

American Political Thought
Course Syllabus and study guide
PS 163, Spring 2012
(M W 9:00-10:15, HGH 116, Course ID 20818)

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Roger Williams

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I. Greensheet:

1. Course description.

This course:

Many of the political ideas which Americans take for granted were once new and controversial. This course seeks to reawaken the great debates which shaped our political heritage. American political theory is very different from the more famous tradition of European political theory. While APT has important European roots, it also reflects the unique historical and cultural circumstances of America. For example, Americans have tended to be suspicious of abstract theory (maybe this includes you!) As a result, APT tends to be less abstract, less idealistic, and more practical than European theory. Furthermore, the American experiment was faced from the start with an intense debate over inclusion--who would be included as citizens? The presence of slaves and Native Americans in a nation that was initially dominated by European colonizers led to contradictions within their political theories which they sought to suppress, to explain, or to reform.

This course focuses primarily on the American constitutional founding period. As Machiavelli once observed, republics are founded on certain principles which continue to influence future generations. If we are to enrich our understanding of contemporary issues, we must first follow Machiavelli's advice and look at the origins of our republic. What we will find will not correspond very closely with popular and romanticized views.

To establish the relevance of the founding debates for contemporary politics, we will conclude the semester with several weeks in which we will "flash forward" to more recent moments in American history when the founding debates in political thought resurfaced. For example, the old debates over liberty composed in an era of slavery, were reused in the new context of civil rights.

Political Theory in general:

Political theory, while taught within political science departments, shares many similarities with literature, history, philosophy, and the humanities. It cultivates a kind of thinking more than it disseminates a body of knowledge. Students learn to criticize ideas, analyze texts, create theories, and construct arguments, among other things. Memorization skills and objective knowledge play little role in it. For these reasons, the course is well suited for students who wish to cultivate their writing, their analytic skills, their ability to appreciate literature, as well as their understanding of ethical, social, and political problems.

2. What requirements does this course fill? What prerequisites are suggested?

The B.A. in Political Science requires majors to take a minimum of one upper division course in political thought. This course fulfills that requirement, as well as counting towards the normal total of upper division courses.

This course is not designed only for political science students. Students from many other majors have proven that they can do as well in this course as the Political Science majors. All students, however, need some background in the critical reading of original texts. Political Science 3 is the suggested prerequisite, but philosophy, literature, and history courses frequently can provide sufficient practice in reading original sources.

Student ethics, responsibilities, and general information:

1. *Reading.* This is a reading course. Students should read each scheduled assignment prior to coming to class. Most students find they need to reread part or all of the material after the lecture, since the lecture helps them to further understand it, but reading it prior to the lecture helps students to be able to ask questions and even to listen intelligently. You will find that you cannot get by reading primary source materials just once—you must refer back to the texts repeatedly while fulfilling the assignments.
2. *Time commitment.* Students surveyed upon completion of this class report that they spend 2-4 hours a week completing the reading for this course. The standard rule of thumb for college level work is 2-3 hours of outside work per unit, meaning that a 3 unit class would demand 6-9 hours of outside work, with lower division classes on the lower end and upper division classes on the high end. This course does not demand that much time (few do), but be aware that there is still a substantial time commitment to be able to do well in the course.
3. *Penalties for missed or later assignments.* It is the student's responsibility to make arrangements for any planned absences which will interfere with assignments, and to contact Prof. Peter at the first available opportunity concerning emergencies which cause a missed assignment.
 - a. *Final exam, midterms.* Students who miss the final or midterm due to a verifiable emergency or University activity that cannot be changed will be allowed to take an alternate exam during a make-up period. Dr. Peter may request or independently seek verification.
 - b. *Writing assignments turned in late.* Writing assignments turned in late without a verifiable excuse (as for exams, see above) will be deducted 1/3 of a letter grade if turned in before an intervening weekend. For each intervening weekend, there will be an additional 1/3 of a grade deduction. Late assignments will also have the lowest priority for receiving full feedback and commentary from the Professor. Papers turned in after the last day of class may not be accepted, resulting in a failing grade for the paper and possibly the course.
4. *Cheating and plagiarism.*

“Your own commitment to learning, as evidenced by your enrollment at San José State University, and the University’s Academic Integrity Policy requires you to be honest in all your academic course work.” Faculty members are required to report all infractions to the Office of Judicial Affairs. The policy on academic integrity can be found at

http://sa.sjsu.edu/judicial_affairs/students/index.html.

