Introductory note: The following is excerpted from the commencement speech Independent Senior Advisor Dr. Scott Atlas delivered to New College of Florida. He was unfortunately shouted down by students and parents, so the end of the speech could not be easily heard. Despite this, numerous graduates and others in attendance expressed their thanks to Dr. Atlas, reminding us to keep speaking the truth, even when we think no one can hear.

Congratulations to the Class of 2023!

You are a very special group for many reasons—especially because you endured the craziness of the COVID pandemic and its management. You should be very proud of persevering, of getting through this truly tragic time in our nation.

You are about to begin a very different life. In most ways, a life after college is one with far more freedom and far more choices. And there is no country with greater freedom than the United States.

But with freedom comes responsibility, and let’s be clear, our country needs your help.

I was asked to help our country during the biggest health crisis in a century.

On reflection, it is a great blessing to have been given the opportunity—the rare opportunity—to help my country, my fellow citizens, in a time of crisis. Most people never get that chance—to try to do so much good, for so many.

And to you graduates who might find yourselves in this situation one day, remember that no matter how difficult it may seem to speak the truth, even against a tidal wave of hostility … it should never, never even be a remote consideration to give up, to stop speaking out. For me, it was never an option.

Unfortunately, my advice was largely rejected—with rare exceptions, like here in Florida.

Lockdowners got their policies implemented, and their policies failed. That’s fact, that’s the data.

Today, the truth may be slowly prevailing, but being proven right is not sufficient.

We have witnessed something more fundamental than a pandemic mismanagement. We have witnessed a shocking ethical breakdown and a failure of leadership in our country.

And now we are faced with a tremendous challenge as a nation—how to restore that trust and the values required of any free and ethical society.

(continued on page 6)
Grievance … or Opportunity?

For example, the resurgence of inflation makes people more ready to hear our Senior Fellow Judy Shelton diagnose the folly of limitless spending and loose monetary policy (p. 4).

Wasteful, failed government homeless programs lead people—across the political spectrum—to seek new approaches that don’t put bureaucrats in the saddle. That’s our Beyond Homeless initiative (p. 3).

Ideological craziness in education leaves many looking for alternatives like those articulated by our Senior Advisor Scott Atlas (p. 1) and by our Senior Fellow William Evers when he defends objectivity in math (p. 4).

One of the biggest “aha” moments follows in the wake of pandemic lockdowns, which were dubious in the first place and dramatically harmed schoolchildren.

As a result, millions of Americans are more disillusioned than ever with public education … and more receptive to alternatives.

Once again, that’s where we come in. Our fall 2023 event in Washington, D.C., hosted by Senator Rand Paul, brought together experts on turning crisis into opportunity. Dr. Scott Atlas—who had a front-row seat in the pandemic debacle—outlined the needless damage to children. Dr. James Tooley—world-renowned education expert and author of the Independent Institute book Really Good Schools—set forth the
Beyond Homeless

It’s no secret that homelessness is on the rise. If you live in any major city in America, you’ve probably noticed that more people are living on the street than you’re used to. But the truth is, homelessness isn’t just an urban issue … and it’s not just a matter of visibility. Homelessness is becoming more visible because it’s rising rapidly in sheer numbers—not only in California but across the country.

Independent’s chief executive officer Mary L. G. Theroux, has made a number of media appearances bringing attention to this crucial issue (turn to page 4 for more media hits). And our award-winning documentary Beyond Homeless: Finding Hope continues to showcase a timely look at the escalating problem, featuring San Francisco as homelessness’s poster child. Most recently, Beyond Homeless was screened three times at the Phoenix Film Festival, the twenty-first film festival it has been featured in (winning six of them)—and the final screening sold out. Join us in replacing the status quo that’s not working. There’s a better way to tackle homelessness, and we are adding allies from across the political spectrum daily. Help spread the word! Visit beyondhomeless.org to view the documentary and learn more.

“Independent Truths” with Dr. Scott Atlas

Dr. Scott Atlas is a world-renowned expert in health care policy and frequent policy advisor to policymakers and government officials. In his podcast Independent Truths with Dr. Scott Atlas, he investigates the role of government and the private sector in health care quality and access, global trends in health care innovation, and the key economic and civil liberty issues related to health policy.

