

San José State University
Department of Political Science
POLS 163, American Political Thought, Spring 2019

Course and Contact Information

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Office Hours:	Tuesday 2-4, Wednesday 12-1 (selected Wednesdays 2-3 instead), and by appointment
Class Days/Time:	Monday and Wednesday 10:30-11:45
Classroom:	DMH 149A

Canvas learning management system

Course materials can be found on the Canvas learning management system course website. You can learn how to access this site at this web address: <http://www.sjsu.edu/at/ec/canvas/>

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.

Course Learning Outcomes (CLO)

Upon successful completion of this course, students will be able to:

1. CLO 1 Explain the development of several themes of American Political Thought over time. This is assessed in your essays.
2. CLO 2 Read, understand, summarize and critique several of the most significant texts on the development of American Political Thought. This is assessed primarily through the quizzes and the final.
3. CLO 3 Apply an understanding of the development of American Political Thought to contemporary political issues. This is assessed through your essays—particularly the strength of their conclusions-- and your final.

Required Texts/Readings

Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government*. Hackett.

Montesquieu, *Selected Political Writings*. Hackett.

Kammen, Michael. *Origins of the American Constitution*. Penguin.

Kramnick and Lowi, *American Political Thought*. Norton.

Assignments and Grading Policy

Final Examination (100 points)

The Final will consist of short answer essays drawn directly from the discussion questions provided in the daily study guide. You will write well-formed paragraphs on each of 10 of 12 questions with which you will be provided. You should bring one or more large Examination Books and blue or black pens to the exam. The exam will be closed-book. The best way to prepare for the exam is to review potential answers to all the provided discussion questions, and the best way to do that is to keep up with reading, attend lectures, to take notes, and to meet in small study groups to compare ideas. Office hours are another good resource to use to understand questions that are not clear to you after lecture.

Essays (100 points each.)

Two critical essays are required. The specific essay topics will be distributed approximately two weeks before they are due. For each essay, you are to write a five-seven page essay, approximately 1500 words. Extensive advice and examples are provided in an essay writing guide that is provided on Canvas. The essays will be turned in via Canvas and will be checked electronically for proper citation of any consulted materials. Please see the section on academic integrity and plagiarism below for further details.

Rewrite of the first essay: Anyone wishing to re-write their essay after receiving my evaluation may do so after meeting with me in a writing conference. The final overall essay grade for those doing the rewrite is the average of the original and the rewritten versions. Minor changes to the paper will not be rewarded—take this option only if you are willing to do a substantial rewrite.

Quizzes. (100 points total)

There will be six unannounced quizzes scattered throughout the semester. Each quiz will ask you to write a 15 minute response to quotations drawn from readings that were recently assigned in the course. Each quiz will count up to 20 points. The top five quizzes will be counted and the lowest of the six discarded.

Extra Credit.

Students may earn a modest number of extra credit points to replace points missed on other assignments. Students who contribute positively to the class through oral participation may be awarded up to 12 additional points which is equivalent to boosting the final grade for the course by up to 1/3 of a letter grade: for example, from a B+ to an A-. The number of points depends on the quality, quantity, and the civility of the participation. See the guide on participation available on Canvas.

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. 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. Essays. Essays turned in late will be deducted 3 points if less than one day late, 7 points if less than three days late, and ten points if less than one week late. Essays that are more than one week late will not be accepted without first conferencing with Professor Peter. Papers turned in after the last day of classroom lecture will not be accepted, resulting in a failing grade for the paper and possibly the course.
- c. Quizzes. Quizzes are given promptly at the beginning of class. Arriving late will result in missing the quiz. A single missed quiz is not normally made up since the grade for the lowest quiz is simply discarded anyway. If a student has written documentation that an SJSU sanctioned activity or a medical excuse has interfered with two or more quiz dates will a make-up be authorized.

