It’s been ten years since our first meeting in Chicago with a group of about 50 professors to discuss what, if anything, could be done to get the teaching of America’s Founding Principles and history back into the curricula on college campuses. There were many pessimistic comments; a feeling that there was “no way” much could be done.

“The resistance from others on campus can be too great.”

“We don’t have the power to deal with the administration.”

“We don’t know how to raise the money that’s needed.”

After a day-and-a-half, we had heard a lot of pessimism. But we also came out with the beginnings of a strong strategic plan.

Today, 10 years later, we have 634 professors on more than 190 campuses teaching our nation’s Founding Principles and history to tens-of-thousands of students each year.

Every year we bring 40 to 50 carefully selected promising young scholars into our nationwide faculty community through our intensive summer institutes where they spend valuable time with our nation’s preeminent faculty in political science and history.

We have helped nearly 75 young scholars get postdoctoral fellowships on campuses from MIT to UCLA, JMC’s partnerships with faculty members are transforming student access to the education essential to informed and engaged citizenship.

Now, with a generous grant from the John Templeton Foundation, JMC has launched a three-year national project exploring topics of political institutions, science, technology and property with an eye towards their moral and intellectual significance for innovation and wealth creation.

The project supports interdisciplinary projects at six leading universities: Yale University, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Illinois Institute of Technology, Northwestern University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and UCLA.

The outcome will be partnerships across disciplines, resulting in even more students gaining the opportunity to study America’s Founding Principles and history.

“There are far over 100,000 engineering students in the country and almost no opportunity for them to be exposed to a fundamental understanding about the American foundation,” said Professor Bernhardt Trout, director of the project at MIT. “These students are going to go on to be leaders of industry. They are going to run major companies. Some of them will be leaders in government. In our program, we show them the relevance of Plato and Aristotle for the kind of engineering questions they’re going to face, the relevance of the writings of the Founders like Benjamin Franklin, the relevance of Locke and property rights.”

Professor Christena Nippert-Eng, director of IIT’s efforts, noted the project is integrating the study of the Constitution and Founding Principles into a university with world-class programs in architecture and design. “This is about the infrastruc-
President’s Message

By Mike Ratliff

Great Promise Ahead as JMC Gains Momentum in New Programs, Funding

JMC has hit the ground running in 2014.

From working with faculty partners as they strengthen programs to maximize their impact, JMC continues to lead the way in revitalizing higher education for citizenship.

In the Fall 2013 newsletter, we focused on the impact JMC is having on individual professors and students across the country. In this issue of The Declaration, we turn our attention to the exciting things happening on campuses across the country.

You’ll read about a new national initiative just launched on six leading campuses (page 1), a significant matching grant effort that secured $1 million in funding for our postdoctoral fellowship program (page 5), Annual Miller Summit on Higher Education (page 5), and how JMC is evaluating its programs to measure success and impact (page 4).

I hope you’ll enjoy reading how JMC is helping campuses across the nation expand student access to the education essential to responsible citizenship. We are excited for all that’s in store in 2014!

Mike Ratliff
Rear Admiral, US Navy, ret.
President

JMC STRATEGY

Build a Community of Professors committed to providing this education. These professors will be the primary engines for change, expanding student access to courses and other opportunities to learn. Miller Summer Institutes, our postdoctoral fellowships, regional seminars such as our Jeffersonian Seminars, as well as programs such as reunions and panels at national professional conferences allow us to expand and deepen our relationships with these professors.

Develop a Network of Partner Programs that will sustain this teaching on individual campuses. As the number of partner programs grows, we can leverage their impact through the “network effect” as professors find opportunities to work together to advance this vital education and scholarship.

Conduct National Programs that no individual professor or campus would be able to do. These include the Constitution Day Initiative to focus attention on this education and its advocates; the journal, American Political Thought, that provides a platform for the scholarship of professors who dedicate their lives to this teaching; and annual summits that provide occasions for the directors of Miller campus partner programs and others to learn from one another and to work together.

