

James Madison Program
in American Ideals and Institutions

**THE REBIRTH OF AMERICAN
CONSTITUTIONALISM**

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF
MARTIN DIAMOND AND HERBERT STORING

Monday, September 25, 2017

9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Prospect House, Princeton University

James Madison Program Constitution Day Event
Cosponsored by the Program in American Studies
Funded by the Bouton Law Lecture Fund

 **PRINCETON UNIVERSITY**

THIS CONFERENCE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF
MARTIN DIAMOND AND HERBERT J. STORING,
TWO GREAT THINKERS AND TEACHERS,
ON THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THEIR DEATHS.

In the summer of 1977, within weeks of one another, two preeminent teachers and scholars of the American founding and American constitutional democracy died suddenly and unexpectedly. On the 40th anniversary of their deaths, the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions, in collaboration with the Program in American Studies and the Bouton Law Lecture Fund at Princeton University, is honored to offer a conference examining anew the nature, influence, and significance of their work—*The Rebirth of American Constitutionalism: The Political Thought of Martin Diamond and Herbert Storing*.

Martin Diamond and Herbert Storing were early students at the University of Chicago of the great teacher and scholar of political philosophy, Leo Strauss. While most of Strauss's students followed him in concentrating on the long tradition of political philosophy begun by Plato and Aristotle, a few of Strauss's students chose to learn all that they could from him, gaining, as Storing wrote, the "context of [their] intellectual concern," while choosing to focus their own scholarship on the constitutional thought, institutions, and politics of the American regime. Diamond and Storing stand out in this regard. On the day of Diamond's death, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan stated quite accurately that Diamond "almost single-handedly . . . established the relevance of the thought and doings of the American founders for this generation of the students of American government." Of Storing's scholarship, his friend and longtime colleague at Chicago, Joseph Cropsey, said it is "an intelligent, capacious, and varied structure to be crowned by the monumental *Anti-Federalist* [*The Complete Anti-Federalist*, published in 1981 in seven volumes], which will earn him the gratitude of generations not yet on the horizon."

Those who had the good fortune to study as students of Martin Diamond and Herbert Storing find expression for their experience in words paraphrased from Wordsworth: Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, when Reason seemed the most to assert her rights. Many of our conference participants were in the classroom with those incomparable teachers. Others know them as colleagues or through their writings. All know Martin Diamond and Herbert Storing as co-founders of a new tradition, that of taking the Constitution seriously.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

9:00 TO 10:20 **Keynote Address**

Michael Zuckert, *Nancy R. Dreux Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame*

10:45 TO 12:45 **The Political and Constitutional Thought of Herbert Storing**

Panelists: **Joseph Bessette**, *Alice Tweed Tuohy Professor of Government and Ethics, Claremont McKenna College*

David Nichols, *Associate Professor of Political Science, Baylor University*

Ralph A. Rossum, *Salvatori Professor of American Constitutionalism, Claremont McKenna College*

Catherine Zuckert, *Nancy Reeves Dreux Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, University of Notre Dame*

Chair: **Gary Schmitt**, *Resident Scholar and Co-Director of the Marilyn Ware Center for Security Studies and Director of the Program on American Citizenship, American Enterprise Institute*

2:00 TO 3:45 **The Political and Constitutional Thought of Martin Diamond**

Panelists: **Alan Gibson**, *Professor of Political Science, California State University*

William A. Schambra, *Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute*

M. Richard Zinman, *University Distinguished Professor Emeritus, James Madison College, Michigan State University*

Chair: **Jeffrey Salmon**, *Deputy Director for Resource Management, U.S. Department of Energy*

4:15 TO 6:00 **Concluding Reflections**

Panelists: **Paul Carrese**, *Professor of Political Science; Director of the School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership, Arizona State University*

James Ceaser, *Professor of Politics, University of Virginia*

Jeffrey J. Poelvoorde, *Associate Professor of Politics, Converse College*

Chair: **Michael Maibach**, *Managing Director, James Wilson Institute on Natural Rights and the American Founding*