Calculation of Final Grade

The final grade is determined using the cumulative percentage of the assigned 400 points, plus whatever extra credit is earned. The letter grades assigned are the standard conversion as follows:

<i>Grade</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>A plus</i>	<i>98 to 100%</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>93 to 97%</i>
<i>A minus</i>	<i>90 to 92%</i>
<i>B plus</i>	<i>88 to 89 %</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>83 to 87%</i>
<i>B minus</i>	<i>80 to 82%</i>
<i>C plus</i>	<i>78 to 79%</i>
<i>C</i>	<i>73 to 77%</i>
<i>C minus</i>	<i>70 to 72%</i>
<i>D plus</i>	<i>68 to 69%</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>63 to 68%</i>
<i>D minus</i>	<i>60 to 62%</i>

Incompletes

Sometimes students 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 before the last day of class and negotiated an incomplete contract, 2) the student has completed 2/3 of the assignments and does not need to further attend the course to complete it, and 3) the student offers evidence of extenuating circumstances. My own experience is that students who do not finish the work for an incomplete within a few weeks never do so, and after one year the incompletes automatically become “Fs” if not finished. So be warned that this option is quite risky

Academic Renewal

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 accept a failing grade but 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—particularly if the reasons for failing were related to life circumstances that are likely to change in a future semester.

Dropping the course and Failing Grades

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 a short period at the beginning of the semester. I personally disagree with the policy but have no control over it.

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. Since I do not formally take attendance, I determine whether a student has stopped attending by looking at assignments. I give “WU”s to those students who “disappear” without doing any graded assignments in the last half of the course. A WU counts as an “F,” so be sure to officially withdraw from the course (early!) and don’t assume (falsely!) that you will be removed from the roster by me or by the University.

Classroom Protocol

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.

Attendance.

Regular, on-time attendance is especially important for these reasons:

- 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.
- Lectures often cover materials completely independent and/or supplementary to the texts.
- Lectures provide an opportunity for questions, participation, and getting motivated to do the rest of the work.
- Often, important announcements are made at the beginning of class--sometimes clarifying or changing assignments.
- Participation credit is awarded to students who consistently and effectively participate. One cannot participate while absent.
- You must attend to do the quizzes, which are not normally made up.
- 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..

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 this kind of reading often needs to be done twice—you must refer back to the texts repeatedly while fulfilling the assignments.

Time commitment. Federal law requires that you be informed that success in this course is based on the expectation that students will spend six hours per week in addition to the lectures for reading, writing, and studying. In this case, federal law is right. Students surveyed upon completing this course really do report that it takes them that long to do the reading and keep up with the work. Do not take this course if you cannot afford to make that significant time commitment.

University Policies (Required)

Per University Policy S16-9 (<http://www.sjsu.edu/senate/docs/S16-9.pdf>), relevant information to all courses, such as academic integrity, accommodations, dropping and adding, consent for recording of class, etc. is available on Office of Graduate and Undergraduate Programs' [Syllabus Information web page](http://www.sjsu.edu/gup/syllabusinfo/) at <http://www.sjsu.edu/gup/syllabusinfo/> Make sure to review these university policies and resources with students.

Academic integrity

Your commitment, as a student, to learning is evidenced by your enrollment at San Jose State University. The [University Academic Integrity Policy S07-2](http://www.sjsu.edu/senate/docs/S07-2.pdf) at <http://www.sjsu.edu/senate/docs/S07-2.pdf> requires you to be honest in all your academic course work. Faculty members are required to report all infractions to the office of Student Conduct and Ethical Development. The [Student Conduct and Ethical Development website](http://www.sjsu.edu/studentconduct/) is available at <http://www.sjsu.edu/studentconduct/>.

In particular, here are a few issues that have come up in courses like this one before:

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, précis, 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 online sources qualifies in the same way as consultation with any other source—internet materials must be fully cited if you have consulted them. I suggest you take the excellent tutorial on plagiarism available at our Library's website:

<http://tutorials.sjlibrary.org/tutorial/plagiarism/>

“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. Papers submitted to this class are expected not only to be original to you the author, but original to this particular class.

Collaboration. Students may collaborate in their studies and are encouraged to do so. However, no collaboration during in-class exams or quizzes will be allowed. In their studies, collaborating students should not go so far that they memorized answers cloned from a single model.