All students are responsible for informing themselves about these rules.

Plagiarism is a topic that can be confusing to uninformed students. For papers that you write outside of class, ***you should credit every source you consult by listing it in a bibliography***, whether you quote the source or not. Any source you paraphrase, precis, quote or summarize must be directly credited with a footnote of some sort to prove that you are not attempting to take credit for someone else's work—note that this is not only direct quotes. In this course some footnoting shortcuts will be offered to make your job easier, but the basic principle of always giving credit to the sources you consult never changes.

Note in particular that use of the internet qualifies in the same way as consultation with any other source—internet materials must be fully cited if you have consulted them. Dr. Peter reserves the right to verify the originality of papers.

“Recycling” papers from other courses, even if they are your own original work, is not acceptable. If you have written a paper on a similar topic I am willing to consult with you to find ways to adjust course requirements to incorporate, expand, and build on your previous work

5. *Collaboration.* Students may collaborate in their studies and are encouraged to do so. However, no collaboration during in-class exams will be allowed. In their studies, collaborating students should not go so far that they memorized answers "cloned" from a single model. A good way to study together without exceeding the boundaries of appropriate collaboration is to discuss possible answers orally but not sharing written sample answers.
6. *Courtesy.* Proper classroom etiquette includes:
- arriving on time and staying for the full lecture,
 - refraining from distracting other students during the lecture,
 - listening attentively until the professor dismisses the class,
 - treating the opinions of other students with respect,
 - turning off cell phones and using laptops only for class related activities.
- The professor reserves the right to deduct from the overall grade for particularly egregious examples of poor classroom etiquette, and to reward students for outstanding displays of collegiality.
7. *Attendance.* Regular, on-time attendance is especially important for these reasons:
- a) Lectures help explain the original-source readings we do. Most students report that they have a difficult time understanding the readings without the help of the lectures.
 - b) Lectures often cover materials completely independent and/or supplementary to the texts.
 - c) Lectures provide an opportunity for questions, participation, and getting motivated to do the rest of the work.
 - d) Often, important announcements are made at the beginning of class--sometimes clarifying or changing assignments.
 - e) Participation credit is awarded to students who consistently and effectively participate. One cannot participate while absent.
 - f) If you are absent, it is your responsibility to get notes on what you missed. If an assignment or the syllabus was changed during your absence, you are responsible for finding this out.
 - g) If attendance in the class becomes a serious problem, Dr. Peter reserves the right to change course requirements and institute more in-class evaluations.
8. Incompletes, academic renewal, course drops, "WU"s vs "F"s.
- a) Sometimes students "get in over their heads" and need alternatives to finishing the course. I will be happy to issue an incomplete if 1) a student has made arrangements for making up the course by coming to me and filling out the department incomplete form prior to the time of the final exam, 2) the student has completed 2/3 of the assignments, and 3) the student offers a good reason. However, be aware that you will have just one year to make up the assignments or the incomplete automatically turns into an 'F'. University rules specifically prohibit professors from giving incompletes to students who need to attend a significant portion of the course to be able to finish it.
 - b) An alternative for students who do not qualify for the incomplete (for example, if you have done less than 2/3 of the assignments or you need to attend a lot of lectures) is to retake the course under academic renewal. You are limited to a certain number of courses over your college career, but this can be an excellent option in certain situations.
 - c) I will cooperate with any student wishing to drop the course for any reason. However, the University has adopted strict rules against dropping a course after the first few weeks unless you have very compelling evidence (death certificate, etc.) I disagree with the policy but cannot change it.
 - d) I am required to issue "WU"s (Withdrawal Unauthorized) to students who do not drop the course but who stop coming to class and doing the assignments. I give "WU"s to those students who "disappear" after doing no graded assignments, and "F"s to those students who "disappear" after doing at least one graded assignment. But both grades are equally bad, so avoid them both!

e) Check the Catalog for the latest academic rules that might affect you.

