

Pol. 202: American Political Thought, Fall 2016.
Dr. Thomas West, Hillsdale College

1. THE POLITICAL THEORY OF THE FOUNDING, 1774-1800 (9 classes)

9/1. Founding principles: state of nature, consent, natural rights, laws of nature, common good, happiness. (1) consensus documents, not individual founders; (2) both state and federal documents; (3) principles and practice; (4) can nature be a standard for politics?

Declaration of Independence, in back of *Federalist Papers*, 528-32.

Massachusetts Const., 1780, Decl. of Rights, etc.Packet 1, p. 4

New Jersey Const., 1776, Preamble..... Packet 1, p. 179

Georgia Const., 1776, Preamble218

Pennsylvania Const., 1776, Preamble.....232

Virginia Const., 1776, Decl. of Rights.....236

Joseph Ellis, “Who Owns the Eighteenth Century?” Review of West, *Vindicating*51

Leo Strauss, *What Is Pol. Phil.?* 12, 26-27 Packet, pp. 52 and 24

Gordon Wood, “Fundamentalists and the Constitution”53

Thomas Jefferson, Opinion on the French Treaties, 1793 (on the moral sense)63

Federalist 10, ¶2-9 (pp. 72-75). Possible conflict between consent and securing rights.

Federalist 51, ¶10 only (starts on bottom of 320, “Second.”). Consent vs security of rights.

Hillary Clinton, Human Rights Agenda, ¶1-8 onlyPacket 2, 118-19

9/6. Natural rights and the British constitution.

Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 1787, Query 8 (principles, immigration)Packet 1, p. 8

Parsons, *Essex Result*, 484-9 top..... 10-13

Jefferson, *Summary View of the Rights of British America* 54-61

Russell Kirk, “A Revolution Not Made but Prevented” 20-24

9/8. Rule of law and separation of powers. Consent & elections.

U.S. Constitution, art. 1, §8-10, and §1 of the 14th Amendment. In *Federalist*, 546-9, 561.

Federalist 39, ¶1-5 only (236-8). What is republicanism?

Federalist 48, ¶1-6 only (305-307). Most powerful branch.

Federalist 51, ¶1-7 only (317-320). Keeping the 3 branches in line.

Federalist 57, ¶12-13 only (starts on center of 350). What is law?

Federalist 62, ¶15 (center of 379). What is law?

Jefferson, Preface to a Bill on Crimes, 1778, ¶1-3Packet 1, p. 7

Essex Result, 489-94 onlyPacket 1, 13-15

Green, “The Original Sense of (Equal) Protection”Packet 1, 40-50

Mac Donald, “Is the Criminal Justice System Racist?”Packet 2, p. 37

Baskerville, *Taken into Custody*, 177-183Packet 2, p. 146

Codevilla, “America’s Ruling Class,” on modern lawPacket 1, p. 19

Starr, “Estimating Gender Disparities”Packet 1, 127

Patterson, “Civil Contempt” (only the yellow highlights)..... Blackboard

OPTIONAL:

Dalrock, 5 articles on modern family law.....Packet 2, pp. 150-62

9/13. State and federal constitutions. Civil rights.

Massachusetts Const., all selections.	Packet 1, 4-6
Parsons, <i>Essex Result</i> , 488-503 only.....	12-19
<i>Federalist</i> 41, ¶5 (252), ¶22 (258). Federal powers; bounties & tariffs.	
<i>Federalist</i> 45, ¶9-10 (289). Role of federal and state govts.	
<i>Federalist</i> 51, ¶8-9 only (320). Federalism; “civil rights” in ¶10 (321)	
<i>Federalist</i> 84, ¶4 (510), ¶11 (513, last para). Against a bill of rights.	
U.S. Constitution on civil rights: art. 1, §9-10; art. 4, §2; first 10 amds. In <i>Federalist Papers</i> , 548, 554, 560.	
<i>Campbell v. Morris</i> , Maryland General Court, 1797.....	Packet 1, 126
<i>Corfield v. Coryell</i> , U.S. Circuit Court case, 1823.....	20
<i>Dred Scott</i> , paragraph on privileges of citizenship.....	131
Hillary Clinton, Human Rights Agenda, ¶1-8 only.....	Packet 2, 118-19

9/15. Securing rights: Criminal and civil law, education, morality, & economic policy.