In a recent episode featuring Victor Davis Hanson—senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and bestselling author—Dr. Scott Atlas boldly addressed some of the most controversial and important issues of our time, including the consequences of the pandemic, the ideological battle in America, and the proper role of government in a free society. Indeed, Hanson critiqued not only the government’s shameful overreach but also the eagerness of citizens to go along with the regime’s dictatorial policies:

Charles E. Phelps
Provost Emeritus and Professor of Political Science and Economics, University of Rochester

Daniel N. Robinson
Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Georgetown University

Paul H. Rubin
Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of Economics, Emory University

Bruce M. Russett
Dean Ariehshon Professor of International Relations, Yale University

Pascal Salin
Professor of Economics, Université Paris-Dauphine

Vernon L. Smith
Professor Emeritus in Economics Sciences, Chapman University

Joe H. Spring
Professor of Education, Queens College, and Graduate Center, City University of New York

John B. Taylor
Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Robert D. Cooter
Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley

Kudlow

Richard W. Crandall
Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

Robert A. Epstein
Laurence A. Toch Professor of Law, New York University

Victor Davis Hanson
Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution—senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and bestselling author—Dr. Scott Atlas boldly addressed some of the most controversial and important issues of our time, including the consequences of the pandemic, the ideological battle in America, and the proper role of government in a free society. Indeed, Hanson critiqued not only the government’s shameful overreach but also the eagerness of citizens to go along with the regime’s dictatorial policies:

Victor Davis Hanson

"It wasn’t just the government. People came out of the woodwork and became self-enforcers [of masks, etc.]—almost like the Eastern European concierge during the Soviet period that reported on the goings of apartment dwellers.”

Watch or listen to Independent Truths on YouTube, Rumble, Apple Podcasts, Spotify, Amazon, and Google today, or visit www.independent.org/multimedia/scottatlas!
Independent Institute in the News

**Center on Entrepreneurial Innovation**
“By tiptoeing around questions concerning monetary policy, Congress has allowed the Fed to become too powerful, too prominent and too political. It’s bad enough that the central bank botched its handling of inflation—its most important assignment. Now it’s essential to mitigate further damage from erratic interest-rate policies and pursue needed reforms of the Fed.”

**Beyond Homeless**
“The *Beyond Homeless* documentary casts hope. We want to show people that there are solutions to the homelessness crisis and inspire them to become involved and become part of that solution.”
—Mary Theroux on KRON-TV, San Francisco, 5/9/23

**Center on Healthcare Choices**
“Government-run health care has failed the world over. It’s time for individuals to stop politicians from disregarding facts while recklessly imposing their power, and instead demand control of the health care dollar and choices on how to spend it.”
—Dr. Scott Atlas in *Real Clear Politics*, 7/11/23

**Center on Peace and Liberty**
“Perhaps a less threatened China then would be more inclined to put pressure on Russia to settle the Ukraine conflict instead of rallying to its side to circle the wagons against the United States and the West.”
—Ivan Eland in *Stars and Stripes*, 6/5/23

**Center on Law and Justice**
“Make no mistake, some courts are engaged in massive resistance against *Bruen*, just as they did with *Heller*. Still, many courts are taking *Bruen* seriously and finding restrictions violative of the Second Amendment. What is unfolding is part of a larger historical struggle between freedom and government control, and it will never end.”
—Stephen P. Halbrook in *America’s 1st Freedo*, 6/28/23

**Center on Educational Excellence**
“Mathematics should be about numbers and calculating, not about politics, not about political indoctrination, not about turning children into activists.”
—Williamson M. Evers on Fox News, 7/24/23

“With the job market slowing, interest rates rising, inflation still 2½ times the Federal Reserve’s target rate, growing concerns about the stability of the banking system and a possible debt crisis just ahead, the administration’s irresponsible and reckless pandering to college-loan borrowers is the wrong thing at the wrong time.”
—Richard Vedder in the *New York Post*, 5/26/23
Spring and Summer 2023

The Independent Review fearlessly confronts the most controversial, interesting, and pressing issues of our time. From war overseas, to child support policy, to the works of great economists, to the atomic bombings of Japan, our contributors delve deep into a vast array of subjects with sobriety, intellectual acumen, and moral integrity. In an era of partisanship, war, economic uncertainty, and media hysteria, there’s never been a better time to subscribe to this publication. We invite you to join the ranks of The Independent Review’s readership today!

Our Spring issue takes a hard look at America’s foreign policy, and an even harder look at the leaders of our military-industrial complex. As the war in Ukraine continues to rage overseas, our scholars offer tongue-in-cheek instructions to America’s national security elite in the titular piece, How to Run Wars: A Confidential Playbook for the National Security Elite. In their article, smart, searing, satirical, and as amusing as it is insightful, Christopher J. Coyne (George Mason University) and Abigail R. Hall (University of Tampa) make bold fun of the hubris and foolishness of America’s military leaders.

The Summer issue continues this unflinching critique of America’s military decisions. Today, nearly eighty years have passed since the U.S. dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Though this effectively ended World War II, tens of thousands of civilians were killed, putting the necessity (and humanity) of the decision in doubt. Could the U.S. have pursued alternative strategies? Was it absolutely necessary to bomb civilians in a time of war? And what have been the enduring consequences of this decision? Edward W. Fuller (Mises Institute) tackles these questions in light of the economic realities of 1945—and the economic realities of today—in a daring, thoughtful, original essay, titled “An Economic Case against the Atomic Bombing of Japan.”