9. Disabilities. “If you need course adaptations or accommodations because of a disability, or if you need special arrangements in case the building must be evacuated, please make an appointment with me as soon as possible, or see me during office hours. Presidential Directive 97-03 requires that students with disabilities requesting accommodations must register with DRC to establish a record of their disability.”

4. Evaluation of student coursework.

1. *Criteria.* To see the specific criteria I use for grading, as well as for helpful suggestions on the assignments, see the relevant sections of the appendix.

2. *Assignment Matrix.*

30% Final
25% Midterm
20% 1st Essay
25% 2nd Essay

3. *Description of assignments:*

a. Final and Midterm. These exams will consist of a series of specific short essays focused on the lectures and the readings. You will write 8-12 of these short answers out of a slightly larger selection.

b. *Essays.* The essay topics will be distributed appx. two week before they are due. For each essay, you are to write a five-seven page essay, appx. 1500 words. See essay writing guide for advice.

Rewrite of the first essay: Anyone wishing to re-write their essay after receiving my evaluation may do so. The final overall essay grade when a re-write is done is the average of the original and the rewritten essays. The original essay and my comments must be attached. Minor changes to the paper will not be rewarded—take this option only if you are willing to do a substantial rewrite.

c. Oral participation: The cumulative contribution of a student over the course of the semester can raise a grade by up to .33 gpa. This often makes a crucial difference in deciding between B+ grades and A- grades, for example, and can often “tip the scales” at many breakpoints. It is rare for a student to earn a solid “A” without getting this boost. See appendix for advice

5. Texts

Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government.* Hackett.
Montesquieu, *Selected Political Writings.* Hackett.
Jefferson, Thomas. *Portable Thomas Jefferson.* Penguin.
Kammen, Michael. *Origins of the American Constitution.* Penguin.
Kenneth M. Dolbeare. *American Political Thought,* 6th Edition.

II. Study Guide and Calendar:

1. W January 25 Introduction to American Political Thought

Reading: None

Discussion Questions:

1. Why is discussion of a nation's "founding" relevant to modern life?
2. What are "perceptual screens?" What is the role of political theory in overcoming these screens?
3. Take stock of your current views on the American founding, and see if they change over the course of the semester. In particular, think about themes that could be used to explain, understand, or evaluate American political thought/culture.

2. M January 30 Puritans: community and authority

Reading: 1) John Winthrop "A Model of Christian Charity" (on website.)
2) "Mayflower Compact" (on website.)

Discussion Questions:

1. What are the themes of "A Model of Christian Charity?" Do you find discussions of equality, virtue, ideals, consent imbedded here? How do Winthrop's ideas differ from more contemporary views of these themes?
2. What does Winthrop mean with his "shipwreck" comparison?
3. Why was the new colony going to be "as a city upon a hill"?
4. Do you recognize any "Puritan" streaks in modern American society and politics?"
5. What key ideas of political theory are imbedded in the "Mayflower Compact" ?

3. W February 1 Puritans and their critics

Reading: 1) "The Little Speech" in Dolbeare;
2) John Wise "Democracy is Founded in Scripture" in Dolbeare.
3) Roger Williams, "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience" and "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution, Made Yet More Bloody" in Dolbeare.

Discussion Questions:

1. How important a value should "community" be in a polity?
2. What does Wise think of democracy? Does he differ from Winthrop's views?
3. What is Winthrop's view of liberty? Do you agree that there are two kinds of liberty, one negative and one positive?
4. What is Winthrop's view of authority? Of accountability? What do you think of his analogy between marriage and government?
5. Why does Roger Williams argue so vigorously against religious persecution? Reexamine your views on religious toleration. Do you agree with Williams? Are you willing to tolerate ANY religion, including religions that violate your basic values?