Massachusetts Const., all selections.	Packet 1, 4-6
Northwest Ordinance, 1787, selections.....	6
University of Georgia Charter, 1785.....	39
Resolution of Charleston, South Carolina, June 4, 1774.....	61
Congress, Causes of Taking Up Arms, 1775.....	62
Jefferson, Report of Commissioners for U. Va., 1818.....	73
James Madison, “Property,” 1792.....	73
Washington, First Inaugural and First Annual Message.....	both on 75
West, “Economic Principles of America’s Founders”.....	224
Robert Bork, <i>Slouching towards Gomorrah</i> , 56-58, 63.....	Packet 1, p. 8

9/20. The founders on sex and marriage

Parsons, <i>Essex Result</i> , 496-7 only.....	Packet 1, 16
Thomas West, “Locke and the Founders on Sex and Marriage”.....	76
John Witherspoon, <i>Queries and Answers on Marriage</i> , 1788.....	84
James Wilson, <i>Lectures on Law</i> , 1791, on the family.....	85
Rogers Smith, “Beyond Tocqueville,” <i>American Political Science Review</i> 87, No. 3 (Sept. 1993): 549-50, 552-53.....	25

9/22. The founders on immigration and welfare

<i>Federalist</i> 2, ¶2 and ¶5-6 (31-33).	
Jefferson, <i>Notes on Virginia</i> , 1787, Query 8.....	Packet 1, p. 8
West, “The Founders on Natural Rights and Welfare”.....	Packet 1, 233
Read pp. 25-30 only in West, <i>Vindicating</i> , ch. 1 (slavery).....	Blackboard
Thomas West, <i>Vindicating</i> , ch. 7 (immigration).....	Blackboard

9/27. Religion and the founding. (1) Free exercise of religion: freedom of association; no right to disobey valid laws; accommodations, but does not have to; (2) Government support of religion. (3) The modern liberal view.

Mass. Decl. of Rts., provisions on religion.....	Packet 1, p. 4
Northwest Ordinance, Art. 1 and 3	6
Churchill and the conflict between Christianity and politics.....	64
Simeon Howard, Artillery Election Sermon, 1773.....	64
Jefferson, Virginia Act for Religious Freedom, 1785.....	66
“William Penn” (Antifederalist) on religious tests, 1788.....	67
Debate on religious tests, in Mass. Ratifying Convention, 1788.....	67
Washington: to the Hebrew Congregation, 1790; to Quakers, 1789; Thanksgiving Proclamation, 1789; Farewell Address, 1796, on religion and morality	67-69
Parsons, <i>Barnes v. First Parish</i> , 1810.....	70
William Brennan, opinion in <i>Abington v. Schempp</i> , 1963.....	71
Timothy Dolan, “ObamaCare and Religious Freedom,” 2012.....	72

9/29. Foreign policy: non-intervention? Or expansion and imperialism?

Review Mass. Const. Preamble & governor’s foreign policy role	4
<i>Federalist</i> 6, ¶1-3, ¶8-9, ¶18-20 (pp. 48-49, 50-51, 53-54). <i>Federalist</i> 11, last ¶ (pp. 85-86); <i>Federalist</i> 43, last ¶ (pp. 276-77).	
John Quincy Adams, “An Address in Washington,” July 4, 1821	89
Lincoln and Douglas on manifest destiny, from their 1858 debates, and from Lincoln’s 2d lecture on discoveries and inventions	89
Jaffa, <i>Crisis</i> , 65-69, 75-83, 99-103, 405-409.....	92

OPTIONAL:

Walter Lippmann, “Isolation and Expansion,” 1952.....	Blackboard
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10/2, **Sunday, 5:00pm. TAKE-HOME MIDTERM EXAMINATION DUE.** Topics and instructions to be announced.

2. THE FOUNDING REJECTED AND RECOVERED, 1800-1898

10/4. The growing rejection of the founding, and Lincoln’s response.

Rufus Choate, “Age of the Pilgrims: The Heroic Period,” 1843	106
John C. Calhoun, Speech on Abolition Petitions, Feb. 6, 1837	119
John C. Calhoun, Speech on the Oregon Bill, June 27, 1848.....	119
Lincoln, Speeches at Cincinnati (on labor and capital), New Haven (right to strike), Chicago (elec cord + “you work, I eat”)	120-21
Lincoln, Speech on the Dred Scott decision, 1857	122
Alexander Stephens “Cornerstone Speech,” 1861	125
Jefferson, <i>Notes on the State of Virginia</i> , Query 18, on slavery	125
Lincoln on colonization in his Cooper Union speech, 1860.....	128
Lincoln, Address on Colonization, August 1862.....	128

OPTIONAL:

West, <i>Vindicating</i> , ch. 1 (slavery).....	Blackboard
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3. THE FOUNDING REJECTED AGAIN: PROGRESSIVISM, OR MODERATE LIBERALISM, 1898-1970 (6 classes)

10/6. Progressive political theory: basic principles and race.