Support a Community of Donors with research and services that allow them to invest in this higher education intelligently with an expectation of both doing good and achieving their individual goals.
ture of creativity, about the institutions behind innovation, the things that actually allow people to be creative, and to be creative in regard to science, commerce, and legal precedent that can lead to more innovative directions.”

At the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Professor and project director John Zumbrunnen emphasized the importance of building links across campus. “Most of what we’ve seen so far is connections between the sciences and what is sometimes called the ‘digital humanities’. I think there is a real opportunity for us to step in and build some networks with the historical humanities. Our goal again is to think about the connection of science and political thought at the American Founding, and the Atlantic Enlightenment more broadly.”

Steven Bilakovics of UCLA noted that the university’s efforts “aim to continue the long tradition of exploring the intellectual history, as well as the ethical architecture, of the Constitution and the institutional infrastructure of commercial society. We want to study the rise of commercial society in western thought and to examine the economic, legal, and political institutional transformations.

Bilakovics was clear about his program’s ambitions: “We really want to build this Commercial Republic Project into a regional hub.”

Professor Steven Smith, co-director of the Yale Center for the Study of Representative Institutions, said he hopes the Yale project will help “provide links to either the law school or the economics department.”

And Professor Laura Beth Nielsen of Northwestern spoke of new or revived courses offerings made possible through this initiative. “We’re going to be able to offer courses including constitutional law, politics of the American Revolution, creation of the Atlantic World, and legal and constitutional history of America from 1850 to the present.”

From left: Professors Steven Smith, Christena Nippert-Eng, John Zumbrunnen, Steven Bilakovics and Bernhardt Trout field questions regarding the Commercial Republic Initiative at the 2013 Annual Miller Summit on Higher Education.
Helping Donors Give with Confidence:

JMC Engages Leading Consulting Group to Evaluate Program Effectiveness

Whether investing in a local charity or giving to an organization with a national scope, donors want to know their gifts are making a difference.

JMC is providing this assurance.

While internal evaluation has long been a regular component of JMC programs, last year we began working with Huron Education, a leading higher education consulting firm, to evaluate program impact, help maximize effectiveness and identify priorities for increased focus.

The evaluation strategy consists of four phases: two discussion groups (March 2013), two focus groups (August 2013), phone interviews (December 2013) and an online survey (scheduled for 2014).

Participants included those with a variety of connections to JMC, such as current or past postdoctoral fellows, Summer Institute alumni, or participants in JMC’s Constitution Day Initiative. Topics covered ranged from an understanding of JMC’s mission and perception of the effectiveness of JMC’s initiatives to suggestions for improvement and recommendations for priority programs.

Indeed, the feedback has already confirmed the value of JMC’s investment in faculty and sparked ideas for enhancing efforts to yield even greater results.

“In our focus group research with JMC affiliates ranging from current postdocs to tenured faculty, we consistently heard that they see JMC programs and networks being a powerful force in the world of higher learning,” said Director Bill Hayward of Huron’s Constituent Research Group in Higher Education.

Randal Hendrickson Named JMC Director of Faculty Development

Randal Hendrickson is JMC’s new director of faculty development, responsible for annual Summer Institutes, coordination with partner programs and liaison with the Journal of American Political Thought. Dr. Hendrickson will also manage JMC’s Web site, currently being redesigned, which will include the Online Resource Center.

He earned his Ph.D. in political theory at Boston College, where he wrote a dissertation on Montesquieu’s political thought. He has written on themes ranging from republicanism to evolutionary psychology in such publications as The Journal of Politics, Perspectives on Political Science, The New Atlantis, Blackwell’s Encyclopedia of Political Thought, and in a forthcoming edited volume on international political economy. Before joining JMC, he was a fellow in the Gerst Program for Economic and Humane Studies at Duke University, where he taught political theory for two years. Prior to that, he was a fellow at the Symposium of Science Reason & Modern Democracy at Michigan State University and a Bradley Fellow in the Department of Government at Harvard University.
Matching Grant Spurs $1 Million Investment in Postdoctoral Fellowship Program

In January 2013, JMC received a generous $500,000 challenge grant from the Harvey L. Miller Family Foundation for our national postdoctoral fellowship program. The challenge was clear – identify partners who would contribute either $25,000 or $50,000 by December 31, 2013 to support one- or two-year postdoctoral fellowships dedicated to advancing the teaching of our nation’s Founding Principles.