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4. M February 6 Locke, Social Contract, and the concept of Natural Right

Reading: John Locke, *Second Discourse (Essay on Ends of Civil Gov't)*, Chapters II, IV, V, VII (just part of VII: paragraph nos. 87-93).

Discussion Questions:

1. What are natural law and natural rights? How does Locke derive them from his "state of nature?" Which comes first, rights or politics?
2. What does Locke think of private property? Why is this the main reason for having government, according to Locke?
3. Describe the nature of the social contract in Locke's theory. Why would people enter into it? How does it justify majority rule? Who might opt not to join?

5. W February 8 Locke and the Right of Revolution

Reading: John Locke, *Second Discourse (Essay on Ends of Civil Gov't)*, Chapters VIII (just part of VIII: paragraph nos. 95-99, 110-122), IX, X, XI, XII, XIX.

Discussion Questions:

1. Under what circumstances, and on what basis, is revolution justified?
2. Put yourself in the shoes of an American revolutionary, searching for a way to explain why you want to break the sacred ties to the mother country. Would Locke be useful?

6. M February 13 Native American (Indian) contributions to political theory.

Reading:

- 1) "Logan's Speech" as related by Thomas Jefferson, p. 99 beginning "I may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero..." through p. 100 (middle paragraph) in Notes on the State of Virginia in The Portable Thomas Jefferson.
- 2) "Excerpts from the Great Law of Peace of the Iroquois Nations" in Chapter 3 of Dolbeare (Benjamin Franklin).
- 3) Chapter 29, "Black Elk" in Dolbeare, all.

Discussion Questions:

1. Must any community be exclusive, to some degree? How does the presence of Native Americans create a *theoretical* problem for European communities in America?
2. How does Logan point to the dangers of a strong community? How is any community defined?
3. What form of government did the Iroquois practice? Are you surprised at the use of federalism in a non-European setting? Are their clues in the Great Law that reveal gender roles as different from the European roles of the day?
4. How does Black Elk describe the power of a circle? What does that powerful metaphor say about American Indians' idea of community. Of liberty?

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7. W February 15 Benjamin Franklin

- Reading:
- 1) "The Albany Plan of Union" and "Short Hints towards a Scheme for United the Northern Colonies" in Chapter 3 of Dolbeare.
 - 2) "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind" in Chapter 3.

Discussion Questions:

1. Are you surprised by Franklin's interest in the Iroquois? In what ways might the Iroquois confederation be related to the Albany Plan of Union?
2. Can you see evidence in Franklin's writings of someone who was a) unusually open minded to Indian culture, and b) racist and ethnocentric? (Hint, look at paragraph 24 of "Observations." Which one is he? Could he be both at the same time?)
3. What do you think of the analysis of political economy under colonialism that Franklin carries out in "Observations"?

8. M Feb 20 Montesquieu, Republicanism, and the concept of Civic Virtue

- Reading:
- 1) Montesquieu, "Myth of the Troglodytes", pp. 55-64 (from the *Persian Letters*.)
 - 2) "The Principles of Three Governments", pp. 125-133 (from *Spirit of the Laws* 3.1-11).

Discussion Questions:

1. What is the moral of "The Myth of the Troglodytes?"
2. What is the purpose of "virtue" in a democracy?

9. W Feb 22 Montesquieu and the origins of "Checks and Balances."

- Reading:
- 1) "The English Constitution", pp. 182-192 (from *Spirit of the Laws* 11.6).
 - 2) "Distinctive Characteristics of a Republic", p. 170 (from *Spirit of the Laws* 8.16).
 - 3) "Laws of Civil Slavery", pp. 200-206 (from *Spirit of the Laws* 15).

Discussion Questions:

1. Montesquieu's work on "The English Constitution" is less a description of England than it is an ideal theory of government. Does it seem familiar to you? Is this the same as our modern theory of three branches of government checking and balancing each other, or are there differences?
2. What notes of irony do you detect in Montesquieu's discussion of slavery? Are you surprised to find this condemnation of slavery from member of the European aristocracy?
3. What does Montesquieu say about the problem of scale (size) for republics? Was he right?

