



## SUMMER 2012

### MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIRMAN



#### A Problem and a Solution in Higher Education

By Jack Miller

The business model for higher education is cracking. Constantly rising tuition costs—regardless of the cause—and constantly rising student debt can't continue. Meanwhile, the demand for a college education is stronger than ever. Compounding the problem is the sharp reduction in financial support from federal and state governments. Clearly, universities and colleges are faced with a serious problem of how to meet the demand and yet cut costs.

As we looked at the situation, we began to feel that the new technology available today held the solution to the problem, or at least a good part of the solution. So for the past several months we have been surveying the field to see what is being done. It turns out that a lot is being done to begin addressing the problem with the use of technology.

#### MASSIVE OPEN ONLINE COURSES

We found that many colleges and universities are starting to offer MOOC, Massive Open Online Courses, in various subjects. Harvard and MIT announced a new \$60 million project in May called "edX", which

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# The DECLARATION

*"An investment in knowledge pays the best interest."* Benjamin Franklin

Volume 3

## Huntington Library and JMC Announce New Research Fellowships

**T**he Jack Miller Center, in partnership with the Huntington Library in San Marino, CA, announces two research initiatives designed to advance scholarship in the American Founding.

The first initiative is a \$100,000 two-year research project entitled *Sacred and Secular Revolutions: The Political and Spiritual Legacies of the Atlantic Enlightenment in the American Founding*. Funded by a grant from the Historical Society's "Religion and Innovation in Human Affairs Initiative," the project focuses on relationships between new science and new religion in the Atlantic Enlightenment. Six fellowships from the Dibner Collection in the History of Science and Technology match the JMC project, for a total of 12 one-month research fellowships tenable at the Huntington Library. Additionally, a fellows' workshop in February 2013 and a major international conference for the presentation and dissemination of papers in March of 2014 are part of the initiative.



Huntington Library, San Marino, CA

The Dibner research fellowships will address the political and theological implications of scientific innovation, and the JMC initiative

fellowships will focus on the legacies of the new science and its implications for the foundation and development of the early American Republic.

In addition to this special project, the JMC has also established an annual JMC-Huntington research fellowship, which will be open to proposals. This program will run for an initial five-year cycle of support and is intended to advance the second book project of scholars working in fields related to the JMC's central mission and making use of the special collections of the Huntington.

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## PARTNERSHIP FOR SUCCESS: PART 1

This is the first in a series of three articles detailing the JMC's partnership approach with donors, scholars and higher education institutions.

# Making Sure Your Investment has an Impact on Education

By JMC President Mike Ratliff

*Our commitment to donors is to find opportunities where their dollars can have a major transformational impact in the teaching of America's Founding Principles and history. We pledge to respect donor intent in all we do and are highly focused on achieving outstanding results.*

How could it be otherwise given that our founder, Jack Miller, also is among the most strategic and thoughtful philanthropists. His involvement with groups, such as the Philanthropy Roundtable, has kept us focused on the principles we believe should be central to every non-profit. These are summarized on the Roundtable's "Guiding Principles" (see box).

At the JMC's board of directors recent meeting, we reviewed the remarkable growth of our educational programs, which now include a community of more than 550 professors teaching at over 180 colleges and universities. Altogether we have invested more than \$6.5 million in intensive Summer Institutes, annual higher education summits, and related programs to lay the foundation for this network of educators. And, we have also invested or committed more than \$7 million in programs to advance the careers of these scholars, so that those who are committed to the teaching and study of America's Founding Principles will be able to achieve their full potential. These investments have laid the foundation for important improvement in the teaching of American political and economic thought and institutions, as well as closely related subjects.

Equally, this review highlighted our efforts to put in place donor-related efforts that ensure respect for donors is a core value in everything we do. Our financials are audited every year, and thanks to Mr. Miller's generosity, we ask donors to



cover only the incremental costs directly associated with any program in which they invest. Donor money goes to the "business end of the spear, not the shaft!" Also, through our reports to donors, our Web site, this newsletter and our annual reports, we provide all members of the Miller community a flow of information that keeps our partners informed about what their gifts support.

But, we can do much more to deliver on our pledge to donors. Indeed, the Uihlein Family Foundation recently made a major commitment that will allow the JMC to provide donors focused support. I believe this may be our most exciting new program for the coming five years! If you want to learn more, call me and I can fill you in (484-436-2065). In addition, new educational programs tailored for donors will become available through our Online Resource Center, the Constitution Day Initiative, and early next year we will launch a series of colloquia that will bring together JMC leaders, partner professors, and donors to explore core texts that underlie America's experiment with liberty.

All this builds on our approach since we began our project in 2004. We have carefully taken a business-like approach to our development. We defined specific objectives and goals with general parameters to guide the organization. We pilot-tested several initiatives, figured out what works and doesn't work, made the necessary adjustments, hired the best people we

## The Philanthropy Roundtable's Guiding Principles

PHILANTHROPIC FREEDOM IS ESSENTIAL TO A FREE SOCIETY.

A VIBRANT PRIVATE SECTOR GENERATES THE WEALTH THAT MAKES PHILANTHROPY POSSIBLE.

VOLUNTARY PRIVATE ACTION OFFERS SOLUTIONS FOR MANY OF SOCIETY'S MOST PRESSING CHALLENGES.

EXCELLENCE IN PHILANTHROPY IS MEASURED BY RESULTS, NOT BY GOOD INTENTIONS.

