The Jack Miller Center is supporting a new initiative at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The American Democracy Forum will be launched in the 2010-11 academic year and eventually include several academic programs designed to enrich students’ knowledge of America’s heritage.

The American Democracy Forum is under the direction of John Coleman, chairman of the Political Science Department, UW-Madison, and John Zumbrunnen, associate professor of Political Science at UW-Madison.

“Our goal is to promote the study of the principles of the American Founding and the continued relevance of those principles to the practice of democracy in the United States,” said Professor Coleman. “It’s important that students understand that American democracy involves an ongoing conversation about the principles central to the American Founding: popular sovereignty, representative democracy, equality, liberty and limited government.”

Initial funding for the initiative was provided by Mr. Dick Uihlein, the founder of Uline Shipping Supplies, the leading distributor of shipping, industrial and packaging materials to businesses throughout North America. Mr. Uihlein’s philanthropy includes many efforts in Wisconsin where his company has its headquarters. He also supports other programs on college campuses affiliated with the Jack Miller Center.

“We are very pleased to add such an outstanding public university like the University of Wisconsin-Madison to our growing list of college campuses where we are supporting efforts to give students more opportunities to learn about the fundamental principles that have shaped our nation,” said Mike Ratliff, president of the Jack Miller Center. “We are grateful to Mr. Uihlein for his support, and we are looking forward to helping Professors Coleman and Zumbrunnen develop and grow this initiative.”

(continued on page 6)
Congress has recognized that colleges are doing very little to enrich students’ knowledge of America’s Founding Principles and History. Why do you think this is happening?

Jay Smith: We tend to take our long historical development as a nation for granted. People have so many narrow concerns and so many narrow choices in these days that the broader understandings of what we value and rely on can fade into the background.

Mike Deshaies: Several studies in recent years indicate that many colleges are doing very little to enrich students’ knowledge of America’s Founding Principles and History. Why do you think this is happening?

Jay Smith: The governmental structure provides for the continuity of political office that makes public opinion and press freedom meaningful. The principle of checks and balances is necessary for anyone who wants to become an engaged and thoughtful citizen.

Mike Deshaies: The governmental structure provides for the freedom of expression and the rule of law are maintained because we have those words on paper and the compromises and their work has stood the test of time. We have the world’s oldest written national constitution.

Many of the decisions that are made today are based on the ideas and ideals of our founding documents. Our rights and the rule of law are maintained because we have those words on paper and the institutions and practices that back them up.

The governmental structure provides for continuity while allowing for flexibility to respond to needs as they come along. The system we have is supposed to be self-adjusting. When we see things are not going well, we have the mechanisms to resolve issues to the best of our ability. Democracy does not always function smoothly or well, but it has a legitimacy and a record of long-term results that we should appreciate.

MD: Why do you think it’s important for college students to study the Founding and American history?

JS: We should make it a priority to understand how things are supposed to work in our country and why. The founders studied history and the problems of government. Their solutions came from experience, political theory, and compromises and their work has stood the test of time. We have the world’s oldest written national constitution.

In the last century or so our universities have responded to public pressures for more emphasis on specialized career paths. Professional schools have been added and research and public service have been expected. Still, the foundation of a liberal arts education is necessary for anyone who wants to develop as a person and member of society. Technical skills are obviously valuable, but we also have to analyze what we should do with our capabilities. A liberal arts education helps us understand how things are supposed to work in our country and why.

MD: Discuss your efforts to support the American Democracy Forum.

JS: I’m bringing people together in the form of a reception to explore the effort that is taking place on the UW–Madison campus and allow interested parties to meet the people face to face that are behind this effort.

Roosevelt University hosted the first annual Summer Teachers’ Academy on the History and Principles of the American Founding, July 12 through 16. This initiative is a partnership effort by Roosevelt University’s Montesquieu Forum for the Study of Civic Life and the Jack Miller Center’s Chicago Initiative, a collaborative effort among university faculty, foundation experts and private donors in the greater Chicago area to advance the education students need to become engaged and thoughtful citizens.