10. M February 27 Revolutionaries: John Adams and Thomas Jefferson

- Reading:
- 1) John Adams, *Thoughts on Government* in Dolbeare, all.
 - 2) Thomas Jefferson, *Declaration of Independence* in Dolbeare, all.

Discussion Questions:

1. Is John Adams the same kind of revolutionary as Paine? As Jefferson?
2. Compare Jefferson's views of rights with Locke's. The similarities are obvious. What are the differences?
3. Take apart the Declaration of Independence line by line. What is the purpose of each sentence? Do you recognize any of them? What about Jefferson's famous phrase "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?"

11. W February 29 Revolutionaries: Paine

- Reading: Thomas Paine, excerpts from *Common Sense, The American Crisis, and Rights of Man* in Dolbeare, all.

Discussion Questions:

1. How does Paine go about dismantling the legitimacy of the English King? What techniques, examples, and theories does he use? How is the *form* of his writing related to its *content*?
2. Other than just appealing propaganda, does Paine develop a theory of government or of power in his writing? What does Paine think of rights?
3. From what you have read, would you consider Paine a radical democrat, a republican, or some other alternative? What would Paine say about Locke?

12. M March 5 The Articles and "Decentered" Government

- Reading:
- 1) *The Articles of Confederation*, in Kammen.
 - 2) *The New Jersey Amendments* to the Articles in Kammen.
 - 3) *The Virginia Resolutions and the Amended Virginia Resolutions*, in Kammen.

Discussion Questions:

1. Were the Articles of Confederation more democratic than the U.S. Constitution? Does it matter that they were never legally replaced? While the defects of the Articles are clear, what were their advantages?
2. What would Montesquieu have said about the Articles of Confederation? Specifically, what about the problem of scale?
3. The New Jersey Plan and the Virginia Plan pulled the convention in opposite directions. How would you have resolved the differences between these two alternatives? In what ways does the original Virginia Plan, which became the basis for the Constitution, differ from the finished product?
4. Were you aware of the many different alternatives to the Constitution that were considered? Do you prefer some aspects of these alternate plans to the Constitution?

13. W March 7 The Antifederalists and the Opponents of the U.S. Constitution

Wednesday March 7 1:00 am essay on revolutionary political thought due must be submitted electronically to the D2L dropbox for the course..

- Reading:
- 1) "Dissent of the Pennsylvania Minority" in Dolbeare.
 - 2) "Letters from a Federal Farmer" in Dolbeare. Note that Kammen has a longer and more complete set of the letters included, but the Dolbeare abridgement usefully cuts the length.

Discussion Questions:

1. What alternative vision of politics did the Antifederalists have to offer? To which European thinkers were they most indebted?
2. Which of the rights asserted by the Pennsylvania minority ultimately made their way into the Bill of Rights? Were you aware that much of the opposition to the Constitution was due to its lack of protection for rights?
3. How persuasive is Federal Farmer that "some consolidation" is called for in a reform, but that the proposed constitution will ultimately "destroy" the state governments? What of his objection that "certain unalienable and fundamental rights...ought to be explicit" in the constitution?

14. M March 12 Federalists: Human nature and political efficiency

- Reading:
- 1) *The Plan Presented by Alexander Hamilton*, in Kammen
 - 2) *Federalist Papers* 1, 10 and 23 in Kammen. [Note: the Federalist numbers are given, not Kammen's entry numbers (which are different.)]
 - 3) *Private Correspondence of the Founders* (#s 11, 12, 22) in Kammen [Note: these are the Kammen entry numbers.]

Discussion Questions:

1. What do you think of Hamilton's proposal for a constitution? What does it say about his view of human nature?
2. What is Hamilton's overview of the Constitution in Nos. 1 and 23? What are the key words and concepts he uses in framing the debate?
3. What is Madison's attitude toward the people in Federalist No. 10? What is the chief cause of factions? What is a faction? What is a *majority* faction? Why is a majority faction his chief concern?
4. How might private correspondence, like James Madison's letter to Jefferson (October 24, 1787), illuminate the origins of our constitution in ways that public papers like the *Federalists* might not?