Course Schedule and Daily Study Guide

Lecture	Date	Topics, Readings, Assignments, Deadlines
		<p>Abbreviations: APT = Kramnick and Lowi, <i>American Political Thought</i>, Norton. Kammen = <i>The Origins of the American Constitution: A Documentary History</i>. Locke = Locke, <i>Second Treatise of Government</i> Montesquieu = <i>Montesquieu, Selected Political Writings</i>.</p> <p>Unless an assignment specifies otherwise, all pages of the particular title of a selection are assigned. You are responsible to use the table of contents to find the particular selection, which may differ in pages according to particular edition of the text.</p>
1	M Jan 28	<p>Introduction to American Political Thought</p> <p>Reading: None</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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	W Jan 30	<p>John Winthrop and Roger Williams</p> <p>Reading: 1) John Winthrop "A Model of Christian Charity," in APT. 2) Roger Williams, "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution" in APT. "Mayflower Compact" in APT 3) The Mayflower Compact in APT</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the themes of "A Model of Christian Charity?" Do you find discussions of equality, virtue, ideals, and 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"?

Lecture	Date	Topics, Readings, Assignments, Deadlines
		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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"? 6. How important a value should "community" be in a polity How essential is religion to establish a sense of community? 7. 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?
3	M Feb 4	<p>Locke, Social Contract, and the concept of Natural Right</p> <p>Reading: John Locke, <i>Second Discourse (Essay on Ends of Civil Gov't)</i>, Chapters II, IV, V, VII (just part of VII: paragraph nos. 87-93).</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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?
4	W Feb 6	<p>Locke and the Right of Revolution</p> <p>Reading: John Locke, <i>Second Discourse (Essay on Ends of Civil Gov't)</i>, Chapters VIII (just part of VIII: paragraph nos. 95-99, 110-122), IX, X, XI, XII, XIX.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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?

5	M Feb 11	<p>Native American (Indian) contributions to political theory.</p> <p>Reading:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Chief Joseph “An Indian’s View of Indian Affairs” in APT. 2) Chief Joseph, Crazy Horse, and Smohalla “On Work and Property” in APT. 3) “The Constitution of the Iroquois Nations” also known as “The Great Law of the Peace of the Haudenosaunee” on Canvas or at the following website. Read articles 27-28, 55-57, and 93-97. <p>http://www.iroquoisdemocracy.pdx.edu/html/greatlaw.html</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4) “Logan’s Speech” as reported by Thomas Jefferson in <i>Notes on the State of Virginia</i> in APT, pp. 548-549. <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Must any community be exclusive, to some degree? How does the presence of Native Americans create a <i>theoretical</i> problem for European communities in America? 2. 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? 3. How does Chief Joseph describe his culture and the history of events that transpired to his people? How do fundamental differences of understanding property have to do with the clash of cultures? What is Joseph’s view of liberty? 4. What are the rhetorical qualities of Logan’s speech? Compare it with Chief Joseph, who spoke a hundred years later. What qualities do they share?
6	W Feb 13	<p>Benjamin Franklin</p> <p>Reading:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Franklin, “The Albany Plan of Union” on Canvas or at the following website: http://www.constitution.org/bcp/albany.htm 2) Franklin, “Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind” on Canvas or at the following website. Read paragraphs 12, 13, 23, and 24. http://archive.org/stream/increasemankind00franrich/increasemankind00franrich_djvu.txt 3) Franklin, “The Art of Virtue” in APT.

		<p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Are you surprised by the possibility that Franklin use the Iroquois as an example for how to create an American confederation? 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 personal virtue that Franklin makes"? Does he offer good advice? Could you take it?
7	M Feb 18	<p>Montesquieu, Republicanism, and the concept of Civic Virtue</p> <p>Reading: 1) Montesquieu, "Myth of the Troglodytes", pp. 55-64 (from the <i>Persian Letters</i>.)</p> <p> 2) Montesquieu, "The Principles of Three Governments," pp. 125-133 (from <i>Spirit of the Laws</i> 3.1-11).</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the moral of "The Myth of the Troglodytes?" 2. What is the purpose of "virtue" in a democracy?
8	W Feb 20	<p>Montesquieu and the origins of "Checks and Balances."</p> <p>Reading: 1) Montesquieu, "The English Constitution," pp. 182-192 (from <i>Spirit of the Laws</i> 11.6).</p> <p> 2) Montesquieu, "Distinctive Characteristics of a Republic", p. 170 (from <i>Spirit of the Laws</i> 8.16).</p> <p> 3) Montesquieu, "Laws of Civil Slavery", pp. 200-206 (from <i>Spirit of the Laws</i> 15).</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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?