PARTICIPANTS

Joseph M. Bessette is Alice Tweed Tuohy Professor of Government and Ethics at Claremont McKenna College, where he has taught since 1990. He also teaches on the presidency and democratic theory at the Claremont Graduate University. He is the author, among other works, of *The Mild Voice of Reason: Deliberative Democracy and American National Government*; *American Government and Politics: Deliberation, Democracy, and Citizenship* (with John J. Pitney); co-editor and contributor to *The Presidency in the Constitutional Order*, *The Constitutional Presidency*, and *The Imperial Presidency and the Constitution*; and editor of *Toward a More Perfect Union: The Writings of Herbert J. Storing*. His most recent book is *By Man Shall His Blood Be Shed: A Catholic Defense of the Death Penalty*, coauthored with Edward Feser and published by Ignatius Press in May 2017. He received an M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago and a B.S. in Physics from Boston College.

Paul Carrese is founding Director of the School of Civic & Economic Thought and Leadership at Arizona State University, a “Great Books” department oriented to leadership and public service. For two decades, he was professor of Political Science at the U.S. Air Force Academy, where he co-founded and directed the Academy’s “Great Books” honors program. He was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, a post-doctoral fellow at Harvard University, a Fulbright Fellow at University of Delhi, and a Forbes Visiting Fellow in the James Madison Program, Princeton University. He is author of *The Cloaking of Power: Montesquieu, Blackstone, and the Rise of Judicial Activism* (Chicago, 2003, 2013), and *Democracy in Moderation: Montesquieu, Tocqueville, and Sustainable Liberalism* (Cambridge 2016). He co-edited John Marshall’s *The Life of George Washington* (Liberty Fund, 2001); *Constitutionalism, Executive Power, and the Spirit of Moderation* (SUNY, 2016); and *American Grand Strategy: War, Justice, and Peace in American Political Thought* (Johns Hopkins, 2018). Professor Carrese holds two Master’s degrees from Oxford University, one in Politics and Philosophy and another in Theology, and attained his Ph.D. in Political Science from Boston College.

James W. Ceaser is the Harry F. Byrd Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia, where he has taught since 1976, and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. He has held visiting professorships at Princeton University, the University of Florence, the University of Basel, Oxford University, the University of Bordeaux, and the University of Rennes. He was a 2007-08 Garwood Visiting Fellow and Garwood Visiting Professor of Politics in the James Madison Program at Princeton University. He has served as the Academic Chairman of the Jack Miller Center since its inception in 2004. He is

a regular contributor to the popular press and comments frequently on American politics for *La Voix d'Amérique*, the French-African outlet for the Voice of America. He is the author of several books on American politics and political thought, including *Presidential Selection*, *Liberal Democracy and Political Science*, *Reconstructing America*, *Nature and History in American Political Development*, and *Designing a Polity: America's Constitution in Theory and Practice*. He has also coauthored a series on American national elections since 1992. He earned his B.A. from Kenyon College and his Ph.D. from Harvard University.

Alan Gibson is Professor of Political Science at California State University, Chico. His focus is American political thought, especially that of the American founding. Gibson has held fellowships from the International Center for Jefferson Studies in Charlottesville, Virginia, the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. He has published articles in, among other journals, *American Political Thought*, *Polity*, *History of Political Thought*, and *The Review of Politics*. Gibson is the author of two books on the historiography of the American founding, both published by University Press of Kansas. Gibson is currently working on a study of the political thought of James Madison, tentatively titled *James Madison and the Creation of an Impartial Republic*. He earned his Ph.D. at the University of Notre Dame.

Michael C. Maibach is Managing Director, James Wilson Institute on Natural Rights and the American Founding. Previously, he was a global business diplomacy professional as President & CEO, European-American Business Council (2003-2012), and Vice President, Global Government Affairs, Intel Corp. (1983-2001). He earned a B.A. and M.A. from Northern Illinois University in Political Science as a student of Dr. Storing and Dr. Diamond.

