out there. And sometimes those things are socialist plans or rehashed notions of past errors.

We must already have something in mind. A return to order is what is needed. It isn't a socialist five-year plan. It isn't something vague or theoretical. We are proposing ideas and principles that have served us well in the past. These same timeless principles can be applied to the new circumstances and result in refreshing and novel solutions that are so much needed.

Of course, a return to order does not make sense without a return to God, the Blessed Mother and the Church. The message of Fatima is essentially a warning, calling upon us to either return to order or face the consequences. An orderly society is a virtuous society that confides in Providence and leads us to love God. Such a society is possible and it is to this society that we must return. ■



A Chapter from Return to Order

America is Worth Fighting For

BY JOHN HORVAT II

We are a practical people. It is natural that after a lengthy theoretical discussion many are impelled to ask what is to be done. That admirable practicality, which is so much a part of our national character, calls for action. As we reach our conclusion, it seems logical, then, that we should present a list of concrete measures that must now be taken to avoid the impending collapse. There should also be urgent action items that suggest what might be done to establish the organic order we so ardently desire.

Ironically, the task asked of us runs contrary to the organic order we propose. As we have noted, the nature of organic remedies is to present principles of action and allow for the widest possible concrete application of those principles. Concrete measures depend on concrete circumstances, which differ widely according to time, place, and person. Nevertheless, we can point to some general guidelines that can serve as suggestions as to how we might apply what we have seen.

A Core Denunciation and Self-Examination

There are certain things that each of us can do personally to return to order.

Our core denunciation is aimed at a reckless spirit of frenetic intemperance, which is constantly throwing our economy out of balance by seeking to be rid of restraints and gratify disordered passions. We have likened this spirit to that of a great never-ending party

FRENETIC INTEMPERANCE

A restless, explosive, and relentless drive inside modern man that manifests itself in economy by 1) seeking to throw off legitimate restraints; and 2) gratifying disordered passions.

on a cruise ship, which leads us to spend and consume with reckless abandon.

The first thing we must do is to observe where we have succumbed to frenetic intemperance in our own lives. It is up to each of us, for example, to see how we have engaged in the

“The future belongs to those who believe America is worth fighting for.”

unbalanced consumerism, full of fads and fashions, which stirs up the markets and batters down the barriers of restraint and self-control. Each of us might look at our own participation in the debt-driven frenzied economy that fuels frenetic intemperance.

We should ask ourselves in what ways we have allowed ourselves to be “massified” by mass media, mass advertising, and mass markets by basing our consumption patterns and opinions on what we believe others think. We might also see how we have worshipped at the altar of speed with our rushed schedules and stress-filled lives. To what extent has the frenzy of technological gadgetry entered and dominated our lives and thought processes? How have we adopted the materialistic lifestyle of our Hollywood culture with its denial of suffering and tragedy?

Our self-examination should also look at the harsh rule of money, which promotes a way of looking at life where social, cultural, and moral values are put aside. Each of us can see where we have judged the rule of money more important than family, community, or religion. More concretely, we can ask ourselves to what extent we engage in frenzied business practices fraught with vulnerability and risk.

Our first task is to identify these and other areas where frenetic intemperance touches us personally and then have the courage to adjust our lives accordingly. We would do well to rid ourselves of those situations, investments, gadgets, and attitudes that favor frenetic intemperance in our personal lives. To put it succinctly, we must identify those things that turn our lives into one big party, and then look for original ways to declare that the party is over.

Exploring Organic Alternatives

We have also outlined the positive principles of an organic order that lend themselves to personal applications. Our second task consists in evaluating the extent to which we might apply these principles to our personal lives.

Organic remedies are accessible to all. Some of these involve very simple things that come naturally to man. We can cite, for example, any measure that encourages reflection and introspection as something that one can do as part of a return to order. There is also the practice of virtue, especially the cardinal virtues, since simple acts of virtue oppose the rule of “selfish vice” and contribute to an organic order and its passion for justice.

Any measure, no matter how small, that strengthens the worn social fabric of family, parish, community, or nation is a step towards this organic order. We must encourage any manner of leadership that expresses ties of mutual trust. We should think of concrete ways—by how we dress, speak, and lead—whereby we can truly be representative figures to those who look up to us. This would lead us to discover ways to embrace duty, responsibility, and sacrifice and reject a misguided and selfish individualism. Upon this social framework, an organic economy becomes possible.

We would do well to rid ourselves of those situations, investments, gadgets, and attitudes that favor frenetic intemperance in our personal lives.