“This partnership between the Jack Miller Center and Roosevelt University created a great opportunity for high school teachers and scholars to spend an intensive week together discussing and debating key issues of liberty and Constitutionalism,” said Dr. Lynn Weiner, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Roosevelt University. “I am proud that Roosevelt University has an impact on so many young people who will — as a result of their teacher’s education — become better informed citizens and future leaders.”

The program brought together high school teachers for a one-week series of lectures, workshops and seminars designed to foster effective teaching of the American Founding. It was modeled after the successful faculty development summer institutes for college professors that the Jack Miller Center conducts in association with leading universities and colleges.

“The relevance of our freedoms came alive in the week as the group read and discussed extensively Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison at various points in the formation of our government,” said Janet Mark, a history teacher from Hinsdale Central High School in Hinsdale, Illinois. “It was a first rate educational experience to exchange ideas with such an engaging group of professionals. I am planning to use excerpts of many of the readings with my students this year.”

The theme of this year’s Summer Academy was Liberty & Constitutionalism: Five Founding Freedoms. The conversation focused on “The Conditions of Freedom,” “Freedom of Speech,” “Liberty, Property, & the Pursuit of Happiness,” “Freedom from Fear,” and “Freedom of Conscience.” Participants had the opportunity to work closely with nationally recognized scholars on the American Founding, including Ralph Lerner (University of Chicago); Peter Onuf (University of Virginia); Michael Zuckert (University of Notre Dame); Jessica Choppin Roney (Ohio University); and Mary Jane Farrelly (Brandeis University).

“The resources provided will help keep my curriculum interactive and relevant to my students and will prepare them for post-secondary education. Thank you again!” said Melissa Rubio, Curie Metropolitan High School, Chicago.
JMC Fellows Reflect on Summer Institute Experience

Thomas Merrill, assistant professor, Department of Government, School of Public Affairs at American University, and Evan Oxman, post-doctoral fellow in politics at Lake Forest College, discuss their experiences at the recent JMC Faculty Development Summer Institute in Chicago with Mike Deshaies, JMC vice president for development and communications.

Mike Deshaies: What is your overall impression of the program?

Thomas Merrill: It’s a time of tremendous camaraderie. You spend all your time with other Miller fellows. There is a lot of similarity among the participants, plus lots of things to argue about. You have discussions during the sessions, mornings and afternoons, at lunch, dinner and well into the evening. The conversation just never ends, basically.

Evan Oxman: I found it to be incredibly intellectually stimulating. It’s really a great two weeks. You learn so much from some fantastic people. I have learned so much about how the academic job market works, how publishing works, and that has been incredibly helpful. And as Tom said, the social atmosphere has been really great. It’s like an academic summer camp, that’s the best way I can describe it.

MD: What did you expect it to be? What have you heard about it? Did you know much about the Miller Center?

EO: I had no idea who I was getting myself in with. To be honest, I was incredibly stimulated. I had no idea who I was getting from others. As a matter of fact I think that’s a real selling point for this program.

MD: You were wary because of…?

EO: I thought there was an ideological agenda, but I have found that to be nothing of the sort. Disagreement is encouraged here quite a bit. I think that through our disagreements we learned a great deal from another.

TM: I think the method is teaching the problems. In any conversation, if you think of the conversation as stretching across generations of academics, the thing that really animates it are certain problems that you can’t exactly solve, but neither can you ignore. That somehow gives you a source of motion that makes the conversation a healthy thing. I think that’s what’s happening here. I have been around other foundations that are similar in some ways but where there’s an agenda and everything gets measured by that.

Here, there’s a constant free-ranging, free-wheeling discussion.

EO: And everyone is encouraged to just let the arguments go.

TM: That’s right, that’s right.

MD: What are your expectations of the Jack Miller Center in the future?

TM: Well, I think one big one is a renewed sense of the importance of teaching America’s founding principles and American political thought. We had a syllabus session with Jim Ceaser and Matt Sitman. It’s very, very helpful on a nuts and bolts level to see how someone else does it. Academics often live in their own little world with little communications with their colleagues. I think coming to a place like this is invigorating. It gives you a live sense that there is a community of people who are all friendly, who all are working on related things. I expect that many of us will be in touch with one another for some time to come.

MD: How does that help you in the classroom?