15. W March 14 Checks and Balances

- Reading: *Federalist* Nos. 47, 48, 49, 51 in Kammen.

Discussion Questions:

1. You read most of the sections of Montesquieu that Madison quotes in Federalist No. 47. Review them. Does Madison use Montesquieu fairly?
2. What is the view of human nature revealed in Madison's Federalist No. 51?
3. Was Madison more interested in checking the three branches of government, or checking the people? What evidence from his writings can you find for your answer?
4. Are "checks and balances" always a good idea? How would Madison address the current debate over "gridlock."

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16. M March 19 Congress: Delegates and Trustees

- Reading:
- 1) Federalist Nos. 57 (online); 62, 63, in Kammen.
 - 2) U.S. Constitution, Article I.

Discussion Questions:

1. How does Madison justify the House and the Senate? What are the different purposes which they serve, and what are the different theories on which they are based? Given that Madison did not personally want a Senate, how good a job does he do in justifying it?
2. What do you think are the strengths and the weaknesses of the delegate theory of representation versus the trustee theory of representation? Can you see them embodied in each of the two branches of Congress? Do these theories still pertain today?

17. W March 21 Midterm

Midterm: Wednesday March 21

*** *Spring Break, Caesar Chavez Day* ***

18. M April 2 Federalists: The theory behind the Presidency

- Reading:
- 1) Federalist No. 70; private correspondence items 29, 32 in Kammen.
 - 2) U.S. Constitution, Article II.

Discussion Questions:

1. What are the essential characteristics of a good executive, according to Hamilton? Is his vision of a strong Presidency consistent with Madison's statements that the legislative branch would predominate?
2. What are the actual powers of the Presidency, as contained in Article II of the Constitution?

19. W April 4 Federalists: The theory behind the Supreme Court

- Reading:
- 1) Federalist No. 78 in Kammen
 - 2) U.S. Constitution, Article III.
 - 3) John Marshall, *Marbury v. Madison* in Dolbeare.
 - 4) John Marshall, *McCulloch v. Maryland*, in Dolbeare.

Discussion Questions:

1. What is fundamental law, and what does Hamilton say is the Supreme Court's role in protecting it? What power does this ill-defined branch have? Does Hamilton seek to give it powers that go beyond the Constitution?
2. What does the U.S. Constitution say about judicial review?
3. In what ways did *Marbury v. Madison* and *McCulloch v. Maryland* change the Constitution?

20. M April 9 Thomas Jefferson as an Enlightenment thinker

- Reading:
- 1) *Kentucky Resolutions* (In Portable TJ.)
 - 2) *First Inaugural* (In Portable TJ.)

Discussion Questions:

1. What principles does Jefferson defend in the Kentucky Resolutions? Does it surprise you that these were necessary after the Bill of Rights had been adopted. Would Jefferson's arguments regarding the 10th Amendment carry much weight today?
2. After an extremely divisive election, how does Jefferson balance political philosophies in his First Inaugural? What is the theme of this piece?

21. W April 11 Thomas Jefferson: Liberal or Republican?

- Reading:
- 1) Bill for establishing Religious Freedom (Portable pp. 251-53 and online);
 - 2) To Nehemiah Dodge and Others (pp. 303-304 in Portable)
 - 3) Selection on education "Query XIV" of Notes on the State of Virginia, begins "Another object of the revisal is...(p. 193) to the end, in Portable.
 - 4) To James Madison, Oct 28, 1785 (In Portable TJ.)
 - 5) Draft Constitution for the State of Virginia. (In Portable TJ.)

Discussion Questions:

1. How and why did Jefferson have separated church from state? Is this the same kind of separation that we have today?
2. Why did Jefferson think education was important for a republic? In what ways were his schemes of public education democratic, and in what ways were they elitist?
3. What view of private property does Jefferson take in his letter to Madison, Oct 28, 1785?
4. What values and priorities does Jefferson's "Draft Constitution" reveal? In what ways is it different from the U.S. Constitution that we actually adopted?