Thanks to the generosity and commitment of 21 donor partners from across the country, JMC met this challenge and is investing an additional $1 million on campuses including Columbia, Harvard, Notre Dame, Emory, Villanova, the University of Virginia, the University of Oklahoma, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Carthage College, and the University of Texas at Austin, as well as at the world-renowned Newberry Library.

JMC launched its postdoctoral fellowship initiative in 2008 and, to date, has awarded 113 fellowships (one- and two-year appointments) to 74 promising scholars who share JMC’s mission.

“The value of these postdoctoral fellowships to young scholars cannot be overstated.”

The program has already proven a great success, with JMC fellows teaching over 250 courses. With this additional investment, even more students will gain access to the education necessary for informed and engaged citizenship.

“We are enormously grateful for the generosity of the Harvey L. Miller Family Foundation, and to the 21 donors who rose to the occasion to provide the matching funds,” said Michael L. Andrews, executive vice president of the JMC. “The value of these postdoctoral fellowships to young scholars cannot be overstated. These fellowships give a crucial competitive advantage to those receiving them, by allowing them the time to publish, gain teaching experience, and receive mentoring from many of the nation’s leading scholars. Over the course of their careers, these young scholars will introduce tens of thousands of students to the American political tradition and the principles of a free society.”

10th Annual Miller Summit on Higher Education

Scholars, program leaders, and JMC partners from around the country gathered in Philadelphia in October for the 10th Annual Miller Summit on Higher Education.

For the past decade, the summit has brought together professors to share ideas and strategize on how to start and develop academic centers of excellence on their respective campuses.

The 2013 program included a discussion on collaborative partnerships with independent research libraries, led by Dr. Daniel Greene (The Newberry Library), Dr. James Horn (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation) and Dr. Martin Levitt (American Philosophical Society). That was followed by a discussion on public and private foundation support, presented by Dr. Adam Wolfson (National Endowment for the Humanities), Mr. Christopher Levenick (The John Templeton Foundation) and Dr. Douglas Den Uyl (Liberty Fund).

**John Strassburger Honored**

This year’s summit luncheon honored John Strassburger, the late president of Ursinus College (Collegeville, PA). A former JMC board member, and true champion of liberal education, Dr. Strassburger passed away in September 2010.

JMC announced the John Strassburger Postdoctoral Fellowship at Columbia University, funded through a generous gift from H. F. “Gerry” Lenfest, with matching funds provided through a JMC grant (see story above). For many years Mr. Lenfest has been a prominent Philadelphia-area philanthropist.

Professor Andrew Delbanco, Columbia University, spoke at the event. “[John Strassburger] believed that all people, especially the young, have an inherent appetite for truth, and that a teacher’s job is to help them articulate the Big Questions latent within them about the nature of the good life and how to attain it,” Professor Delbanco said.
Edward Snowden might claim to be a patriot, because he tried to restore integrity to U.S. intelligence. He revealed how far state-sponsored surveillance has metastasized beyond its sole legitimate mission: protecting U.S. citizens. When asked about his justification, he said, “There can be no faith in government if our highest offices are excused from scrutiny—they should be setting the example of transparency.”

But the accusations of treason made by those embarrassed by Snowden’s “whistleblowing” can’t simply be dismissed. At best, Snowden was faithless, exploiting his trusted status to obtain access to secret information that he then revealed to the world. It may be true that, as he claimed, the information he revealed was much less damaging than what he chose to keep to himself. That’s not his choice to make, however, given his security clearance.