TM: I think it could make you more comfortable, recognizing that students are going to come from a lot of different perspectives. You have to be comfortable being yourself and teacher. You don’t want them to walk away with only “Well, here’s what I learned about Federalist Ten.” You want them to walk away as somebody who can speak intelligently and recognize the multiple sides of the problem and the arguments.

EO: The social aspect is critical — it builds trust. I can be myself around these people and that’s not always the case, especially in academia. And that builds confidence which translates into the classroom in all sorts of ways.

MD: What kind of impact do you think you are going to have over the course of your career to enrich education in America’s founding principles?

TM: The most important thing, is not just the few students that we teach who go on to pursue a masters degree or a Ph.D. It’s the thousands of students, over the years and decades who will benefit from being exposed to what we teach. A lot of students come out of high school without really knowing basic facts about American history. So it’s very important as professors, to make sure they have some grounding in the American tradition. I think the important thing is they walk away being a more morally serious and thoughtful person. We don’t want them to graduate with a fanatical view and to push their viewpoint on others in a harsh way. But also, we don’t want them to be
I never lost that pride….that love. We loved our country. War. Patriotism was in the air. School during the Second World to be a magic time in America. I grew up in what seemed to me best of your ability. Focus, you can achieve to the... First, I’ve gotten two answers. The second answer I give is that... Personal, individual freedom. And, most importantly, freedom. The beauty and the glory of that... one we are getting ever closer to achieving. At that time, our founding fathers pledged to each other, “Our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor,” to establish this country and those principles. Giving just some of our money and a portion of our time to preserving what they fought to establish seems like such a small price to pay for such a great endeavor.
Limited government. It’s one of those slogans that one hears invoked all the time in American political debate and discussion. And, like many of the things that we all regard as virtues, it is often more honored in words than in deeds, and more in the breach than the observance. If the number of elected officials who actually believe in limited government corresponded to the number who say that they do, we would not be experiencing the various crises of fiscal overreach that now weigh so heavily upon us. And if the people—that is to say, the rest of us—who put these officials into office had a better understanding of limited government, and were as committed to it as they say they are, we would have better representatives, and would not be having to worry so much about their profligate behavior. The buck stops with us. The American constitutional system is founded on the belief that it is “We the People” who govern in the end—but only if we are willing to.

So it’s incumbent upon us to try to move past slogans and answer some serious questions: What is so great about limited government? Why should we want it, and why should we prefer it to the alternatives? Let me suggest five reasons in response, just for starters.

Accountability. When President Franklin Roosevelt established the National Recovery Administration in 1933, an ill-fated effort to bring the entire American industrial economy into centralized coordination, he described it in this way: “It is the most important attempt of this kind in history. As in the great crisis of the World War, it puts a whole people to the simple but vital test: ‘Must we go on in many groping, disorganized, separate units to defeat or shall we move as one great team to victory?’”

The trouble with his stirring words is that the “one great team” he described has turned out, in actuality, to be a collection of vast, grey, impersonal, capricious, inefficient, competing, and unaccountable public bureaucracies, like the Social Security Administration, the Department of Defense, and countless other Siberia-sized agencies whose operations are not only inaccessible to citizens, but largely impervious even to the directives of elected officials. Operating under the cover of “crisis,” the forces that expand government render it too big to reform. Limited government keeps alive the possibility that government can be made accountable to those whom it is supposed to serve.

Effectiveness. Limited government, far from being weak and ineffectual government, is rendered stronger by restricting the number of things it takes into its purview, and concentrating on the performance of those duties. In other words, limited government is not anarchism under another name. It is government that says what it does, and does what it says, no more and no less. Not only is it entirely compatible with the rule of law, but it will almost certainly do a better job of establishing and preserving the rule of law, by letter and spirit, than a more expansive government possibly can do. The endless multiplication of laws and institutions, even for the noblest of purposes, will not lead to a more lawful and ennobled society, if the laws cannot be understood, let alone universally and partially enforced.

Liberty. A limited government is one that will not trespass on the freedoms of private citizens. Our Constitution sought to enumerate the powers of government, and thereby to confine their scope. Our Bill of Rights strictly restricts the power of the government to impinge on our liberties in matters of conscience (religion), expression (speech), and association (organization). It protects us from unreasonable searches, from the lawless application of the judicial system, and the invasion of our private lives.