David Nichols is Associate Professor of Political Science at Baylor University. He studies American politics, especially constitutional law, the presidency, and separation of powers theory. He previously taught at Montclair State University, Fordham University, the University of Virginia, and Catholic University of America. He also worked with the National Endowment for the Humanities and is the author of *The Myth of the Modern Presidency*, (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), Arabic translation published 2002, *Readings in American Government*, 8th ed. (Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 2010), and "Constitutional Controversy and Presidential Election: Bush v. Gore" in *The Constitutional Presidency*, Joseph M. Bessette and Jeffrey K. Tulis, eds.

(John Hopkins Press, 2009). Professor Nichols received his B.A. from Wake Forest University, his M.A. from Northern Illinois University, and his Ph.D. from the University of Virginia.

Jeffrey Poelvoorde is Associate Professor of Politics at Converse College in Spartanburg, SC, teaching political theory, constitutional law and American institutions. He was a contract speech writer for the Secretaries of Defense under Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush, a staff associate at the George Marshall Institute, executive board member of the South Carolina Humanities Council, President of the Westgate Training and Consultation Network, and served as President of the South Carolina Chapter of the National Association of Scholars. He received the Kathryn Amelia Brown Award for Excellence in Teaching in 2000 and is the author of essays in several anthologies, including *Power, Principles, and Interest* (Ginn Press, 1985), *How Does the Constitution Protect Religious Freedom?* (AEI, 1988), *Lessons of the Bush Defeat* (Ashbrook, 1992), *The Election of 1992* (Westview, 1992), *The Clinton Presidency* (Ashbrook, 1993), *American Conservative Opinion Leaders* (1990), *Readings in American Government* (Kendall-Hunt, 2002) and an article, “Women in the Novels of Nathaniel Hawthorne” in *Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy* (1994). He is currently working on a book on Death based upon his special-topics course “On the Personal and Political Meaning of Death in Scripture, Philosophy, Literature and Film” in January, 2011. He received his B.A. and M.A. at Northern Illinois University and his Ph.D. from the University of Virginia.

Ralph A Rossum is Henry Salvatori Professor of American Constitutionalism at Claremont McKenna College and a member of the faculty of Claremont Graduate University. He served as Deputy Director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics in the Department of Justice and also served as a board member of the National Institute of Corrections, the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, and of the California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. He is the author or co-author of twelve books, including *American Constitutional Law*, a two-volume work now in its tenth edition, Westview, 2017, *Antonin Scalia’s Jurisprudence: Text and Tradition*, Kansas, 2006 (a paperback edition with an extensive afterword was published in 2016), *The Supreme Court and Tribal Gaming: California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians*, Kansas, 2011, *Understanding Clarence Thomas: The Jurisprudence of Constitutional Restoration*, Kansas, 2014, and over 70 book chapters and articles in law reviews and professional journals. Professor Rossum earned his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Jeffrey Salmon is Deputy for Resource Management in the U.S. Department of Energy. As Deputy for Resource Management, Dr. Salmon oversees a diverse portfolio which includes the Office of Budget, the Office of Grants and Contracts Support, the Office of Information Technology and Services, and the Office of Scientific and Technical Information. He joined the Department of Energy in March 2001 as Senior Policy Advisor and Senior Speechwriter to the Secretary. In 2002, he joined the Office of Science as Chief of Staff to the Director. He later moved to the newly created office of the Under Secretary for Science as Associate Under Secretary before entering his current role. Prior to coming to the Department, Dr. Salmon worked on Capitol Hill, in the Department of Defense, the National Defense University, SRI International, and the private sector. He received his M.A. in Political Theory from Northern Illinois University and his Ph.D. in World Politics from the Catholic University of America.