A RESPECT FOR DONOR INTENT IS ESSENTIAL FOR PHILANTHROPIC INTEGRITY.

could find, all of which provided the foundation for our many academic programs that are now well established and critical to our growth.

Our seven-step approach to our partner donors fleshes out what we mean by "respect for donor intention." (See "Respect for Donors"). We work closely with all partner donors to ensure their investments are consistent with their values and interests in higher education. This collaborative approach ensures that donor intent is aligned with the faculty partner's program goals and the university or college culture.

To protect the donors' intent we sign a letter of agreement detailing the project's goals and how the faculty partner—with support from the administration—will achieve them and how they will measure their efforts. Once the project is agreed to,

we maintain cognizance of what is done and accomplished, and we keep the donor informed.

We are very grateful to our many donors who have made it possible for us to greatly expand our programs. If you would like to learn more about our donor relationship strategy, give me a call at 484-436-2065.

Very respectfully,



Mike Ratliff  
Rear Admiral, United States Navy (ret.)

President

## Respect for Donors: A Core Value of the Jack Miller Center

1. SEEK A PARTNERSHIP WITH DONORS WHO SHARE OUR COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION THAT ADVANCES THE TEACHING OF AMERICA'S FOUNDING PRINCIPLES AND HISTORY.
2. SEEK TO UNDERSTAND THE DONOR'S INTERESTS AND RESPECT THOSE INTERESTS AND VALUES IN OUR PROPOSALS.
3. PROVIDE OCCASIONS FOR DONORS TO MEET WITH OUR STAFF AND PARTNER PROFESSORS.
4. ENHANCE THE DONOR'S UNDERSTANDING OF OUR MISSION AND PROGRAMS THROUGH INFORMATIONAL EFFORTS TAILORED TO DONORS.
5. ENSURE EVERY REQUEST FOR DONOR SUPPORT DEMONSTRATES OUR RESPECT FOR DONOR INTENT AND OUR DETERMINATION TO BE GOOD STEWARDS OF MONEY INVESTED IN THE PROGRAMS.
6. THANK DONORS PROMPTLY AND REPORT TO THEM ON THE OUTCOMES OF THEIR INVESTMENT. BE AVAILABLE WHEN THEY WANT TO LEARN MORE.
7. DEEPEN AND SUSTAIN THE RELATIONSHIP WITH DONORS THROUGH ONGOING EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS TAILORED TO DONORS.





## New Journal Praised for Filling Need

*The following is an excerpt from the June 11, 2012 Philanthropy Digest, published online by American Philanthropic, LLC.*

By Jacqueline Pfeffer

When we think of philanthropy and higher education, we most often think of donors funding new buildings and stadiums, faculty positions, or scholarships for students. And yet what are at the core of academic life are not buildings and stadiums, but certain ideas and debates about the good for human beings and political communities.



Jacqueline Pfeffer is a philanthropic and nonprofit consultant. She advises several Washington think tanks and educational nonprofit organizations.

Prior to her work in the nonprofit sector, Jacqueline served on the faculties of St. John's College and The College of William & Mary. She has published articles in journals such as *The New Atlantis*, *Society*, *Polity*, and *Philanthropy*.

Jacqueline earned her M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from Duke University and her B.A., also in political science, from The University of Calgary.

Donors have set out to support these ideas and debates in a rather unusual way — by funding the launch of a new journal, *American Political Thought: A Journal of Ideas, Institutions, and Culture*.

One might wonder why a new journal about American political thought would be needed — after all, aren't the ideas of the Founders well understood after all this time? And can't contemporary debates be found in other, more popular journals?

Studying the familiar is often more difficult than studying the foreign; it takes more work to discern what is striking about what we take for granted than what is exotic. Perhaps because American political thought is so familiar, it has taken longer for scholars of political philosophy to take it up as just as worthy of study as older, mostly European political thought.

However, that has changed in the last few years as more and more scholars have come to appreciate the subtlety of our American political tradition.

According to Michael Zuckert, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame and editor of the journal, "The number of outlets for American political thought is limited. Regular political thought journals don't see American political thought as their main concern and so aren't as open to it. We thought it was fitting to put out a journal where political theorists could look to find the fine new work in this field."

The journal wouldn't be possible without philanthropic support. As Zuckert explained to me: "It costs a lot to put out a journal and, like many start ups, our journal doesn't carry its costs yet. But we hope that in a few years we'll be self-supporting through library and individual subscriptions. Meanwhile, we're grateful to the supporters who are getting us started."

*The full text of this article may be found at [www.jackmillercenter.org](http://www.jackmillercenter.org).*

## American Political Thought Journal Opens New Doors for Scholarly Work

The first issue of *American Political Thought: A Journal of Ideas, Institutions, and Culture* was widely distributed to professors and libraries across the nation in May after more than a year in development.

The publication is the only journal dedicated exclusively to the study of American political thought and attempts to bridge the intellectual gap between historical, empirical, and theoretical studies.

Published by the University of Chicago Press in association with the Notre Dame Program in Constitutional Studies, and conceived and supported by the Jack Miller Center, the journal features research by political scientists, historians, literary scholars, economists, and philosophers, who study the texts, authors, and ideas at the foundation of the American political tradition. Articles will explore key political concepts such as democracy, constitutionalism, equality, liberty, citizenship, political identity, and the role of the state.