9	M Feb 25	<p>Revolutionaries: John Adams</p> <p>Reading: 1) John Adams, <i>Thoughts on Government</i> in APT. 2) Video: HBO “John Adams” episode 2 “Independence” in class</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What evidence of utilitarianism do you find in <i>Thoughts on government</i>? 2. Does Adams seem consistent with Montesquieu’s view of the English Constitution? 3. Analyze the way the HBO miniseries depicts Adams, Jefferson, and other persons. Compare with what you have read of their texts. So far as you know, does the depiction do justice to their ideas?
10	W Feb 27	<p>Revolutionaries: Thomas Jefferson</p> <p>Reading: 1) Jefferson, <i>Declaration of Independence</i> in APT. 2) Jefferson, “To William S. Smith 1787: in APT.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 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?" 2. Examine the first two paragraphs of the Declaration. Compare with Locke. What are the essential similarities? 3. Examine the list of grievances. Explain their purpose under social contract theory.
11	M Mar 4	<p>Revolutionaries: Thomas Paine</p> <p>Reading: Thomas Paine, excerpts from <i>Common Sense</i>, <i>The American Crisis</i>, in APT.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 How does Paine go about dismantling the legitimacy of the English King? What techniques, examples, and theories does he use? How is the <i>form</i> of his writing related to its <i>content</i>? 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	W Mar 6	<p>The Articles and “Decentered” Government</p> <p>Reading: 1) <i>The Articles of Confederation</i>, in Kammen. 2) <i>The New Jersey Amendments</i> to the Articles in Kammen. 3) <i>The Virginia Resolutions and the Amended Virginia Resolutions</i>, in Kammen.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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	M Mar 11	<p>The Antifederalists and the Opponents of the U.S. Constitution</p> <p>First Paper Due Sunday March 10 11:59 pm in Canvas</p> <p>Reading: 1) Richard Henry Lee, “Letters from a Federal Farmer” in APT. 2) Robert Yates, “Essays of Brutus” in APT. 3) Patrick Henry, “Debate in the Virginia Ratifying Convention” in APT</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What alternative vision of politics did the Antifederalists have to offer? To which European thinkers were they most indebted? 2. 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?
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		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Why would Yates take the pen name “Brutus?” What was Brutus’s greatest fear? Was he right to suspect that the “necessary and proper” clause would be used to greatly expand central power? 4. How valid was Patrick Henry’s fear of a standing army? That the President could become a King?
14	W Mar 13	<p>Federalists: Human nature and political efficiency</p> <p>Reading: 1) <i>The Plan Presented by Alexander Hamilton</i>, in Kammen</p> <p> 2) <i>Federalist Papers</i> 1,10 and 23 in Kammen. [Note: the Federalist numbers are given, not Kammen's entry numbers (which are different.)]</p> <p> 3) <i>Private Correspondence of the Founders</i> (#s 11, 12, 22) in Kammen [Note: these are the Kammen entry numbers.]</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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 <i>majority</i> 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 <i>Federalists</i> might not?

15	M Mar 18	<p>Checks and Balances</p> <p>Reading: <i>Federalist</i> Nos. 47, 48, 49, 51 in Kammen.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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
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		would Madison address the current debate over "gridlock."
16	W Mar 20	<p>Theories behind each branch</p> <p>Reading: 1) Congress: Federalist Nos. 57 (online); 62, 63, in Kammen.</p> <p> 2) Presidency: Federalist No. 70; private correspondence items 29, 32 in Kammen.</p> <p> 3) Supreme Court: Federalist No. 78 in Kammen; John Marshall, <i>Marbury v. Madison</i> in APT.</p> <p> 4) U.S. Constitution, Article I., Article II, Article III</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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? 3. 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? 4. What are the actual powers of the Presidency, as contained in Article II of the Constitution? 5. 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? 6. What does the U.S. Constitution say about judicial review? In what ways did <i>Marbury v. Madison</i> change the Constitution?
17	M Mar 25	<p>Thomas Jefferson as an Enlightenment thinker</p> <p>Reading: 1) Jefferson, with Madison, <i>Kentucky Resolutions</i> in APT</p> <p> 2) Jefferson, <i>First Inaugural</i> in APT</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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