- Charles Merriam, *History of American Political Theories*, ch. 8, “Recent Tendencies,” 305-25, 329-33132
- Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, ch. 4, “Ethics and Economics,” 123-132146
- Loewenberg, “Burgess, the Scientific Method, and Hegel.” Read the parts that are highlighted, not the whole article..... Blackboard

OPTIONAL:

- Miller, “Progressivism, Race, and the Training Wheels of Freedom,” 2011 Blackboard

10/11. Progressive political theory and morality.

- Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, §2-3 of chap. 20.....Packet 1, p. 152
- Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, 571, 594-597, 599-606 (on the family)159
- T. Roosevelt, Address to National Congress of Mothers, 1905.....219
- Lawrence Friedman, *Crime and Punishment*..... Packet 2, p. 86

OPTIONAL:

- Miller, “Dewey and the Philosophical Refounding” Blackboard

10/13. FALL BREAK.

10/18. TR’s Progressivism: imperialism, uplift, the administrative state.

- Roosevelt, “The New Nationalism”Packet 1, p. 166
- Theodore Roosevelt, “Expansion and Peace,” 1899.....173
- Theodore Roosevelt, “Expansion of White Races,” 1909174
- James Landis, *Administrative Process*, 1938, 1-13, 23-24, 46192

10/20. Wilson: Progressive foreign & domestic policy; Coolidge’s confusion.

- Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom*, 1912Packet 1, p. 29
- Woodrow Wilson, War Message to Congress, 1917175
- Smith-Lever Act of 1914176
- Calvin Coolidge, Fourth Annual Message, December 7, 1926177
- Calvin Coolidge, “The Inspiration of the Declaration”179

OPTIONAL:

- Grant, “William Howard Taft . . . and Imperialism” Blackboard

10/25. FDR’s New Deal: Progressivism entrenched.

- Franklin Roosevelt, Commonwealth Club Address, 1932.....180
- Franklin Roosevelt, First Inaugural Address, 1933186
- Lawrence Reed, “Great Myths of the Great Depression”187
- FDR, Annual Message to Congress, 1944 (“2d bill of rts” speech)190

10/27. LBJ’s Great Society: completion and end of pre-70 progressivism

- Lyndon Johnson, “To Fulfill These Rights,” June 4, 1965.....201
- Lyndon Johnson, “Great Society Speech,” May 22, 1964.....202
- Johnson, “Viet-Nam: The Third Face of the War,” May 13, 1965.....204
- Lyndon B. Johnson, State of the Union Address, Jan. 12, 1966.....205
- Miller, “Transforming Formal Freedom,” (FDR and LBJ)207

4. POST-1970 LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM (11 classes)

11/1. Post-1970 liberal political thought: Rawls and Dworkin.

Rawls, *Theory of Justice*, 11-21, 60-63, 100-108, 136-8, 178-9, 520, 523, 526-7 Packet 2, p. 4
Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously*, 272-821

11/3. Post-1970 liberal political thought: Levine, Ellis, Wood, Rorty. Clinton and Trump.

Review Ellis, Strauss, Levine, and Wood.....packet 1, pp. 51-4
Rorty, *Contingency, Irony*, xiii-xvi, 6-9, 44-5, 56-61, 177, 196-98Packet 2, p. 25
Trump, Acceptance speech at RNC, 7-21-16 Blackboard
Clinton, Acceptance speech at DNC, 7-29-16 Blackboard
Clinton, NAACP speech on race, 7-18-16..... Blackboard
Trump, America’s inner cities, 8-16-16..... Blackboard
Clinton, immigration speech, 6-24-16 Blackboard
Trump, immigration speech, Phoenix, 8-31-16 Blackboard

OPTIONAL:

More Clinton and Trump speeches in “other speeches” folders on sugarsync..... Blackboard

11/6, SUNDAY, 5:00pm. PAPER DUE. Details to be announced.

11/8. Post-1960 liberals on race. (1) King and the post-racial ideal (“integration”). (2) Policies discriminating in favor of non-Asian minorities; (3) White racism and white privilege.

Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, §222, 225 (white self-contempt and the loathing of healthy life)..... Packet 2, p. 77
Nietzsche, *The Antichrist*, sec. 7.....77
Americans with Disabilities Act, 1990, excerpts.....78
M. L. King, “I Have a Dream,” 1963..... Packet 2, p. 170
Peter Myers, “Frederick Douglass on Revolution,”185
Mary Frances Berry, “Vindicating Martin Luther King”188
Ruth Ginsburg, dissent in *Gratz v. Bollinger*, Supreme Court40
Barack Obama, “A More Perfect Union,” 200843
Barack Obama, “Remarks on Trayvon Martin,” 2013192
Ali Michael, “I Sometimes Don’t Want to Be White”176
McIntosh, “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack”199
Allan Johnson, *Privilege, Power, and Difference*, 54-67.202

OPTIONAL:

Charlotte Allen, “Beyond the Pale” (on “white privilege”).....81

11/10. Post-1960 conservatives on race. (1) Welfare and affirmative action (Gilder, Wax, Nieli); (2) Concealment of black crime (Sowell, MacDonald, Derbyshire, Williams); (3) racial differences (Murray, Wax, Derbyshire); (4) black “culture” (Roach, Williams, Mac Donald).

Murray, “The Inequality Taboo” (part III only, on race).....	Pkt 2, 49-53
Christopher Roach, “Out Come the Vultures,” 2012.....	54
Amy Wax, “Disparate Impact Realism,” 2011.....	56
Thomas Sowell, “A Censored Race War,” 2012.....	57
Heather Mac Donald, “Distorting Truth about Crime and Race”.....	58
John Derbyshire, “The Talk: Nonblack Version,” 2012.....	58
Walter Williams, “Cultural Deviancy, Not Guns,” 2013.....	60
George Gilder, <i>Men and Marriage</i> , 78-95.....	62-70
Russell Nieli, “How Diversity Punishes Asians and Poor Whites”.....	94
Mac Donald, “Obama Strikes Out,” 2013.....	194
Mac Donald, “The Post-Zimmerman Poison Pill,” 2013 (criminal law not anti-black).....	197

OPTIONAL:

Keith Richburg, “An American in Africa,” 1997.....	Packet 2, p. 71
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11/15. Sexual liberation, feminism, and the replacement of marriage by child support.

Supreme Court, <i>Memoirs v. Mass.</i> , 1966, Clark and Douglas.....	2:115
Supreme Court, <i>Harris v. McRae</i> , 1980, dissent by Marshall.....	116
Supreme Court, <i>Lawrence v. Texas</i> , 2003, mystery passage.....	117
Sandra Fluke, Statement to Congress on contraceptives.....	118
Norman O. Brown, <i>Life against Death</i> , 21-27, 307-308.....	122
Firestone, “Dialectic of Sex,” in <i>Feminism in Our Time</i> , 246-56.....	128
Coontz, <i>Marriage: A History</i> , Conclusion.....	140
Baskerville, <i>Taken into Custody</i> , 177-183.....	146
Dalrock, “Child Support Catastrophe,” “Case for Anger,” “Debtors’ Prisons,” “Disrespecting,” “How the Destruction”.....	150-162
Steve Sailer, “Happy White Married People Vote Republican”.....	172
Patterson, “Civil Contempt” (only the yellow highlights).....	Blackboard

11/17. Sexual liberation and feminism.

Murray, “Inequality Taboo” (pt. II only, male-female).....	Pkt 2, 46-9
National Organization for Women, 1966 Statement of Purpose.....	137
Minow, “Should Religious Groups be Exempt?” 1-6.....	134
Puts, “Beauty and the Beast” (male-female strength difference).....	187
Stephanie Gutmann, “Sex and the Soldier”.....	163
Stephanie Gutmann, <i>Kinder, Gentler Military</i>	Blackboard
Bendery, “Joe Biden: Transgender Discrimination”.....	Packet 2, p. 198
Schlogol, “Marine training as women join combat units”.....	Blackboard
Mackenzie, “Let Women Fight”.....	Blackboard
“Soldiers Blow Up 5 Myths about Women in Combat”.....	Blackboard

11/22. Environmentalism: human-centered or life-centered?

Theodore Roosevelt, “New Nationalism,” two paragraphs on conservation....	Packet 1, 170-71
LBJ on conservation in Great Society speech.....	Packet 1, p. 202
Miller on LBJ on conservation in “Transforming”.....	1:213-14
Taylor, “Human-Centered & Life-Centered”.....	Packet 2, p. 97
Shannon Petersen, <i>Acting for Endangered Species</i> , ix-xi.....	100
Ike Sugg, “California Fires: Losing Homes, Saving Rats”.....	104

Kim Gregory, “Mountain Lion Killed,” with reader comments	105
“Deer-Vehicle Collisions”	Blackboard

11/24. Thanksgiving.

11/29. Post-1970 foreign policy.