As we have shown, an organic order leads to the fullest expression of a person’s individuality, addressing both the material and spiritual needs of the person. Applying organic principles to this individual development means taking measures that favor the rule of honor and its set of values. Among these measures, we can list any concrete means by which we promote that which is excellent and lasting; the cultivation of wholesome intellectual development and debate; or the appreciation of beauty, art, and all things sublime.

We should ponder these personal avenues and then have the courage to adjust our lives accordingly.

Beyond Personal Avenues

These avenues, both positive and negative, are an extremely important part of any return to order. We can only applaud those who examine their lives and employ their imagination and creativity to make the most concrete applications of our general principles to their personal lives.¹

However, such personal efforts will not be enough. We cannot limit ourselves to devising ways to withdraw from our frenetically intemperate world, or to live more ordered, organic, and virtuous lives. This cannot be done because we simply do not have the luxury of withdrawing from society.

The present crisis represents not merely the end of a party, but the approach of a great storm that threatens all with a massive economic collapse. We delude ourselves if we think we can escape misfortune by leaving the rowdy ballrooms of the cruise ship for the comfort of a well-ordered cabin. If the ship founders, even the most organic of lifestyles in the most complete isolation in stateroom will not be spared from ruin.

Alone, none of us can do anything proportional to the crisis. The only proportional response is a great debate involving the whole nation on how we might return to order. Nothing short of a new national consensus will serve to unify Americans to face the storm. Either we agree among ourselves which course we as a nation must take, or we will not survive the storm.

...we simply do not have the luxury of withdrawing from society.

Understanding the Crisis

Our third task is then to understand the crisis and engage in the debate over our future course. This debate is one we need not create, since it is already raging. Across the nation, people are confused and asking questions about why the largest economy in the history of the world—our great pride—is now faltering. There is doubt and uncertainty about the future of “capitalism” and what direction we

INDIVIDUALISM

A deformation of individuality by which man closes himself up in and makes himself the center of a world of personal self-interest that tends to disregard the social character of man and his role in community.

should take. Alternatives (including many involving big government) are being proposed.

Return to Order and its corresponding campaign is our contribution to this debate. We present a historical perspective that allows us to understand the causes of this crisis, rethink our premises, and go beyond the models of frenetic intemperance that constantly carry within them the seeds of recurring crises. As a lighthouse amid the rocks, we seek to provide clarity amid this chaos. We join with other groups and individuals of the conservative movement in reassuring Americans that the Christian roots of our economic order are sound, and it is to these roots that we should return.

Our greatest contribution is to help Americans from all walks of life engage in the debate by inviting them to join a veritable crusade of ideas and principles for use wherever the crisis is being discussed, be it in the family, workplace, media, church, or university. It is our hope that those who join this crusade will use any and all peaceful means to get these ideas into the lifeblood of the nation so they can lead to a wholesome reaction.

An Appeal to Sacrifice

There is one final application of the principles of this book, and it is the most difficult. It is not enough to understand the crisis or even to engage in the debate. The future belongs to those who believe America is worth fighting for.

Ours is an appeal to sacrifice. It is an appeal to leave behind the party of frenetic intemperance that captivates so many with games, gadgets, and amusements—modern bread and circuses. At the same time, we ask Americans to forego their own legitimate self-interest and search for personal happiness. Now is the time to think of the imperiled ship.

To save the ship, two things are needed. The first is that there be those who rise to the occasion and bring together the elements to deal with the present crisis. While all should be involved in doing this, our appeal is especially directed to those representative characters, leaders at all levels in society, that naturally embody and unify the aspirations of their families, social groups, or communities. In this time of danger, we ask that they take to heart and use the organic principles in this book as a road map to restructure that America that we are called by Providence to be. It is our hope that these representative characters, as they have done in the past, might quickly

DIVINE PROVIDENCE

The plan conceived in the mind of God according to which He provides for and directs all creatures to their proper end.

bring together and inspire a nation of heroes proportional to the storm we face.

The second element is a rallying point of unity. One reason why the present crisis looms so large is that we no longer have the points of reference that once oriented our actions. As we have seen, a passion for justice, or the practice of the cardinal virtues, no longer orients economy. Diminished are so many of the land-

mark institutions of the heart and soul of economy—the family, community, Christian State, and Church. Without the rule of honor, there are no longer those norms of civility, manners, morals, and decency that facilitated the smooth running of societies and economies. In such conditions, is it any wonder that people are perplexed?