Journal editor Michael Zuckert, the Nancy Reeves Dreux professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, in his opening editorial for the publication stated, "We are a journal of ideas, institutions, and culture. We are interpreting the idea of American political thought broadly and seek contributions that cover the full range of topics suggested by the journal's extended name. We seek to be thoroughly interdisciplinary, drawing from history, political science, law, literature,

political tradition no matter their discipline or approach."

The May edition explores American exceptionalism. Contributors include James W. Ceaser, professor of politics at the University of Virginia and director of the Program on Constitutionalism and Democracy; Patrick Deneen, associate professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame; and Ralph Lerner, Benjamin Franklin Professor Emeritus in the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago. Articles are accepted through a double-blind peer-review process. In addition, several books are reviewed by various scholars. *American Political Thought* will be published twice annually in print and online at [www.jstor.org/page/journal/amerpolithou/about.html](http://www.jstor.org/page/journal/amerpolithou/about.html). All articles may be downloaded for free at the Web site.



American studies, philosophy, art history, sociology—whatever fields are interested in American political thought, broadly understood."

Moreover, we are not committed to any school of thought, or approach within those disciplines. We wish to be a venue in which the different schools and approaches can meet and perhaps debate, and not a home for only a narrow range of work. We would like *American Political Thought* to be the "go-to" place for all scholars working on the American

*"A splendid idea for a new journal and one that is much needed as we Americans grope our way into an uncertain future."*

GORDON WOOD

WOOD IS THE WINNER OF THE 1970 BANCROFT PRIZE, RECIPIENT OF THE 1993 PULITZER PRIZE IN HISTORY, AND RECIPIENT OF THE 2010 NATIONAL HUMANITIES MEDAL. WOOD SERVES ON THE JMC ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL.



## PARTNER PROGRAMS IN ACTION

# IIT's Benjamin Franklin Project Launch Features Gordon Wood on 'What Made the Founders Different'

The Illinois Institute of Technology's (IIT) new *Benjamin Franklin Project* (BFP) debuted this spring with two high profile events in March and April.



Gordon Wood

Historian Gordon S. Wood lectured on "What Made the Founders Different" at the inaugural event of the BFP in March. Wood is the Alva O. Way Professor Emeritus of History at Brown University and the 1992 Pulitzer Prize-Winner in History for *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. He is a member of the JMC Advisory Council and a frequent participant at JMC Summer Institutes and events.

In partnership with the Jack Miller Center, and with the generous support of The Brinson Foundation, the College of Science and Letters, and the Department of Social Sciences at IIT, the BFP was launched to inspire a new generation of innovators who wish to think—and act—across today's dis-

ciplinary and professional lines. The Project is directed by IIT Professor Christena Nippert-Eng.

Through a series of events and special courses taught at the IIT campus, the BFP allows students and scholars to explore the full range of the Founders' work—from their most practical domestic devices to the extraordinary idea and architecture of the New Republic. The Project focuses especially on the Enlightenment, and the Framers as scientists, inventors, and designers in both the social and the natural realms. Students will explore how all these elements continue to spark imaginations and shape priorities in today's far-more interconnected world.

"The relationship between new understandings of law and new approaches to science was key for the Framers. The exploration of that relationship is the driving question of the Benjamin Franklin Project," said Pamela Edwards, JMC's Director of Academic Initiatives.

## FOUNDING SCIENCE AND THE MAKING OF A MODERN REPUBLIC SYMPOSIUM

How the Founding Fathers' views on science, law, and philosophy influenced their efforts to create "a more perfect union" was the focus of a panel of eminent scholars at the BFP's symposium "Founding Science and the Making of a Modern Republic" held on April 26 at IIT.

Panel discussions featured Ralph Lerner (University of Chicago), Stuart Warner (Roosevelt University), David Lieberman (University of California-Berkeley), Jan Golinski (University of New Hampshire), Russell Betts (IIT College of Science and Letters), and Harold Krent (IIT Chicago-Kent).

The BFP will develop an optional curriculum that will guide students through primary core texts, providing them with a common body of reading and instruction in modern Western ideas. A postdoctoral fellow associated with the program will begin teaching in the fall of 2012.

# 2012 JMC Constitution Day Initiative to Support 41 Campus Programs

## In Brief

## THE VISION AND THE CHALLENGE

- September 17 has been designated as Constitution Day to commemorate the signing of the U.S. Constitution in Philadelphia on September 17, 1787.
- Federal law requires all schools that receive Federal funds to hold an educational program on the United States Constitution for their students.
- An informal survey of the top 100 universities (*U.S. News and World Report* ranking) shows that only 52% offered a substantive educational program to mark Constitution Day 2011.
- The JMC's Constitution Day Initiative was developed to assist colleges and universities in meeting not only the letter, but the spirit of the Federal law.

The 2012 JMC Constitution Day Initiative (CDI) will support Constitution-focused programs on forty-one college and university campuses nationwide on or near September 17.

The CDI was launched in 2011 with programs on twenty-seven campuses, including two separate programs at the Illinois Institute of Technology's Chicago Kent School of Law with U.S. Supreme Court Justices Steven Breyer and Antonin Scalia.

The JMC began the initiative as a way to heighten awareness of the need for education in the American Constitutional tradition. According to federal law, higher education institutions receiving federal funding are required to observe Constitution Day, which occurs annually on September 17.

"We are very pleased by the response from scholars eager to participate in the program," stated Dr. Michael Andrews, vice president of JMC's academic programs. "We've received a significant number of impressive proposals for programs that will undoubtedly have an impact on campuses."