William Schambra is Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute. Prior to joining Hudson in January of 2003 as director of the Institute's Bradley Center for Philanthropy and Civic Renewal, he was director of programs at the Bradley Foundation in Milwaukee. Before joining Bradley in 1992, he served as a senior advisor and chief speechwriter for Attorney General Edwin Meese III, Director of the Office of Personnel Management Constance Horner, and Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan. He was also director of Social Policy Programs for the American Enterprise Institute and co-director of AEI's "A Decade of Study of the Constitution." He was appointed by President Reagan to the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and by President George W. Bush to the board of directors of the Corporation for National and Community Service. He has written extensively on the Constitution, the theory and practice of civic revitalization, and on civil society in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Times*, *Policy Review*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Nonprofit Quarterly*, *Philanthropy*, *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, and *Crisis*, and is the editor of several volumes, including *As Far as Republican Principles Will Admit: Collected Essays of Martin Diamond*.

Gary Schmitt is Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute where he directs the Marilyn Ware Center for Security Studies and the Program on American Citizenship. Dr. Schmitt was a research fellow at the White Burkett Miller Center, the University of Virginia, has held senior staff positions in the Senate and the White House in national security, and was a consultant to the Department of Defense, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution and Executive Director of the Project for the New American Century. His most recent publications include the co-edited volumes *The Imperial*

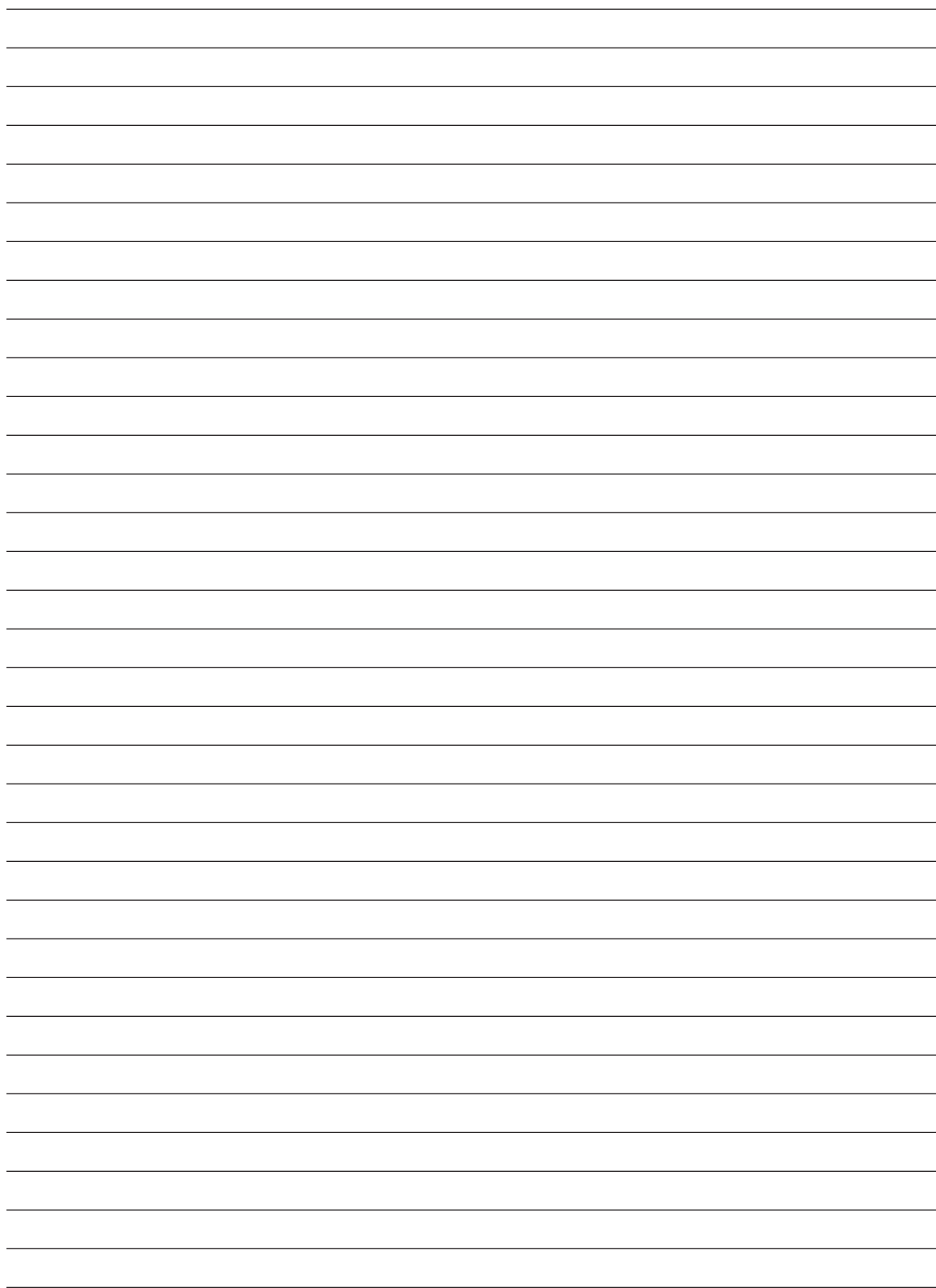
Presidency and the Constitution and *Is Congress Broken? The Virtues and Defects of Partisanship and Gridlock*. Dr. Schmitt earned his B.A. in Politics at the University of Dallas and his M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago.