The fact is that the “patriot/traitor” dichotomy is too simple, and it’s misleading. Edward Snowden is subversive. Subversion can never be patriotic, at least not in terms of the state as it is. Snowden subverted an implicit consensus that any privacy price paid in the name of security is justified by “our” need for security. As he put, “Bathtub falls and police officers kill more Americans than terrorism, yet we’ve been asked to sacrifice our most sacred rights for fear of falling victim to [terrorism].”

The consensus Snowden attacked was not the product of a conversation, much less actual consent of the American public. Instead, the consensus rested entirely on a willingness to ignore the expansion of the security-industrial complex. The companies Snowden worked for after he left the CIA, first Dell and later Booz-Allen, are being paid a fortune to spy on Americans. Snowden felt that Americans should know how this tax money is being spent, and the extent of direct state intrusion into communications and private information. There is no pretense of due process or probable cause as limits on this data collection. In fact, in Snowden’s last job at Booz-Allen, he was directly focused on hacking into “private” internet sources to harvest personal information of citizens who thought that the information was protected.

The problem, of course, is that this is clearly illegal. The Nixonian defense (“If the President does it, it’s legal!”) assumes that the state and its agents are above the
law, working outside the constitutional constraints created to limit the power of government.

There have been three responses to the Snowden revelations. First, we were told that none of this (particularly the PRISM program) was actually happening, and that the reaction was just a paranoid fantasy. This forced the Director of the NSA into the embarrassing conjoining two responses: “We have never collected this information” and “We have now stopped collecting this information.”

Second, craven apologists--such as Senator D. Feinstein of California--for the state surveillance machine fell back to a prepared defensive position: “There is no harm in collecting the information; if you are not guilty, you have nothing to fear.” But that position is even more subversive than Snowden’s revelations! If Snowden is not allowed to decide what information to reveal without permission, the state is not allowed to decide what private information to collect without probable cause and the due process guaranteed by the 4th Amendment.

Finally, in the past three months, we have arrived at the final and most hard-edged justification for violating constitutional guarantees that the citizens are “secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects.” This chilling defense is necessity, always the last, best recourse for tyranny. It’s unavoidable, it can’t be helped, there is no alternative. That is the defense that Snowden laid bare with his subversive act of revelation.

How could this not be treason? Treason is an evil act. For subversion to be evil, the acts of government have to be worthy of our loyalty, and consistent with our values. What Snowden did was faithless; he broke a promise and endangered people who were doing nothing more than obeying civil authority. Why did he do it? Here is his explanation: “I don’t see myself as a hero because what I’m doing is self-interested: I don’t want to live in a world where there’s no privacy and therefore no room for intellectual exploration and creativity.”

We CAN handle the truth. But without Edward Snowden, we still wouldn’t know the truth. When revealing an unconstitutional assault on privacy is subversive, citizens need to rethink the importance of limits on the state. The only government we can live with is one small enough to fit inside the Constitution.

“If Snowden is not allowed to decide what information to reveal without permission, the state is not allowed to decide what private information to collect without probable cause and the due process guaranteed by the 4th Amendment.”
JMC DONOR PARTNER

Q & A

With Shane Tritsch

Shane Tritsch of the Y.O.T. Full Circle Foundation, a JMC donor partner, talks about the importance of students learning about America’s Founding Principles and why his family’s foundation is supporting the JMC.

JMC: What do you find appealing about the Jack Miller Center?

ST: A few years ago, I visited the National Archives Museum in Washington, D.C., where the Declaration of Independence is displayed alongside the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Seeing these historic treasures was an emotional rocket ride for me—a sublime experience that I highly recommend to everyone.

But I was shocked to see how fragile the Declaration, in particular, appears. The ink is so faint that it’s virtually unreadable in places. Its condition could serve as a metaphor for the vulnerability of the rights it proclaims—and for our society’s fading understanding of them. Only by teaching each new generation what those documents mean—and how and why they came to be—can we keep their principles indelible, and the rights they guarantee us intact. The Y.O.T. Full Circle Foundation strongly supports JMC’s mission to strengthen that essential cultural and civic literacy.