As a result of CDI program awards, many of the nation's top scholars from a wide variety of disciplines will participate in debates, lectures, panel discussions, and workshops. These activities will bring them in contact with students in large and small group settings. Invited speakers include members of Congress, federal and

state judges, journalists, law professors, historians, political scientists, and others whose primary work is in economics or philosophy.

Several schools will focus on the constitutional dimensions of the 2012 race for the White House. Issues including limited government, separation of powers, the struggle between the legislative and executive branches, the fiscal crisis, and the role of the judiciary are key issues in the 2012 elections. This year's sponsored events demonstrate the centrality of constitutionalism to understanding the American experience, past and present.

Dan Cullen, a member of the JMC Academic Advisory council, joined the JMC team as Senior Fellow for Constitutional Studies and directs the initiative. He is a professor of political science and the humanities at Rhodes College and directs Rhodes's Project for the Study of Liberal Democracy, which promotes the study of American constitutionalism and its philosophic sources.

The JMC grants are matched by participating schools to support Constitution Day campus programs. Also, the JMC will invest additional funds to support a related online education effort, campus event promotion and expansion, of the initiative.





# JMC Pursues Online Resource Center Focused on Founding Principles

*Chairman's Message*  
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will offer both universities a platform to offer courses online. The Kahn Academy is wildly popular with over 3,200 online videos on everything from arithmetic to physics, finance, and history. Clearly, these institutes are well on their way to achieving their mission "... to help you learn what you want, when you want, at your own pace." Just go on the internet and Google "online learning" and you will be amazed at what you find.

## **THE JMC RESOURCE CENTER**

So, we have decided that The Jack Miller Center should investigate the development of what we are calling, "The JMC Resource Center." With a network of over five hundred professors, including renowned scholars in U.S. history and political thought, we are well positioned to develop the very finest program in our field of America's Founding Principles and history.

The pilot phase of the project will begin this fall when we make available on the Web a video featuring interviews with leading scholars on the Declaration and its vision of a free society. If the feedback from professors in our network is positive, and if we have the funding, we will move ahead to develop the full program, which will eventually include twenty videos— a semester's worth— based on the ideals in our Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal", that they are entitled to their indi-

vidual rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", and that these rights are best served by the form of government and the principles of governance found in our Constitution.

Our founders didn't just make all of these ideas up. They were inspired by ideas and writings that came before them. Madison, who is considered the father of the Constitution, had thousands of books, which he had read, in his library and was fluent in seven languages.

## **CENTER TO INCLUDE FOUNDERS' WORKS**

So exactly what was it that our founders read that led them to the ideas in the Declaration and the Constitution? We want to include those readings in our Resource Center. We also want to include what our founders wrote so everyone can know what their thoughts were, what they meant to achieve. In addition to that, our vision is to make available online a full suite of supplementary resources—primary and secondary sources, books, articles and presentations by JMC fellows, syllabi, podcasts, Constitution Day events—focused on enriching education in America's Founding Principles and history.

Just imagine the power of such a resource center. Professors could use it to easily find more information on particular topics and assign readings that students could get online (eliminating the cost of text books). They could even listen to



lectures on their ipods while jogging. Teaching assistants could use it to provide lectures and comments by the nation's leading scholars in American history and political thought, as well as assign readings and brush up on the facts themselves. Community college and high school teachers will find this a great aid. All of this would be available to the general public. What a powerful engine of learning this will be!

## **MAKING THE INVESTMENT**

This is, without a doubt, a massive project, and will require a big investment of both time and money. Our network of professors will provide their time and expertise. We will need to raise the money to hire the staff and technical expertise to produce an absolutely first class product that can be used in classrooms and for a wider audience, while we continue to expand our on-campus presence. While it will

be targeted to the undergraduate university level, the center could become a valuable asset for high school history and civics teachers, and become a widely used life-long learning resource for a vast audience.

This is an exciting opportunity, one more, very powerful, way to expand our reach and enrich what students are learning about our nation's Founding Principles and history. Please join us in making this happen. Your donation can help to make it happen faster. If you are interested in supporting this project, call our Vice President for Development and Communications, Mike Deshaies, at (484) 436-2067.

Yes, the higher education business model is cracking, but a solution to not only repair it, but to improve it, is available. In our area of expertise, we can and will be part of that solution.

*"This is, without a doubt, a massive project, and will require a big investment of both time and money."*

*See related story on page 16.*



By Professor Allen Guelzo  
Gettysburg College



*“Along with the entertainment went a seriousness that is almost wholly absent from modern political debating.”*



# Presidential Debates Then and Now

Pity us. The presidential election season is in full cry, which means that the convention season, the attack-ad season, and the debating season are also about to spring.

The debating season may, this year, be wearing the most fearful face of them all. Viewers have already endured an unusually protracted and painful primary season in which candidate debates became as frequent and monotonous as traffic jams.

We would like to believe that this is a modern aberration—that once-upon-a-time in American politics our candidates dueled on the debate platform with statesman-like dissertations before audiences of rapt and respectful citizens. The model we most often conjure with at such moments is the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858.

Pity us again. The reality of what happened on seven hastily-built platforms all around Illinois in the summer of 1858 was a little more complicated than that. In 1858, Abraham Lincoln was a second-tier Republican lawyer with big ambitions, but little to show for them after twenty years of trying. A run for the U.S. Senate in 1855 failed after a strong early showing. Three years later, he was getting a second try at the Senate; if he lost, it would probably be his last run. And losing was what the betting-money was saying about Lincoln because his opponent, Stephen A. Douglas, was the most powerful man in the Senate and the best-known Democrat in the country.