M. Richard Zinman is University Distinguished Professor Emeritus in James Madison College at Michigan State University. Professor Zinman joined the James Madison faculty in 1969 and retired in 2014. He helped complete the founding of the college and its program in political philosophy. He taught classic texts in political philosophy, American political thought, religion, and literature. He studies Socratic political philosophy (Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle) and its most powerful modern critics (especially Machiavelli, Nietzsche, and Heidegger). His principal concerns are the contemporary crisis of rationalism, the recovery of classical political rationalism, the quarrels between reason and revelation and between philosophy and poetry, and the origins, strengths, weaknesses, and fate of liberal democracy. In 1989, Professor Zinman, working with Arthur Melzer and Jerry Weinberger, established the Symposium on Science, Reason, and Modern Democracy, a research center devoted to the study of the theory and practice of modern democracy. He served as the Symposium's executive director for twenty years. Professor Zinman received his Ph.D. from Claremont Graduate University.

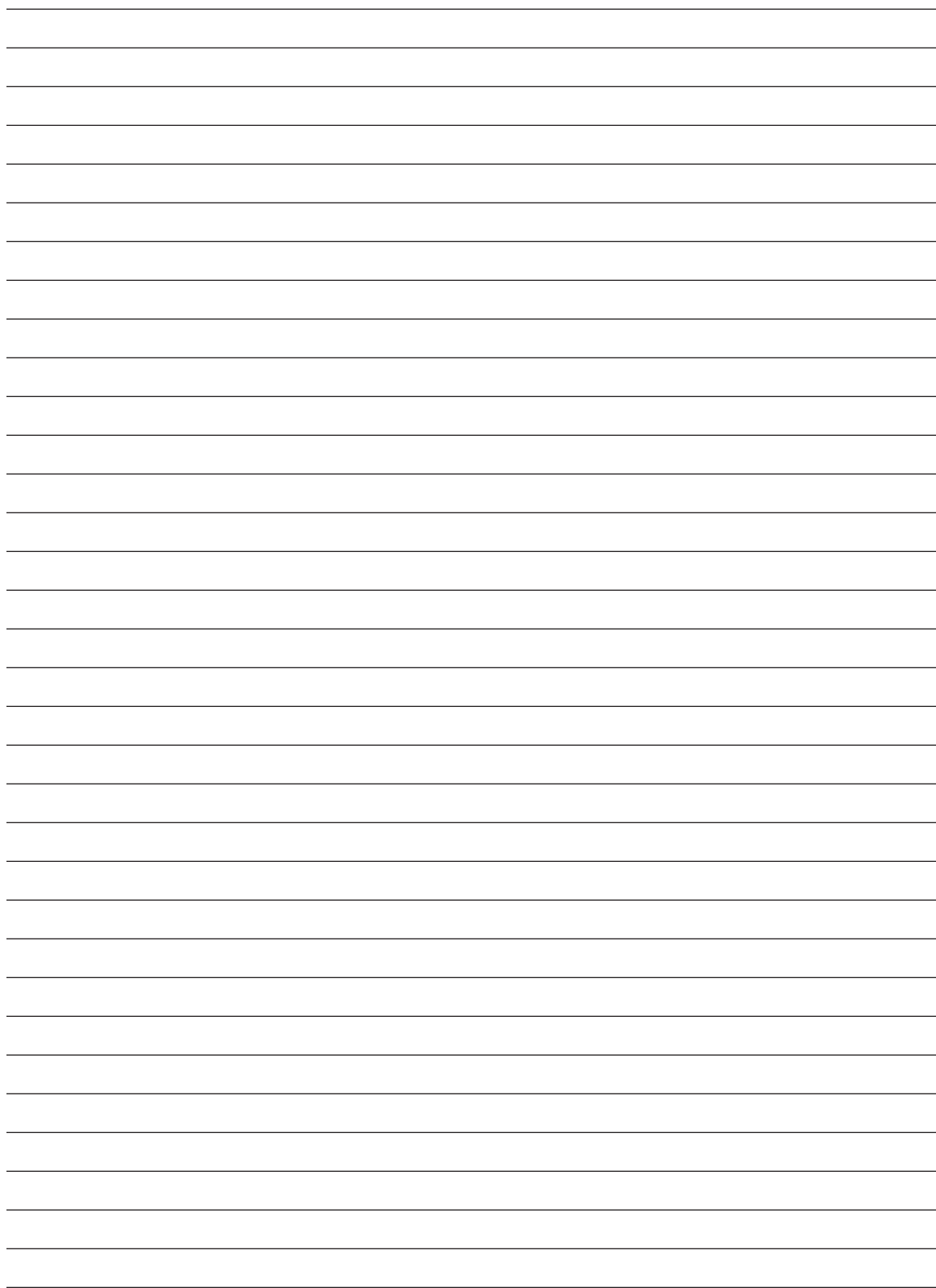
Catherine Zuckert is Nancy Reeves Dreux Professor of Political Science Emeritus at the University of Notre Dame and editor of *The Review of Politics*. Her works include *Natural Right and the American Imagination: Political Philosophy in Novel Form*; *Postmodern Platos: Nietzsche, Heidegger, Gadamer, Strauss, Derrida*; *Plato's Philosophers: On the Coherence of the Dialogues*; and, most recently, *Machiavelli's Politics*. She also co-authored two books with Michael Zuckert on Leo Strauss: *The Truth about Leo Strauss* and *Leo Strauss and the Problem of Political Philosophy*. Professor Zuckert received her B.A. from Cornell University and her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