It is time to raise a standard to rally those who are confused by the impending storm. Let order—organic Christian order—be a rallying point. We believe this proven order, which so corresponds to the material and spiritual

NATION

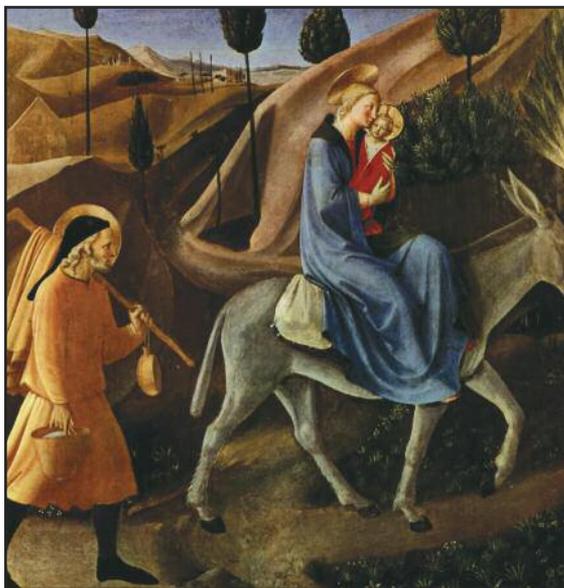
A community of people who share a common history, culture, descent, or language and live under the same ruler and laws.

needs of our nature, can serve as a point of unity and reference in face of the present crisis. Such a standard can reassure countless concerned Americans that they are not alone in their belief that America is not a co-op but a nation worth fighting for.

* * *

The storm approaches. Each of us has a job to do. On a personal level, we should look for ways to rid ourselves of frenetic intemperance and adopt more organic and temperate lifestyles as a means of preparing for the coming crisis.

Yet more important is to go beyond our personal lives and consider the effect of the storm upon society in general. We should, therefore, endeavor to understand the nature of the storm and join the crusade of ideas and prin-



“The Flight into Egypt” by Fra Angelico (1450). As God protected and provided for the Holy Family, so too does He intend to take care of all families.

ciples that will allow all of us to engage, in any way we can, in the great debate that will decide our course.

Most important of all is our willingness to sacrifice for our beloved nation and rally around the banner of a return to order in this hour of need. Trusting in Providence, we could well make our own the words of George Washington who, when facing a grave and unavoidable crisis, declared: “Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God.”² ■

Notes:

1. The Return to Order Campaign website has a “Join the Debate” page where readers share concrete applications of the ideas in this book. Suggestions and other resources can be accessed at www.ReturnToOrder.org.

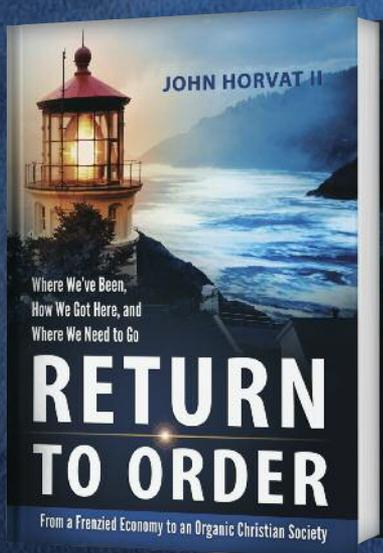
2. Spalding and Garrity, *A Sacred Union of Citizens*, p. 27.

WHAT WE CAN DO

1. Identify those areas where we are affected by frenetic intemperance and adjust our lives accordingly.
2. Explore those ways in which we can apply the principles of an organic order to our personal lives.
3. Understand the crisis and engage in the debate over the nation’s future.
4. Rise to the occasion and rally around the standard of an organic Christian order.

WHAT YOU'LL LEARN FROM RETURN TO ORDER

- The root cause of our socio-economic crisis
- The key and distinct roles of Church and State in this restoration
- The proper role of money in economy and society
- How the family, not the individual, is the basic cell of society
- The secret to a virtuous and prosperous society
- The vision of order that captures the imagination
- The serene and secure pathway towards true greatness for America
- The four things you can do to join America's return to order



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www.ReturnToOrder.org

Return to Order is a campaign of the American TFP to address the growing alarm, confusion and frustration at seeing our beloved nation the greatest temporal power ever spin out of control.

The book *Return to Order* by John Horvat II is the fruit of research and studies spread over twenty years. It is the backbone and doctrinal basis for this non-partisan, non-profit effort to help America return to order.

Current events make the need for such a campaign painfully clear as our country faces multi-trillion dollar debt, polarization and paralysis in politics, breakdown in community, and the erosion of basic morality. ■