Faced with Douglas’ formidable advantages, the Republican David challenged the Democratic Goliath to a series of debates—out-of-doors, unrehearsed, and all around the state.

Anyone looking for lofty decorum in these debates will not find it. Typical community entertainments were mano-a-mano encounters like wrestling, horse-racing, and knife-fighting; one-on-one debating had plenty of entertainment-like features. At one debate someone shied a melon at Douglas and struck him on the shoulder...brass bands hired by Republicans and Democrats struggled to drown each other out...banners with raw sexual innuendos and crude racial insults billowed over the heads of the crowds.

And yet, we are not entirely wrong to look back with longing to Lincoln and Douglas. Along with the entertainment went a seriousness that is almost wholly absent from modern political debating. Each debate featured an hour-long opening by one candidate (Lincoln and Douglas took turns as the lead-off), an hour-and-half reply from his opponent, and a half-hour rejoinder from the first speaker. And all seven debates consisted of only one topic—whether slavery should be legalized in the newly-organized western territories. The most dramatic difference with our own times, however, was how Illinoisans turned out for the debates in crowds of fifteen to twenty thousand, listening with an intensity that would rival the attention span of a Super Bowl audience.

For all the carnival-like features of the debates of 1858, those long three-hour duels had to establish principles, make arguments, and deploy logic. So even though Lincoln and

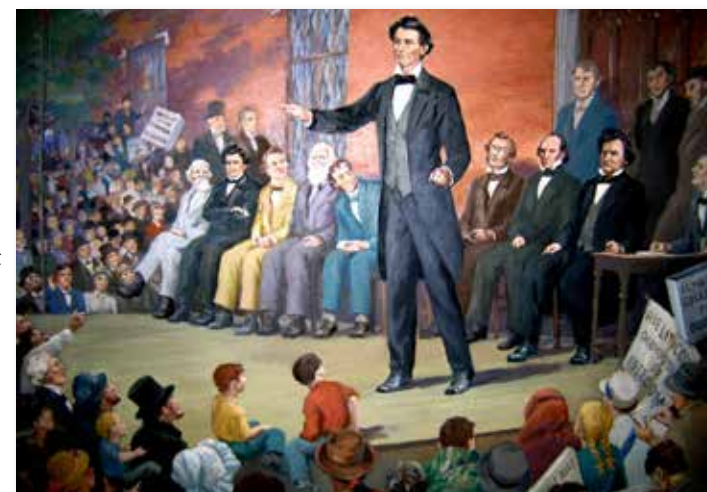
Douglas were *speaking*, they were really *writing*. Their debates were full of development, exposition, and analysis that could have been flattened out on the pages of a book without any noticeable re-working.

Lincoln lost the election on a technicality— but not the debates. He came so close to upsetting the great Stephen A. Douglas that his name began appearing among the front-runners of the Republican Party. In 1860, the Republicans nominated Lincoln as the party’s presidential candidate.

Oddly, no presidential candidates fastened onto the example of the Lincoln-Douglas debates for a century, until the Kennedy-Nixon presidential race of 1960. The great difference between Lincoln-Douglas and Kennedy-Nixon, however, lay in the medium—Lincoln and Douglas met in the open air; Kennedy and Nixon went on television. Squeezed into the high-pressure box of televised broadcasting, the four Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960 became carefully-managed spectacles, constructed by staffers recruited from public-relations and advertising firms. Each candidate was limited to an eight-minute opening and a two-and-half-minute rejoinder, so that any idea bigger than a paragraph had to be shoved aside. What made the difference on election day was not anything the candidates actually had said, but the image they had projected into prime-time living rooms: Kennedy the movie-star, Nixon the Shadow.

Judged by the debates of Lincoln and Douglas, the debates of 2012 have more in common with a game show, emcee-ed by grimacing journalists playing *Wheel of Gotcha*. It is no compliment to our national politics that the chief priority of candidate debates is not a contest of ideas, but the presentation of “images” that viewers attach to, or fill in, rather than think about. Nor is it a compliment to what image-mongering has made of democracy to realize how hard it would be for the “image” of Abraham Lincoln to survive very long in the Age of the Remote.

Can we do better in 2012? Yes. For starters, we could dispense with moderators. We could also get the candidates and the audiences out of the chatty coziness of the sound stage and out in a large open forum where persuasion and logic, not just charm, would be demanded—an open-air arena... or even Yankee Stadium. And we could require the candidates to take turns using one podium, not a series of contestant pedestals; and to speak not to each other, but to the people in front of them. Democracy just might become dignified again.



*“For all the carnival-like features of the debates of 1858, those long three-hour duels had to establish principles, make arguments, and deploy logic.”*





**ADVANCING CAREERS**

## JMC Postdoctoral Fellow Accepts Teaching Position at Harvard University



Steven Bilakovics

*JMC Postdoctoral Fellow Steven Bilakovics taught at Yale University for two years, in association with the JMC's partner program The Yale Center for the Study of Representative Institutions (YCRI). He received his Ph.D. from Notre Dame University, and his scholarship focuses on American political thought and constitutional theory.*

**JMC:** What are your plans for next year?

**SB:** I'll be moving on to Harvard next year to teach in the social studies program, an interdisciplinary honors concentration that covers a wide range of modern social, political, and economic theory. I am also beginning work on my next book, *Exploring the American Dream*, which elaborates the enduringly uncertain balance between the three dimensions of the Dream: moral community, individual freedom, and economic mobility and progress.