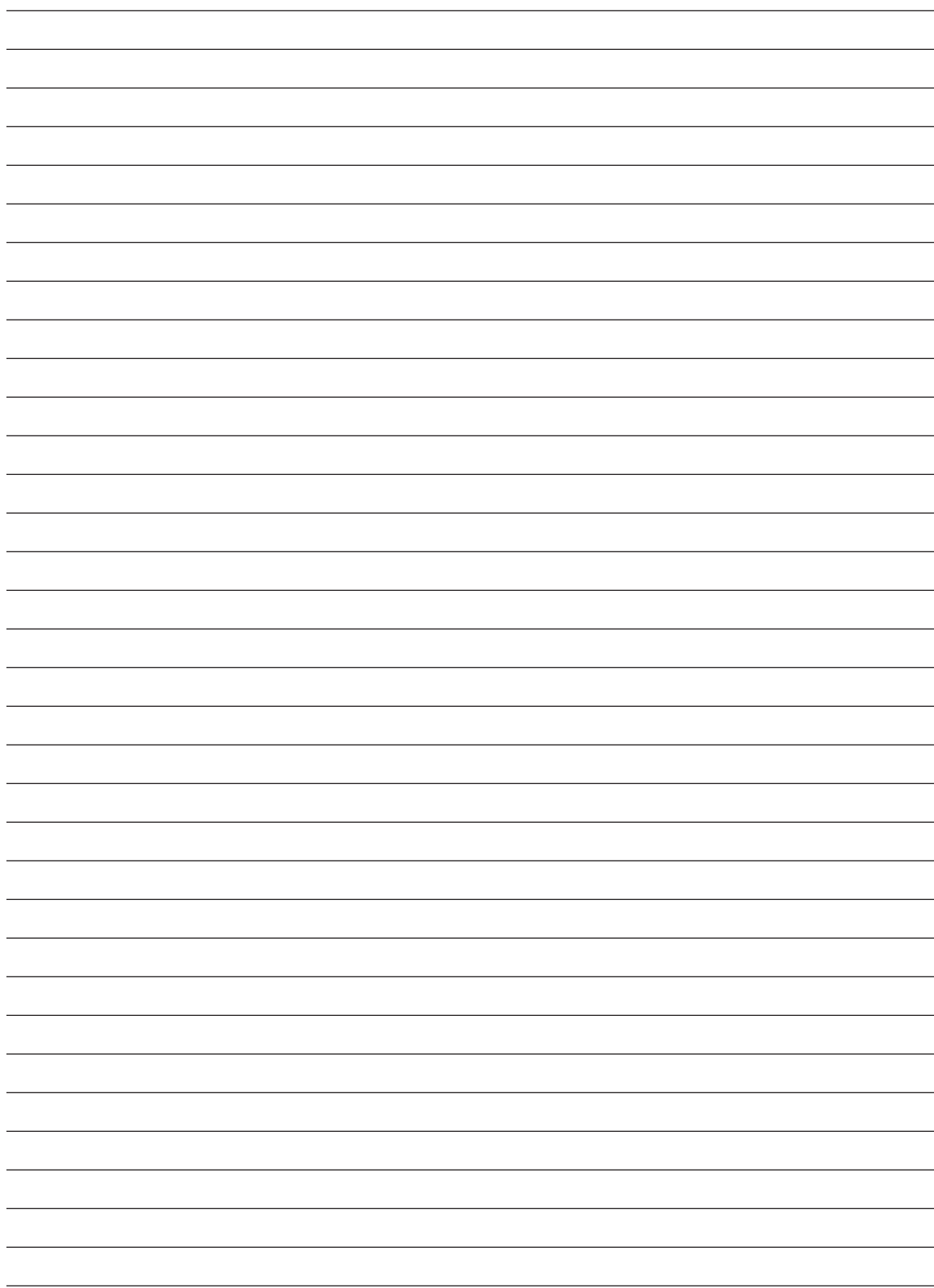
Michael Zuckert is Nancy Reeves Dreux Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. He teaches graduate and undergraduate courses in Political Philosophy and Theory, American Political Thought, American Constitutional Law, American Constitutional History, Constitutional Theory, and Philosophy of Law. He has published extensively on a variety of topics, including George Orwell, Plato, Shakespeare, and contemporary liberal theory. He has taught at Carleton College, Cornell University, Claremont Men's College, Fordham University, the University of

Minnesota, the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and the University of Chicago. He co-authored and co-produced the public radio series *Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson: A Nine Part Drama for the Radio*. He also was senior scholar for *Liberty!* (1997), a six hour public television series on the American Revolution, and served as senior advisor on the PBS series on *Benjamin Franklin* (2002) and *Alexander Hamilton* (2007). He has received grants from NEH, the Woodrow Wilson Center, the Earhart Foundation, and NSF. He is currently finishing a book called *Completing the Constitution: The Post-Civil War Amendments* and is co-authoring another book on Machiavelli and Shakespeare. He has been commissioned to write the volume on John Rawls for a series on Twentieth Century Political Philosophy. Professor Zuckert received his B.A. from Cornell University and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.









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