Yes, there are always plausible reasons that may be adduced for governments to cross over these barriers. That is why the commitment to limited government means setting the bar very high for such intrusions. One need only consider the severe loss of privacy that has been entailed in the government’s effort to enforce a progressive income tax, or its “war on drugs,” to see that there is a great deal to be said for that very high bar.

Virtue. We are increasingly prone to think that it is a proper role of government to forbid certain kinds of behavior that it deems unhealthy or otherwise unacceptable. The mayor of New York City, who apparently does not have enough other troubles on his plate, has sought to banish the consumption of transfats by his city’s inhabitants and visitors. But aside from the breathtaking presumption of such

A limited government is one that will not trespass on the freedoms of private citizens.

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Suggested Readings

**Revolutionaries**

*Revolutionaries: A New History of the Invention of America* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, May 2010, 487 pages), the historian Jack Rakove offers a new and revealing perspective on the men who invented America. Much has been written about the military struggle that led to independence, but Rakove is far more concerned with the intellectual struggle that led to independence, but Rakove is far more concerned with the intellectual one: the competing views of politics, war, diplomacy, and society that shaped the very idea of an American nation. Spanning the most crucial decades of the country's birth, from 1772 to 1792, *Revolutionaries* uses the stories of famous (and not so famous) men to capture—in a way no single biography ever could—the intensely creative period of the Republic's founding.

Jack Rakove, the William Robertson Coe Professor of History and American Studies and a professor of political science at Stanford University, is one of the most distinguished historians of the early American republic. He is the author of *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution*, which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1997. He frequently writes op-ed articles for the New York Times, the Washington Post, and other major newspapers.

**Henry Clay**

*Henry Clay: The Essential American* (Random House, May 2010, 624 pages) chronicles the epic life and times of one of the most important political figures in our history.

He was known as the Great Compromiser, a canny and colorful legislator and leader whose life mirrors the story of America from its founding until the eve of the Civil War. Speaker of the House, Senator, Secretary of State, five-time presidential candidate, and idol to the young Abraham Lincoln, Henry Clay is captured in full at last, in this rich and sweeping biography that vividly portrays all the drama of his times.

The authors, David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, have written numerous scholarly books and articles dealing with the history of the early American republic, the Antebellum period, and the Civil War. David Heidler is associated with the Department of History at Colorado State University-Pueblo, and Jeanne Heidler is professor of history at the United States Air Force Academy.

**Revolutionary Characters**

*Professor Gordon Wood’s Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different* (Penguin, 2007, 336 pages) is an exploration of the outstanding characteristics of our founders that led to their inspired leadership in our nation’s earliest times. Prof. Wood, the preeminent scholar of the American Founding, approaches this task through a collection of biographical essays on eight of the founders: Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, and Paine.

Unlike many contemporary biographies and explorations of the founders, Prof. Wood’s book concentrates on the personal traits of these selected individuals, rather than their grand accomplishments. Prof. Wood also makes it a point not to judge them based on modern sensibilities, but rather in the framework of the era in which they lived.

Included in the list of the founders is a biography of Thomas Paine. Probably the most revolutionary (and most controversial) among the individuals listed, Paine is rarely found listed alongside individuals who played a more direct role in the shaping of our governmental structures. Though he played a less direct part in our nation’s establishment than others, Paine’s function as an early pamphleteer in shaping public opinion of the Revolution was, arguably, equally as important to era of the founding.

*Revolutionary Characters* is a refreshing view on the Founders. It avoids the mythologizing the Founders, instead preferring to view their traits, both positive and negative, through the lens of an 18th century observer.

Gordon Wood, a member of the JMC Academic Council, is a frequent participant in the JMC Faculty Development Summer Institutes.
Exploring the JMC Website

The JMC website (www.jackmillercenter.org) offers a host of services and information that those interested in the teaching of America’s Founding Principles and history will find useful. Website information includes academic news, educational and informational videos, essays, higher education resources, event calendars, jobs in higher education, recommended books and donor resources.