**JMC:** How has the postdoctoral fellowship, as well as your connection to the JMC's network of scholars, impacted your career?

**SB:** My postdoctoral fellowship has been invaluable. During my time at Yale I have been able to develop and teach a number of courses, and participate in various programs and conferences in the Department of Political Science and across the University. I have also completed my first book, *Democracy without Politics* (Harvard University Press, 2012), which is about the forms of political cynicism inherent in the values and ideals of our democratic way of life.

My connection to the JMC's network of scholars has facili-

tated every step of my work and career, with members offering everything from advice and feedback on my manuscript to recommendations for my placement at Yale.

**JMC:** What courses did you teach during your time at Yale? How were you involved with YCRI?

**SB:** During my time at Yale I taught four seminars: "American Founding Debates: Rewriting the Constitution"; "Exploring the American Dream"; "The Separation of Church and State and Its Critics"; and "The Spirit of Capitalism and Its Critics." These courses in political philosophy and American political and legal thought were designed to address questions that are both timeless and vitally contemporary in the context of open Socratic conversation. In each course we closely examined classic texts to unsettle our assumptions and critically analyze our arguments about some of the central issues we face today.

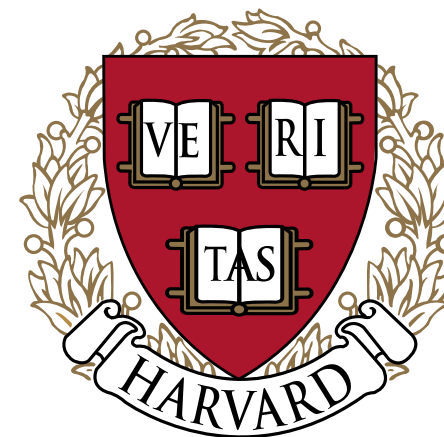
I was involved with the YCRI from its inception, helping to formulate its mission. The YCRI has held a number of conferences and workshops and a speaker series, and this June the Center's first two years culminate in a two-day conference entitled "Three Revolutions? Remaking Political Society in Britain & America, 1640-1865."

*"The study of America's Founding and history is essential for any number of reasons, but above all so that we may think wisely—rather than simplistically or superficially—about our contemporary problems and purposes."*

**JMC:** Why is it valuable for students to study our nation's Founding Principles and history?

**SB:** The study of America's Founding and history is essential for any number of reasons, but above all so that we may think wisely—rather than simplistically or superficially—about our contemporary problems and purposes. When today most everything is represented as a crisis or revolution of unparalleled scale, Americans need the perspective afforded us by reflecting upon what has come before. Today we often seem fatalistically resigned to our incapacity to cope with the issues we face; we need to understand what has proven possible, as well as what is beyond our reach, in the past.

So, from so-called hyper-partisanship and political dysfunction to economic stratification and social polarization, what today can be considered largely a reiteration of past events, and what is truly novel? Why have past reforms succeeded or failed or

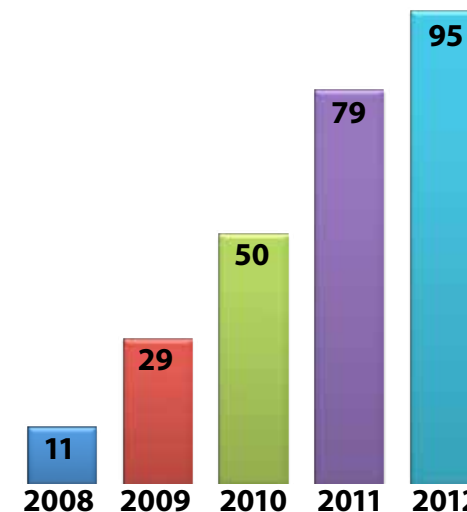


subsequently produced unforeseen problems? In what ways has conservatism been beneficial to securing the nation's principles, and when has progressivism born fruit? How was the political system constitutionally designed and intended to function, and is this design in need of amendment or overhaul today to remain in keeping with our Founding Principles and the facts of our time?

Above all, how does thinking with the most profound minds and through the most profound arguments of American history help us to navigate the relationship between government power and market forces, the complexities of the separation of powers and federalism, the issues of rights and representation and civic education, and so forth. Only through such a judicious examination and evaluation of—and in turn affirmation of or departure from—what has come before do we truly follow the proud example of our Founders.

## 95 Postdoctoral Fellowships Awarded Since 2008

*The JMC's postdoctoral program establishes a core group of highly committed professors who will make a difference in higher education for generations.*







## PARTNER PROGRAM PROFILE

# UVA's Program on Constitutionalism and Democracy Creates Model Course on The American Political Tradition

By Professor James Ceaser

The Program on Constitutionalism and Democracy (PCD) at the University of Virginia (UVA) began in 2006 with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, assisted by the Jack Miller Center. A number of foundations contribute to the PCD's continuation, including the Veritas Fund, Hertog Foundation, and alums from UVA.