George W. Bush, Second Inaugural Address, 2005.....	Packet 2, p. 168
Barack Obama, “A New Beginning,” Cairo, 2009	173
Barack Obama, Address to the Nation on Libya, 2011	39
Clinton, Human Rights Agenda, Dec. 14, 2009	118
Clinton, International Human Rights Day speech, Dec. 6, 2011	120
Anne Gearan, “Obama, Clinton to World: Stop Gay Discrimination,” Dec. 6, 2011	121
Onishi, U.S. Support of Gay Rights in Africa May Have Done More Harm than Good	102
Trump - Foreign Policy Speech - 4-27-16	Blackboard
Clinton - Trump and National Security - 6-2-16	Blackboard

12/1. Conservatives on the future of American politics.

Russell Kirk, “The Idea of Conservatism”	183
Samuel Francis, “Populism and the Future of Am. Pol.,” <i>Shots Fired</i> , 263-76.	Blackboard
Samuel Francis, “Beautiful Losers,” in <i>Beautiful Losers</i> , 222-31	Blackboard
Codevilla, “America’s Ruling Class,” 2010	209
Mark Steyn, “Tragedy or Scandal?” 2009 (Fort Hood & diversity).....	79
Mark Thompson, “The Fort Hood Report,” 2010.....	80
Decius, “Toward a Sensible, Coherent Trumpism”	Blackboard

12/6. Conservatism.

Peggy Noonan, “Trump and the Rise of the Unprotected”	Blackboard
Noonan, “What Comes after the Uprising” (on Trump’s election)	Blackboard
Ann Althouse, On Noonan’s WSJ article on Trump’s election.....	Blackboard
Continetti, “The ‘Condition of America’ Question”	Blackboard
Decius, “The Flight 93 Election”	Blackboard
Continetti, “The Trump Revolution”	Blackboard
Trump, Florida speech on Clinton campaign of destruction.....	Blackboard

12/8. Conservatism.

Wendell Berry, “It All Turns on Affection,” 2012	Packet 2, p. 179
John Miller, “A Jeremiah for Everyone,” 2012 (Berry interview)	181
Dalrock, “Disrespecting Respectability”	158
Other readings may be announced.....	Blackboard

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Papers and exams are graded according to the following criteria, in this order: (1) thoroughness (must contain the most important points appropriate for essays of the assigned length); (2) key points supported by evidence from the readings; (3) clearly written; (4) well organized; (5) correct in regard to English grammar, word use, and spelling.

1. A **midterm** (25%) and a **final examination** (25%).

2. **One long paper** (25%), 2,200 to 2,500 words. Paper topics and instructions to be announced. I will accept late papers, but the grade will be penalized unless you have permission in advance to hand it in late. Instructions and topics will be provided.

3. 25% of the grade will be based on attendance, participation, preparation, and weekly comments.

Topics for each class period are on the course plan. Be prepared to discuss these topics as well as factual questions about the content of the readings. Students who rarely volunteer to answer questions about the readings, or are consistently unable to answer when called on, will be graded down. On any class day, students should be ready to discuss the listed topics for that day as well as the topics for the immediately preceding class day.

Weekly comments (200 words max) explaining the most important theme in the assigned readings. For students with last names from A to L, comments are due on Tuesday of every week. They are due on Thursday for the rest of the class. A one-page printed copy, 1.5 spaced, with your name, date, and brief title is due at the beginning of class on the due date. No email copy needed.

Weekly comments will not receive a formal grade, but their quality will be taken into account for this portion of the overall course grade. I may hand back some early comments with my assessment.

No comments are due in the first and last week of classes, or in Fall Break or Thanksgiving week. *Late comments will not be accepted*, but you may skip 3 comments without penalty.

BOOKS REQUIRED

Hamilton, Alexander, et al. *The Federalist Papers*. Ed. Clinton Rossiter. New York: Signet Classic, 2003. ISBN 978-0451528810.

Two course packets (handouts). Packets are also on Blackboard, and at this url: <http://tinyurl.com/american-tgw>.

TO CONTACT THE INSTRUCTOR:

Email: twest@hillsdale.edu. Cell phone 972-849-8515, 8:00am to 10:00pm. Leave a message or text me and I will respond. Office hours (Kendall 313): TuTh 11:00-11:15, 1:00-2:15, 3:45-4:00. I am often in the office at other times. Come by and knock. Email, text, or phone for an appointment, or to find out whether I am in the office.

OTHER MATTERS

Students are bound by all relevant College rules and regulations, including the Policy on Academic Honor.

Computers and other electronic devices must be silenced and put away. This article explains: <http://pss.sagepub.com/content/25/6/1159> (“Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking”).

Food and drinks are permitted if consumed silently and cleaned up.

Reasonable disability accommodations will be granted with appropriate documentation.