The Summer issue also features a symposium on Gene Sharp’s The Politics of Nonviolent Action, a three-volume political science book originally published in 1973. Sharp’s reputation is as controversial as it is impressive; he has been called the “Machiavelli of nonviolence” and the “Clausewitz of nonviolent warfare.” Yahya Alshamy (George Mason University), Joshua Ammons (George Mason University), Christopher J. Coyne (George Mason University), and Nathan P. Goodman (George Mason University) use Sharp’s insights to write on the market process of nonviolent action, emphasizing its unique character in the marketplace and peace-building potential.

If you are in the national security elite and want to run a war—and especially if you are a wary citizen—this playbook is required reading!

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Gene Sharp’s insightful and important book The Politics of Nonviolent Action, which was originally published in 1973. The papers that constitute this symposium explore different aspects of Sharp’s book, with an emphasis on its contemporary relevance.

E-subscriptions Available

Subscriptions and single issues are available in the The Independent Review app for iOS devices via Apple’s App Store, for Android devices via the Google Play Store, and in any web browser.
What can we as Americans do now? What can you do, as New College graduates?

First—we all have the burden of being critical thinkers to make the best decisions for ourselves and our families. The era of accepting what so-called experts say, simply based on their titles alone, is over.

Second—we have a disastrous void in courage in our society today.

If our democracy is to survive, we need good people to rise up—meaning speak up, as we are allowed, as we are expected to do in free societies—or it has no chance.

Third—we have a shocking deficit of moral and virtuous leadership in America.

The challenge is to keep our distant fellows connected with one another and to keep us connected with the groundbreaking ideas they generate.

In order to reinforce the connective tissue among our dispersed band of scholars, we convened the Independent Institute for three days on the California coast this past May. To be clear, this was not an “academic conference” to which participants brought polished papers and read them to the group, with “respondents,” etc.…

It was a brainstorming session in the service of liberty!

We need you—as rising leaders—to engage in public service for your community, and for your country.

We need you, your generation, to reinstate the moral backbone, the ethical compass—and the basic civility that is disappearing from America.

Finally—we must never forget what G. K. Chesterton said:

“Right is right, even if nobody does it. Wrong is wrong, even if everybody is wrong about it.”

Thank you. God bless you all, and may God bless our country, the world’s beacon of freedom, the United States of America!
Independent Books

It’s autumn! Time to curl up with a cozy blanket, warm drink, and thought-provoking book. We’re proud to have published over one hundred titles on a myriad of policy subjects. Every single one presents transformational ideas for today’s most pressing social and economic challenges, and every single one is guaranteed to expand your intellectual horizon, sharpen your critical thinking skills, and delight your inner bookworm.

Many of our titles are award-winners and finalists. Why not add some to your “to-be-read” fall book pile? Happy reading!

- 2021 Gold Winner of Independent Publisher Book Awards (“IPPY” Awards)
- 2021 Best Book Awards (American Book Fest) Winner and Finalist
- 2021 Next Generation Indie Book Awards Finalist
- 2021 International Book Awards (American Book Fest) Winner and Finalist
- 2021 International Book Awards (American Book Fest) Winner and Finalist
- 2021 Best Book Awards (American Book Fest) Finalist
- 2022 Eric Hoffer Book Award Finalist
- 15th Annual National Indie Excellence Awards Finalist
- 2021 Foreword Indies Finalist
- 2023 Silver Winner of IBPA Benjamin Franklin Awards
- 2022 Best Book Awards (American Book Fest) Winner and Finalist
- 2023 International Book Awards (American Book Fest) Finalist
- 2023 Next Generation Indie Book Awards Finalist
- 17th Annual National Indie Excellence Awards Finalist
- 2023 International Book Awards (American Book Fest) Winner and Finalist
- 2021 Eric Hoffer Book Award Finalist

Spying on citizens. Censoring critics. Imprisoning minorities. These are the acts of dictators, not American presidents...

Or are they?

*The New Deal’s War on the Bill of Rights: The Untold Story of FDR’s Concentration Camps, Censorship, and Mass Surveillance* unveils a portrait much different from the standard orthodoxy found in today’s historical studies.

“This book is not mere history; it is an exposé. You won’t know which is more shocking: the lengths to which FDR and New Dealers like Senators (and future Supreme Court justices) Hugo Black and Sherman Minton went to suppress freedom of speech, privacy, and civil rights; or the degree to which these efforts have been concealed by pro-FDR and New Deal propagandists.”

—Randy E. Barnett, Patrick Hotung Professor of Constitutional Law, Georgetown University Law Center

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