The focus of PCD is the teaching of an undergraduate course "The American Political Tradition," which introduces students to the philosophic foundations of the American regime, the political science of the founding, and the development of and challenges to constitutionalism over the past two hundred years. The course is based on the readings of selected texts from political theorists and statesmen, and interpretive readings of contemporary political analysts. Students meet in a seminar setting in buildings on the historical campus designed by Thomas Jefferson. The seminar is supplemented with monthly lectures by leading experts in American politics and history.

The course has been a great success at the University, with more than eight hundred students having enrolled since its inception. An outside visitor's report for the Provost singled



the course out as an innovation in undergraduate education that "offers an appealing model of education in constitutional governance likely to be of interest to other universities as well." The idea of serving as a model for similar courses was, in fact, a key objective of the original plan submitted to the National Endowment Grant. With assistance from the Jack Miller Center, versions of this course have been offered or planned at a number of colleges and universities, including Emory, Boise State, Louisiana Tech, Christopher Newport University, and City College of New York.

The PCD supports up to three pre/postdoctoral fellowships each year. In addition to instructing American Political Tradition, the fellows conduct their own research and offer occasional advanced seminars in American political thought and political philosophy. Fellows have received positions at West Point, Middlebury, Jacksonville State, Washington and Lee, Louisiana Tech, and the Center for the Constitution. PCD plans to continue with its current course offering, while exploring the possibility of adding another introductory seminar with accompanying fellows in the area of American political economy.



Professor James Ceaser directs the Program on Constitutionalism and Democracy at the University of Virginia.

# George Washington Forum Makes a Difference Personal

By Professor Robert Ingram

The *George Washington Forum on American Ideas, Politics and Institutions* has been in operation at Ohio University since early 2009. Like most of the programs in the Miller Center network, the GW Forum sponsors classes, brings in visiting speakers, hosts conferences, and invites postdoctoral fellows to teach classes not regularly offered on campus. The Forum has made a difference on Ohio University's campus, but measuring that difference seems difficult. Difficult, that is, until you see students who've been undergraduate fellows of the Forum benefit from their experiences.

Two stories from the last two years stand out in my mind. One concerns a student from Little Hocking, Ohio, named Casey. Look up Little Hocking on a map—it's not a cosmopolitan area. But bright people come from there: take Casey, the daughter of a school teacher and a nurse, and one of the brightest people I've ever met, period. During her senior year she had an undergraduate fellowship from the Forum. One of her responsibilities as a fellow was to have lunch with each of our visiting speakers. In the fall, Professor John Yoo came to visit from UC-Berkeley. Casey, no card-carrying conservative, told me that she thought she might just skip the lunch because she disagreed with Yoo's stance on enhanced interrogation. "No," I told her, "you'll have lunch with him; in fact, you'll sit right next to him and if you disagree with him, you'll say it to his face."



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As it turned out, the lunch didn't concern water boarding but law schools. Indeed, John encouraged Casey to apply to Yale's law school—his own alma mater—and he helped walk her through how not to write a law school application essay. Until then, Casey was not going to apply to Yale, thinking she had no chance of being admitted to the prestigious program. But, heartened by her conversation with him, and badgered by GW Forum affiliate faculty, she submitted her application.

One Sunday afternoon in February, she rang my house in tears: she'd just heard from an admissions officer at Yale Law School who'd called her to let her know of her acceptance. Today, she's midway through her first year in New Haven and is thriving, as we all knew she would. One of Casey's friends, another whip-smart Ohioan named Emily, holds Casey's old GW Forum fellowship this year. Next fall, she'll start work on her Ph.D. in modern European economic history at Princeton University with Harold James, another GW Forum visiting speaker.

Are Casey and Emily anomalous? In some sense, yes, because really bright people are not the norm. But big public educational institutions like Ohio University have Caseys and Emilys in their student body—hardworking, intelligent students striving for the best life can give them. We forget that sometimes, and it's to the credit of the donors who give to the Miller Center family of programs that students like them can get a little extra help.





## Online Resource Center to Expand Access to Teaching on America's Founding Documents

The Jack Miller Center (JMC) is producing a pilot video series on the historical uniqueness of the Declaration of Independence for the JMC's new Online Resource Center.

The Online Resource Center represents a new JMC effort to advance teaching in America's Founding Principles and history, and meet the 21st century needs and demands for new teaching resources and methods. The project is expected to be available for the 2013-2014 academic year.

The pilot videos will be the first in a series of digital media products on the Declaration of Independence and how it laid out the principles on which America was founded. It is designed to spark interest and discussion on the Founding among students in a classroom setting. The Declaration video series will focus on the vision for a free society and the principles that defined the new nation in 1776.

The second series will address the institutional framework of a free society and the principles of governance provided in the Constitution.

Both series will be accompanied by the online versions of texts our Founders read that shaped their ideas in the Declaration and the Constitution, such as the Torah, John Locke, Montesquieu, etc.

Videos will be short, seven-to-ten minute presentations that broadly introduce substantive content and commentary by eminent scholars to support and enhance classroom teaching on campuses and to spark classroom discussion.

The pilot will be extensively tested for value and relevance in the classroom by JMC faculty partners.



In addition to being a classroom resource for college professors at the undergraduate level, the online resource center will be available to community colleges, high schools and to the public for lifelong learning.

"Our intent is to provide an outstanding, engaging, and illuminating teaching tool for faculty that features some of the country's leading scholars," according to Dr. Michael Andrews, JMC's vice president of academic programs. "Most of the students who see the videos would not otherwise have access to the teachings of these distinguished scholars. And the extensive, carefully selected online readings will be a rich resource for students, professors and other interested parties."