A few highlights of the JMC website include:

JMC NEWS
A primary function of the Jack Miller Center’s website is to be the source of the most up-to-date information on JMC and partner activities. The most recent news stories can be found on the home page of the site. The archives are fully searchable using the search bar on the home page. Hovering the mouse cursor over the News tab on the home page brings down a list of news stories in several categories.

JMC FILMS AND VIDEOS
The website acts as a repository for the ever-expanding library of JMC multimedia productions. Currently, videos are streamed directly to the Jack Miller Center site via YouTube.

Selections may be accessed from the JMC main page by selecting the Educational Resources tab and clicking on the JMC Films link.

The JMC Films page contains excerpts from the JMC informational DVD on its mission, as well as video interviews with leaders in academics, education and government such as professors Gordon Wood, James Ceaser, Allen Guelzo, John Strasburger, Judge Marjorie Rendell, Michael Barone and William Kristol.

JMC BOOKSTORE
The Jack Miller Center Bookstore, found on the home page, contains recommended reading for individuals interested in the American Founding, and works published by JMC partner scholars, all at a discounted price. A portion of the proceeds from sales helps fund the efforts of the Jack Miller Center. Additionally, a portion of the sales from Amazon.com -- if accessed through the JMC Bookstore -- go to the Jack Miller Center.

FEATURED PROGRAM AND FEATURED PROFESSOR
Periodically, the Jack Miller Center profiles professors and programs that are part of the JMC network. These profiles can be found at the bottom of the home page.

Pathway Essays
Available at the JMC website, Pathway Essays are introductions to the intellectual and political life of American statesmen, our U.S. Constitutional heritage, and the ancient and modern thinkers the Founders drew upon when designing our system of free government. Topics include:

Benjamin Franklin. An introduction to Benjamin Franklin’s life, thought, and accomplishments.

The Magna Carta. The principles of the Magna Carta were accepted, refined and embedded in the U.S. Constitution and the American people.

Liberty and Order: Primary Documents. Collection of primary documents addressing early American party struggles.

Thomas Paine. In 1776 an obscure immigrant published a small pamphlet that ignited independence in America and shifted the political landscape of the patriot movement.

JMC Staff Profile:
Director of Operations, Jack Guipre

As the Director of Operations for the Jack Miller Center, Jack Guipre is responsible for managing a wide variety of tasks, including human resources, financial, administrative and legal functions. Working with outside counsel, Jack is leading the organization’s transition from a private to public charity, ensuring that the Jack Miller Center’s activities are in compliance with the myriad regulations governing a rapidly growing nonprofit organization. The JMC now has some 400 faculty partners on more than 170 campuses across the United States, and supports partner programs on 38 campuses, including the new program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, The American Democracy Forum.

Guipre received his bachelor’s degree from Montana State University and a J.D. from New York University. After receiving his law degree from NYU, he returned to Montana to serve as a law clerk for judges at the Montana District Court and the Montana Supreme Court. He also served as a law clerk for a justice the Supreme Court of Palau.

JMC Applies for IRS Public Charity Status

The Jack Miller Center has applied to the IRS to terminate its status as a private operating foundation and receive an advance ruling granting official recognition as a public charity. Both public charities and private operating foundations are tax-exempt 501(c)(3) organizations that run their own charitable programs, and donations to either one receive the exact same tax advantages. The primary difference is that while public charities tend to draw their support from the general public, private operating foundations are usually controlled and supported by a relatively small group of donors.

“Obtaining public charity status will place the Jack Miller Center in a much more favorable position to receive funding from larger grant making organizations, and will encourage a larger donor base to support the mission of the Jack Miller Center,” said Jack Guipre, director of operations for the Jack Miller Center.

OUR MISSION
The Jack Miller Center (JMC), a nonpartisan, nonprofit foundation, is dedicated to enriching education in America’s Founding Principles and history. We are a unique resource for higher education in the United States. We provide a wide variety of ongoing programs and support services to a growing network of college professors who want to expand opportunities for their students to learn about American history, government and political thought.
Summer Institute Experience

(continued from page 5)

EO: I was familiar with all the speakers’ work. These people are at the top of their field, so it was great to learn from them. Also, from a professional aspect, it’s great to meet these indivi-
duals. Who knows one of them might be able to help me someday regard-
ing my career.

It’s great to know that at some future conference I can say that I met them at the Miller summer institute.