22. M April 16 Thomas Jefferson and the specter of slavery

- Reading:
- 1) Selection on emancipation and showing TJ's racism from "Query XIV" of *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in Portable TJ (pp. 185-192.)
 - 2) Reread Declaration of Independence TJ's original draft, section removed on slavery, pp. 238-239 (in Portable TJ, in italics.)
 - 3) *To Benjamin Banneker, August 30, 1791.* (In Portable TJ)
 - 4) *To Henri Gregoire, February 25, 1809.* (In Portable TJ)
 - 5) *To Edward Coles, August 25, 1814.* (In Portable TJ)

Discussion Questions:

1. How could a man who ostensibly believed that "all men are created equal" hold the deplorably racist views that are to be found in Notes on the State of Virginia?
2. Why would a racist criticize the institution of slavery? Why would a slave owner criticize slavery?
3. Attempt to understand and to characterize the internal struggle going on in Jefferson as he writes to his black friend Benjamin Banneker, as he admits doubts about his racism to Henri Gregoire, as he confesses that he thought his anti-slavery views were unrealistic to Edward Coles.

23. W April 18 Lincoln and the re-founding of the republic

- Reading:
- 1) Abraham Lincoln, all of Chapter 26 in Dolbeare, especially “Speech on Dred Scott,” the two inaugurals and the “Gettysburg Address.”
 - 2) The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments in Dolbeare.

Discussion Questions:

1. The first paragraph of Lincoln’s speech on Dred Scott reveals both his own racism and the even stronger racism of his audience. Following, how does Lincoln analyze the Declaration of Independence?
2. How effective is Lincoln’s attack on the Dred Scott decision? Is it curious how much effort he devotes to disproving the accusation that he favors amalgamation of the races?
3. What do you make of Lincoln’s references to Jefferson, to Washington? How does Lincoln define “conservative”?
4. Explain Lincoln’s political maneuvering at the start of the Civil War as he delivers his 1st Inaugural. Who is the intended audience?
5. Some say that the Gettysburg address radically changed America—as much as the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution? How could that case be made?
6. Examine the tone and the message of the 2nd Inaugural, delivered just 5 weeks before his assassination and at the very beginning of his second term.

24. M April 23 Whose Constitution? Race in America

- Reading:
- 1) Frederick Douglass, “Speech at the Anti-Slavery Association” and “The Various Phases of Anti-Slavery” in Dolbeare.
 - 2) W.E.B. Du Bois. “The Souls of Black Folk” in Dolbeare
 - 3) Martin Luther King “Letter from Birmingham City Jail” in Dolbeare.

Discussion Questions:

1. The selections from Douglass are less dramatic than his famous 4th of July Oration, but perhaps they are more thoughtful. Explain the particular reasons he gives for anti-slavery. And how does he sum up the state of the anti-slavery movement
2. How does W.E.B. Du Bois see the state of racism when he wrote at the turn of the century? What is in the “souls of Black Folk?” What does he think of Booker T. Washington’s method of “submission?”
3. Analyze King’s letter. How does he confront the emotional, the theoretical, and the political aspects of racism in America?

25. W April 25 Whose Constitution? American feminism.

- Reading:
- 1) John Adams and Abigail Adams, excerpted correspondence. Dolbeare p. 82.
 - 2) Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, Address to the NY State Legislature*, in Dolbeare.
 - 3) Susan B. Anthony and Frederick Douglass, "Debates at Meetings of the Equal Rights Association" in Dolbeare.
 - 4) Susan B. Anthony, "Statement at the Close of her Trial" and "Petition to Congress for Remission of Her Fine" in Dolbeare.
 - 5) Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation" in Dolbeare.
 - 6) Betty Friedan, *Our Revolution is Unique*, in Dolbeare.