JMC: Why is it important for college students to become more knowledgeable about our nation’s Founding Principles?

ST: Because they’re old enough to vote! They are newly fledged participants in our system of self-government, in which we, the people, are sovereign. If they graduate without understanding liberty, and how the principles of limited government and the separation of powers safeguard their rights, then their fancy college education has failed to prepare them for the responsibilities of self-government.

Moreover, our country is now engaged in a vigorous debate about the role of government in our lives. Today the federal government exercises responsibilities that aren’t spelled out in the Constitution and go beyond what the founders envisioned. Is our expansive administrative state a better guarantor of life and liberty than the original framework? Is it better suited to solving complex societal problems? Does it produce greater human flourishing and happiness? That debate will be settled at the ballot box, but whatever the outcome, we owe it to our forbears—who sacrificed might-
ily to bequeath to us a constitutional republic—and to generations yet to come—who don’t have a say in the matter—to understand the arguments on both sides and the stakes involved, and to choose wisely.

**JMC:** The Y.O.T. Full Circle Foundation provided a generous gift to the JMC in 2012 to research the potential for the start of a new partner program at Northwestern University. Why Northwestern?

**ST:** Part of it is personal. My parents, who are Foundation trustees, attended Northwestern, and so did I. We bleed purple. Go ’Cats! Beyond that, though, any American university that aims to offer a world-class education—as Northwestern does—has a basic responsibility to prepare its students to be thoughtful and informed citizens in a free society. But like most universities, Northwestern devotes few resources to teaching its students about their country’s founding principles and history. We believe it is missing an enormous opportunity to provide those students—tomorrow’s leaders in business, law, the media, government, medicine, science, and the arts—with a rich and foundational learning experience.

**JMC:** Northwestern University launched the Alexander Hamilton project in the summer of 2012. What are your hopes for this new effort?

**ST:** We are extremely gratified that JMC’s initial engagement with faculty at Northwestern, made possible by our grant, has led to the launch of the Hamilton Project at Northwestern. We believe this development has already multiplied the impact of our philanthropy, and we hope the Hamilton Project will produce important scholarship on the connection between constitutionalism and the development of science, commerce, and law at the time of the American Founding.

**JMC:** The JMC’s strategy is to work closely with faculty, administrators and donors to ensure that the interests of all parties are met. How important is it for the Y.O.T. Full Circle Foundation to partner with its grant recipients?

**ST:** The Foundation sought out JMC because we believe strongly in its mission to re-invigorate civic literacy in America. We are so glad that other investors have joined the Foundation in the support of teaching the future leaders of this country our founding principles and history.
Inaugurated in 2007 with the goal of increasing civic literacy among the next generation of citizens and leaders, the Center for American Studies (CAS) at Christopher Newport University in Newport News, VA has grown into a vibrant center that is already reaching thousands of students with the education necessary for informed and responsible citizenship.

Under the leadership of Professors Elizabeth Kaufer Busch and Nathan E. Busch, co-directors of the center and professors of American Studies and Government, respectively, CAS has experienced exponential growth in recent years, demonstrating not only the desire students have to study our nation’s founding but also the impact a campus program can have in providing this education.

• CAS has created 11 new American Studies courses, including Founding the American Experiment; Encounters with the Constitution; Capitalism, American Style; Economics in American Literature; and Treason in America.

• CAS now boasts nearly 50 declared majors in American Studies, more than double the number in 2010.

• CAS currently employs three postdoctoral fellows and has converted one of its former post-doctoral fellowships into a tenure-track position in American Studies. CNU now employs 10 Miller Fellows or Postdoctoral Fellows.

• More than 430 students enrolled in American Studies during the 2012-2013 academic year.

• Since 2008, CAS has hosted seven conferences on America’s Founding Principles and history, each drawing nearly 800 students and members of the general public.