EO: I want to be at a liberal arts school because I love to teach. I love being in the classroom with under-
graduates exposing them to new ideas.

TM: I think students are looking for really serious conversation. They don’t want to be indoctrinated. They don’t want some cookie-cutter thing. They want to have a fight with you, so you have to be willing to engage with them--to let them say their piece, then you say your piece, realiz-
ing that this is not a partisan activity. We are not trying to build a political movement. We are trying to give

students practice in having a serious conversation.

MD: What do you want to be in 20 years?

EO: I think students are looking for really serious conversation. They don’t want to be indoctrinated. They don’t want some cookie-cutter thing. They want to have a fight with you, so you have to be willing to engage with them--to let them say their piece, then you say your piece, realizing that this is not a partisan activity. We are not trying to build a political movement. We are trying to give

students practice in having a serious conversation.

MD: Where do you want to be in 20 years?

EO: I want to be at a liberal arts school because I love to teach. I love being in the classroom with under-
graduates exposing them to new ideas.

TM: I want to be at a college or university reading serious books with serious students. We have this in-
heritance of these incredible books. Passing those books on may well be the most important thing that we can
do with our academic lives. It may also be the most pleasurable for us professors. To me, the opportunity to read those books seriously with thoughtful students is as good as it gets. I don’t think I would trade it for anything else.

Five Arguments for Limited Government

(continued from page 9)

an act, and its futility (see “effectiveness” above), it misunderstands the proper role of government in fostering a sturdy, independent-minded, and self-reliant citizenry. We do not rely on our government to make us good. Instead, our form of govern-
ment has to rely upon on our possess-

ing qualities of goodness that are acquired from other sources. Public virtues have their deepest origins in private places and institutions, such as families, churches, voluntary commun-
i ty organizations, and the like. We do not learn how to govern ourselves by being wards of the state. Instead, we learn how to not govern ourselves.

Limited government forces us to ac-
quire personal virtue; unlimited gov-
ernment forces us (whether intention-
ally or not) to divest ourselves of it. In a society in which all material needs are supplied by the state, even acts of charity, and even the impulse toward charity, will disappear. The total state means the total obliteration of virtue, rightly understood; the limited state protects, and relies upon, its effective
cultivation.

Flourishing. The proponent of limited government believes that the preservation of liberty is a high value in and of itself. The freedom of religion is supported not only as a means, mean-
ing an instrument of social peace, but as an end in itself, one of the proper

and ultimate ends for which civil so-
-ciety is directed. The same can be said of all the “negative” liberties expressed in the Bill of Rights. These beliefs are in turn grounded in the foundational belief, reflected in the language of the Declaration of Independence, that it is the flourishing of the individual person, not of society or government, that is the proper and ultimate pur-
pose of government. To be sure, the individual cannot flourish in a void or without a larger social context. Lim-
ited government does not mean living the life of Robinson Crusoe.

A proper human existence is one in which we live for the sake of others, in families and communities founded upon mutual love, commitment, and accountability. Government is ab-
solutely essential in creating the peaceful and lawful contexts within which these private purposes can flourish. But government is not prop-

erly one of those contexts. This is one reason why government should be very, very modest and cautious about interjecting itself into such private purposes. For, while good govern-
ment is vital to human flourishing, it is not the ultimate agent of such flourishing. It is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for the highest human achievements -- economically, culturally, and spiritually.
The success of the Jack Miller Center’s mission to enrich civic education for college students depends on the support of visionary leaders who share our belief that the foundation of a thriving democracy is a citizenry educated in the ideas and principles of the American founding. If you are one of these leaders and would like to support the Jack Miller Center, please contact Mike Ratliff, president, at 484-436-2065 or mratliff@gojmc.org.

For copies of the JMC’s 2008-2009 biennial report, Working Together to Strengthen Civic Education; five year development plan, The Way Ahead; Chicago Initiative brochure; and the Jack Miller Center video, please contact Nathan Fortner at 484-436-4423, or nfortner@gojmc.org.

Please visit our Web site, www.jackmillercenter.org for exclusive video interviews with leading scholars, essays by JMC faculty and fellows, and the latest information regarding academic programs supported by the JMC on college campuses across the country.