		<p>Jefferson's arguments regarding the 10th Amendment carry much weight today?</p> <p>2. After an extremely divisive election, how does Jefferson balance political philosophies in his First Inaugural? What is the theme of this piece?</p>
18	W Mar 27	<p>Thomas Jefferson: Liberal or Republican?</p> <p>Reading:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Jefferson on religion: "Bill for establishing Religious Freedom" in APT; "Query XVII Religion" from <i>Notes on the State of Virginia</i> in APT; "To a Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association" in APT. 2) Jefferson on education: "Query XIV" of <i>Notes on the State of Virginia</i> in APT; "To Colonel Edward Carrington 1787" in APT; 3) Jefferson on equality, aristocracy, and property: "To Reverend James Madison, 1785" in APT; "To John Adams 1813" in APT. 4) Jefferson on government: "To Elbridge Gerry 1799), "To Samuel Kercheval 1816," "To Judge Spencer Roane 1819" in APT; 5) Jefferson's "Draft Constitution for the State of Virginia" on Canvas or at the following website: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/jeffcons.asp <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How and why did Jefferson argue for the separation of 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? <p>SPRING BREAK Apr 1-7</p>
19	M Apr 8	<p>Thomas Jefferson and the specter of slavery</p> <p>Reading:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Selection on emancipation and showing TJ's racism from <i>Notes on the State of Virginia</i>, in APT pp. 546-554. 2) "Benjamin Banneker to Thomas Jefferson" on Canvas or on this website:

		<p>http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2/2h71t.html 3) “Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Banneker 1791” on Canvas or on this website: http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/jefferson/79.html</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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 exchange between Benjamin Banneker and Thomas Jefferson.
20	W Apr 10	<p>Lincoln and the re-founding of the republic</p> <p>Reading: 1) Abraham Lincoln, “Speech on the Dred Scott Decision,” “First inaugural Address,” “Second Inaugural Address,” “Gettysburg Address,” in APT. 2) The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments in APT, pp. 926-928.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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.
21	M Apr 15	<p>The politics of Race in America</p> <p>Reading: 1) Frederick Douglass, “What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?” in APT.</p>

- 2) Plessy v. Ferguson and dissent, in APT..
- 3) Martin Luther King, Jr., "I have a Dream," in APT and video.
- 4) Malcom X "The Ballot or the Bullet" in APT.

Discussion Questions:

1. Explain the irony inherent in Douglass's speech. In what ways does this radical sounding speech actually appeal to liberal values?
2. What was Justice Brown's reasoning for upholding the doctrine of "separate but equal"? What was the essence of Justice Harlan's dissent?
3. King's speech has become known as one of the truly great orations of human history. The beauty of its delivery, however, should not obscure the content. What, in its essence, is the speech about? Is King proposing new values for American, or is he appealing to old ones?
4. Malcolm X's speech was widely criticized by white society at the time for advocating violence—in sharp contrast to King's message of non-violence. But compare this speech with the ideas of American revolutionaries like Adams, Paine, and Jefferson. Is it fundamentally different from earlier social contract theory?

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W Apr 17

The meaning of Race for America

- Reading:
- 1) W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Souls of Black Folk" and "The Talented Tenth" in APT.
 - 2) Langston Hughes, "Let America Be America Again," in APT.
 - 3) Thurgood Marshall, "The Constitution's Bicentennial: Commemorating the Wrong Document?" in APT.
 - 4) Cornel West, "Race Matters" in APT.

Discussion Questions:

1. 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 is the purpose of a college education for people who have previously been deprived of power? How might this concern the mission of SJSU?
2. Is Hughes hopeful or pessimistic in his great poem? To what values does he appeal?
3. Why does Justice Marshall suggest that our nation was celebrating the wrong document in 1987? What does he mean when he says that the union survived the Civil War but the Constitution did not?