• CAS conducts annual Constitution Day debates on a topic of public policy interest.

• In Summer 2012, CAS hosted its inaugural six-day training and recertification workshop for history and social studies high school teachers.

• CAS’s Junior Fellows Program, a paid internship and mentoring program for exceptional CNU students, has supported 22 Junior Fellowships in semester-long or year-long positions.

• Since CAS’s launch, the center’s guest lecture program has brought nearly 20 leading scholars and policymakers to speak on campus.

For more information, visit http://cnu.edu/cas/.
From ‘No Way’ to Today

Continued from page 1

campuses across the country. These fellowships are critical to securing tenure track teaching positions.

A few years ago we began a “Chicago Initiative,” a regional consortium of faculty, administrators and donors working together to reinvigorate the teaching of our Founding Principles and history at colleges in the Chicago area. Today, we have 10 Chicago area institutions working together to expand learning opportunities for thousands of students. As a lifelong Chicagoan, I am proud of the strong donor support that has been provided by my fellow citizens in the Chicago area. This successful effort will now serve as a model for other selected cities across the country.

Along with the University of Notre Dame and the University of Chicago Press, we launched American Political Thought, the first of its kind peer reviewed academic journal.

STRONG PRESENCE

We have a strong presence at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, and we are moving ahead with our online resource center, which will include a series of videos and support materials (a complete bibliography and selection of readings) that can be used to supplement classroom discussion and can also be used for a wider audience.

We have established relationships with the renowned research centers the Newberry Library in Chicago and the Huntington Library in Pasadena, where young scholars spend fellowships researching and writing.

THE ‘GO TO’ PLACE

As a result of all of this, we are now recognized as the place to go to for donors who are interested in having our young people learn about how our Republic began and survived and what the political ideals in our Declaration and Constitution are that have kept us a nation of free individuals—principles that if not communicated to future generations will mean the loss of that freedom.

Donors are coming to us these days and saying, “I want to have a program like this at my alma mater, but I want to make sure my donation doesn’t get hijacked for something else and that we get a strong program.”

ACCOUNTABILITY

They want us to be the “steward” and the “shepherd” of their money and to continuously scrutinize the results of their donation, much as they would like their money managers to be doing with their other investments. By keeping a laser-like focus on our mission, by building an outstanding organization and by running it like a top-flight organization should be run, we have become the “go to” place. We take this responsibility seriously and we are making a difference!

From “No Way to Today!” What a change! Thanks to all of you who have helped us get to this point and to all of you who will help us reach our goal to transform students’ access to the education they need to be informed and engaged citizens. It is an exciting journey!
If you are interested in making a donation to the JMC’s planned giving program, please contact Mike Deshaies, vice president of donor programs, at mdeshaies@gojmc.org or 484.436.2067.

UPCOMING EVENTS

February 6, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME. Lecture, Providentialism and Politics: On Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address, by Michael Zuckert

February 6, CLAREMONT McKENNA COLLEGE. Lecture, Clarence Thomas and the Jurisprudence of Constitutional Restoration, by Ralph A. Rossum


February 27-28, BOSTON. JMC Jeffersonian Seminar

March 3, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY. Lecture, Machiavelli and The Federalist Papers, by Professor Nathan Tarcov, University of Chicago

March 7-8, PASADENA. Conference, in partnership with Huntington Library, Sacred and Secular Revolutions

April 10-11, ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY. Conference, The Infrastructures of Creativity, hosted by IIT, MIT and University Wisconsin-Madison

Special Message for Summer Institute Fellows

To our friends who have participated in our Summer Institutes: you should have received via e-mail an invitation to complete a questionnaire. We are deeply committed to building a community of scholars, and your responses to this questionnaire are vitally important to our mission. If you have not already done so, please take a few minutes to complete the survey. A link has been posted to www.jackmillercenter.org. Thank you!

MISSION

The Jack Miller Center partners with faculty, administrators and donors to transform students’ access to education in American political thought and history, an education that is necessary for informed and engaged citizenship.