Discussion Questions:

1. What is revealed about the "founding fathers" by Abigail Adams' letter. Did John heed her advice?
2. What was the message that the convention at Seneca Falls was trying to send through the form of their declaration?
3. In what ways was the struggle for women's rights similar to the struggle against racism? In what ways has it been different? Consider especially the debate between Anthony and Douglass, Stanton's address to the NY legislature, and Friedan's piece.
4. How does Goldman develop a comprehensive rationale for the liberation of women, and what did she find to be the faults in the existing movement?
5. Why did Friedan find the need to argue that the woman's movement was unique? What makes the struggle for equality for women fundamentally different than the struggle for equality of other groups?

26. M April 30 Whose Constitution? Nature and Ecophilosophy

- Reading:
- 1) Aldo Leopold "A Sand County Almanac" in Dolbeare.
 - 2) Winona LaDuke "All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life" in Dolbeare.

Discussion Questions:

1. What does Leopold mean by "the land ethic"? How is this concept related to community? To time?
2. In what ways is conservation more about *ethics* than about *nature*?
3. What does LaDuke mean when she talks about "the seventh generation"? Would following this principle change our public policies? How is LaDuke critical of the way the United States views relations between generations?

27. W May 2 Whose Constitution? Critics of State Power

- Reading:
- 1) Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience" in Dolbeare.
 - 2) Mark Twain, "The War Prayer" in Dolbeare
 - 3) Emma Goldman "Anarchism: What It Really Stand For" in Dolbeare

Discussion Questions:

1. What is the proper response when a citizen's personal sense of morality and conscience comes into conflict with the laws of the state? Do you accept Thoreau's analysis of this conflict?
2. Be sure to read the Twain selection through to the end. How does the last long paragraph give the piece a different outlook?
3. What is Anarchism? How does it compare with liberalism, with feminism?

28. M May 7 Whose Constitution? Advocates of economic inequality.

- Reading:
- 1) William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe Each* " in Dolbeare.
 - 2) Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," in Dolbeare.
 - 3) Ronald Reagan, "First Inaugural" and "State of the Union" (1984) in Dolbeare

Discussion Questions:

1. According to Sumner, are economic inequalities beneficial or harmful to a society? What level of inequality should be tolerate?
 - What does Sumner mean by "poverty is the best policy."? Do you agree that "rights do not pertain to results, but only to chances"?
3. How do you view Carnegie's essay on "Wealth"? Is it a rationale for plutocracy? What does he believe ought to be done with "wealth"?
4. Do you see echoes of Sumner and Carnegie in Ronald Reagan's speeches?

29. W May 9 Whose Constitution? Advocates of economic equality.

Wednesday May 9 1:00 am essay on post--revolutionary political thought due; must be submitted electronically to the D2L dropbox for the course.

- Reading:
- 1) Herbert Croly, "The Promise of American Life" in Dolbeare.
 - 2) Woodrow Wilson, "The Meaning of Democracy" in Dolbeare.
 - 3) Franklin Roosevelt, "An Economic Bill of Rights" in Dolbeare and video.
 - 4) Peruse this website: <http://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/why/evidence>

Discussion Questions:

- 1.. Do you see both Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian elements in Croly's piece? In what ways is this article—which was the key article of the entire Progressive movement, also conservative?
2. What is the meaning of democracy, according to Wilson? How does modern democracy change the way we think of private property and property rights? How has technology and history changed the meaning?
3. What do you think of FDR's "Economic Bill of Rights"? Would it surprise you to learn that this has never been endorsed by a political party in the United States? Do you agree or disagree with its various provisions? How has America changed since this speech in 1944?
4. What is the state of the evidence for a correlation between relative inequality in a society and social ills such as crime, poor health, mistrust of government, etc? If relative inequality is correlated with these social ills, what could be the cause of this correlation?

30. M May 14 Course conclusion: A Democratic Society

- Reading: 1) John Dewey, "The Public and its Problems" in Dolbeare.

Discussion Questions:

1. Does Dewey believe that political democracy and social democracy are compatible in the United States? What is the distinction between the two? How are we doing today, a century after Dewey, with regard to social democracy?

FINAL EXAM . Monday, May 21, 7:15-9:30.