		<p>4. How does Cornell West argue that race matters in our post-modern culture?</p>
23	M Apr 22	<p>American feminism.</p> <p>Reading:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Abigail Adams, "Letter to John Adams," in APT 2) Elizabeth Cady Stanton, <i>Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, Address to the NY State Legislature</i>, in APT. 3) Susan B. Anthony, "Speech About Her Indictment" in APT. 4) Betty Friedan, <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> in APT. 5) Kate Millett, <i>Sexual Politics</i>, in APT <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is revealed about the "founding fathers" by Abigail Adams' letter? 2. What was the message that the convention at Seneca Falls was trying to send through the form of their declaration? 3. How does the exchange between the Judge and Susan B. Antony at the close of her trial reflect traditional relations of power, and in what way does it show the unraveling of patriarchal relationships? 4. What, according to Friedan, "is the problem that has no name"? Is this problem now widely recognized? 5. What does Millett mean by "the personal is political" and how is this an essential observation not only for feminism but for politics in general?
24	M Apr 24	<p>Voices of radical dissent</p> <p>Reading:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Emma Goldman, "Anarchism: What It Really Stands For," in APT. 2) Charles A. Beard, "The Myth of Rugged American Individualism," in APT. 3) C. Wright Mills, "The Power Elite," in APT. <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is anarchism, according to Goldman? Why does she think this is a more comprehensive form of freedom? What are the things that people need to be liberated from to achieve this freedom? 2. Why is Beard not persuaded that American is fundamentally about "rugged individualism"? Why does Beard find it ironic that there is so much criticism of government interference with the economy? How is this related to his analysis of individualism? What does Beard

		<p>say about Jefferson's idea of individualism? About Coben's view of individualism?</p> <p>2. Would C. Wright Mills say America is particularly democratic? What are the modern developments that Mills says have concentrated power in so few hands?</p>
25	W Apr 29	<p>Roots of Conservatism.</p> <p>Reading: 1) William Graham Sumner, <i>What Social Classes Owe Each Other</i> in APT.</p> <p> 2) Andrew Carnegie, "The Gospel of Wealth," in APT.</p> <p> 3) Milton and Rose Friedman, "Free to Choose," in APT.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <p>1. According to Sumner, are economic inequalities beneficial or harmful to a society? What level of inequality should we tolerate?</p> <p>2. What does Sumner mean by "poverty is the best policy."? Do you agree that "rights do not pertain to results, but only to chances"?</p> <p>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"?</p> <p>4. Do you see echoes of Sumner and Carnegie in Ronald Reagan's speeches?</p>
26	W May 1	<p>Roots of Progressivism.</p> <p>Reading: 1) Herbert Croly, "The Promise of American Life" in APT.</p> <p> 2) Woodrow Wilson, "The New Freedom," in APT.</p> <p> 3) Franklin Roosevelt, "A Second Bill of Rights" in APT and audio speech located on Youtube here:.</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UwUL9tJmypl</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <p>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?</p> <p>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?</p> <p>3. What do you think of FDR's "Economic Bill of Rights"?</p>

		<p>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?</p> <p>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?</p>
27	M May 6	<p>John Rawls and the Original Position</p> <p>Second Paper Due Sunday May 5 11:59 pm in Canvas</p> <p>Reading: John Rawls <i>A Theory of Justice</i>, in APT.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the clever device that Rawls uses to help his readers imagine what a truly just society would be like? How is this equivalent to “justice as fairness”? 2. What are the two principles of justice that Rawls says would be chosen by rational and disinterested people—in other words, by fair people?
28	W May 8	<p>John Rawls and the Difference Principle</p> <p>Reading: Continue John Rawls <i>A Theory of Justice</i>, in APT.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Of the two principles of justice, by far the most interest and controversy has been devoted to the second principle which concerns when inequality is and is not acceptable. What do you think of this “difference principle”?
29	M May 13	<p>Course Conclusion.</p> <p>Reading: 1) Allan Bloom, “The Closing of the American Mind,” in APT. 2) Michael Walzer, “What does it Mean to Be an ‘American’?” in APT.</p> <p>Discussion Questions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is Bloom’s argument for reading the “great books”? 2. What does Walzer identify as the essence of being an American? What are the various conceptual alternatives he surveys such as nativists and pluralists? What does he mean by “living on either side of the hyphen”?
Final Exam	WED May 15	945-1200 in classroom