## Huntington Library Partnership

*Continued from page 1*

Huntington's collection of rare books and manuscripts in the fields of British and American history and literature is nothing short of extraordinary. For qualified scholars, Huntington is one of the largest and most complete research libraries in the United States in its fields of specialization.

"This partnership provides a remarkable opportunity to revivify the study of American history and political thought at one of the finest research libraries in the world," said Dr. Pamela Edwards, JMC's director of academic initiatives. "Through world class research partnerships and the opportunities that come through working with an international community of scholars, the Jack Miller Center will powerfully advance, at the deepest sense, its central mission: the teaching and study of America's founding principles and history."

## Chicago Initiative Event Creates Opportunities for Collaboration

Faculty from eleven Chicago-area campuses convened for the JMC's first Jeffersonian Seminar in Chicago on May 10.

The annual event brought together faculty partners and prospective partners in the JMC's *Chicago Initiative* to share ideas, discuss their respective programs, and to develop collaborative relationships between the faculty and the institutions. Campuses represented at the event included Loyola University, Roosevelt University, DePaul University College of Law, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago-Kent College of Law,

Northern Illinois University, Carthage College, University of Illinois-Chicago, University of Notre

Dame, Northwestern University, and the University of Chicago.

Some twenty scholars from the fields of American political science, history, constitutional law, and literature participated in the symposium discussion, "Why Hume and Montesquieu."

"We expect the Jeffersonian Seminars will become an essential means of building 'connective tissue' for the

*Chicago Initiative* and will also provide a unique opportunity for donors and faculty to discuss various projects," according to Dr. Pamela Edwards, JMC Director of Academic Initiatives.

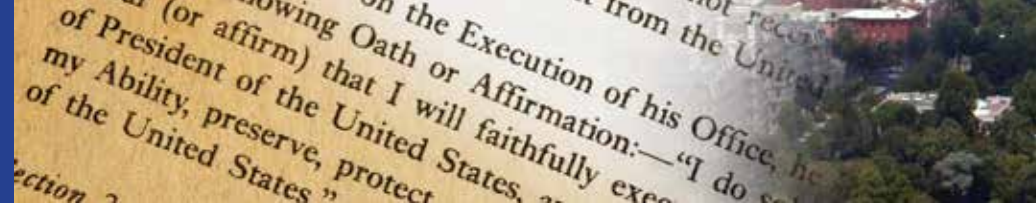
The *Chicago Initiative* is a regional network of faculty and donors who work together to advance education in America's Founding Principles. The strategy leverages academic talent and philanthropic investment to transform education in the Greater Chicago area.

## Roosevelt University's Montesquieu Forum Announces High School Essay Contest Winners

*Chicago area high school students were honored for their essays on The Pursuit of Happiness and the American Founding. the contest was open to students of teachers who attended RU's High School Teachers' Academy. Pictured left to right: Eliot Martin, Julie Kanter, Janet Mark (teacher), Medha Imam and Evan DeLorenzo from Hinsdale Central High School; and from Von Steuben Metropolitan High School, Rachael Wenz (teacher) and Nureen Ansari.*







# Summer Institute 2012

*A few of the 25 scholars who attended the institute at UVA*



Left to right: Jonathan Pidluzny, Emily Ekins, James Bruce

*"I left the seminar with strategies for incorporating literature into American political theory classes that I am very excited to try out next semester."*

DR. NORA HANAGAN  
DUKE UNIVERSITY



Eric Pullin



Top to bottom: Jed Atkins, Megan Doherty, Keegan Callanan, Jill Budny

## Citizenship in a Democratic Republic Considered at 2012 JMC Faculty Development Summer Institutes

The annual JMC Faculty Development Summer Institutes were held at the University of Virginia, June 11-22; and the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago, July 16-27. The two events bring the total number of summer institutes conducted to fifteen since 2004, and add another fifty scholars to the Miller network. The organization now has a total of nearly five-hundred and fifty faculty partners.

This year, the institutes continued an on-going investigation into the core themes raised by the American Founding, with a specific focus on questions of citizenship and civic education.

Themed "Making Citizens for a Democratic Republic: The Past, Present and Future of Civic Education in America," the sessions considered questions such as: What does it mean to be a citizen? Should we regard citizenship as a right or a privilege? What does the great tradition of Western political thought tell us about the meaning of citizenship, and particularly of American citizenship?

Each Summer Institute brings together twenty-five postdoctoral fellows and advanced graduate students together with up to a dozen teaching faculty. Prominent scholars, educators, and public intellectuals from around the country lead seminars, workshops, and lectures. The goal of the summer institutes is to assist in the cultivation, support, and professional advancement of the next generation of college and university professors.

Miller Summer Institute Fellows enter the JMC's network of scholars and are eligible to receive JMC funds to conduct campus programming to further education in American Founding Principles. The JMC staff and its Academic Council are committed to assisting all Miller Fellows, whenever possible, with publishing, securing grants from public and private sources, recruiting participants for on-campus programming, obtaining employment, facilitating contacts, and developing relationships with other faculty members and past Miller Fellows.



2012 Summer Institute participants, University of Virginia





**JACK MILLER CENTER**

*For Teaching America's Founding Principles and History*

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## The Growing Number of Professors in the Jack Miller Center Network

*A national community of scholars on more than 180 college campuses committed to providing students a robust education in America's Founding Principles and history.*

