

GENERAL STUDIES COURSE PROPOSAL COVER FORM

Course information:

Copy and paste **current** course information from [Class Search/Course Catalog](#).

College/School	College of Liberal Arts and Sciences	Department/School	School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership
Prefix:	CEL	Number:	394
Title:	Debates in American Civic and Public Affairs		Units:
			3

Course description: A university education should prepare thoughtful citizens for lives of participation and leadership in the self-government of a liberal democracy, and this requires awareness of why citizens in such republics or democracies constantly debate issues of liberty, equality, and social order and also appreciation of how and why to discuss contentious policy issues in a civil manner. This class is designed as an introduction to some of the key debates in American politics, with a focus on how American institutions and political ideas have developed and connect to current events. It is intended to bridge civics, history, and political science, allowing you to be both an informed observer of and participant in the American political system. Readings include a mix of formative or important documents from American history, contemporary works of political science, as well as extensive readings from current events, as we discuss basic principles of public debate and politics in a free political order, and consider contending views, from a range of sources, about major issues of our time to include free speech, the proper role of government, the health of American institutions and markets, and America's role in international affairs.

Is this a cross-listed course? No If yes, please identify course(s):

Is this a shared course? No If so, list all academic units offering this course:

*Note- For courses that are crosslisted and/or shared, a letter of support from the chair/director of **each** department that offers the course is required for **each** designation requested. By submitting this letter of support, the chair/director agrees to ensure that all faculty teaching the course are aware of the General Studies designation(s) and will teach the course in a manner that meets the criteria for each approved designation.*

Is this a permanent-numbered course with topics? No

If yes, all topics under this permanent-numbered course must be taught in a manner that meets the criteria for the approved designation(s). It is the responsibility of the chair/director to ensure that all faculty teaching the course are aware of the General Studies designation(s) and adhere to the above guidelines. Chair/Director Initials

Requested designation: Historical Awareness-H

Mandatory Review: (Choose one)

*Note- a **separate** proposal is required for each designation.*

Eligibility: Permanent numbered courses **must** have completed the university's review and approval process. For the rules governing approval of omnibus courses, contact Phyllis.Lucie@asu.edu.

Submission deadlines dates are as follow:

For Fall 2019 Effective Date: October 5, 2018

For Spring 2020 Effective Date: March 8, 2019

Area(s) proposed course will serve:

A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study.

Checklists for general studies designations:

Complete and attach the appropriate checklist

[Literacy and Critical Inquiry core courses \(L\)](#)

[Mathematics core courses \(MA\)](#)

[Computer/statistics/quantitative applications core courses \(CS\)](#)

[Humanities, Arts and Design core courses \(HU\)](#)

[Social-Behavioral Sciences core courses \(SB\)](#)

[Natural Sciences core courses \(SQ/SG\)](#)

[Cultural Diversity in the United States courses \(C\)](#)

[Global Awareness courses \(G\)](#)

[Historical Awareness courses \(H\)](#)

A complete proposal should include:

- ☒ Signed course proposal cover form
- ☒ [Criteria checklist](#) for General Studies designation being requested
- ☒ Course catalog description
- ☒ Sample syllabus for the course
- ☒ Copy of table of contents from the textbook and list of required readings/books

It is respectfully requested that proposals are submitted electronically with all files compiled into one PDF.

Contact information:

Name Frank Pina E-mail fpina@asu.edu Phone 480-727-5883

Department Chair/Director approval: (*Required*)

Chair/Director name (Typed): Paul Carrese Date: 9/3/20

Chair/Director (Signature): _____

Arizona State University Criteria Checklist for

HISTORICAL AWARENESS [H]

Rationale and Objectives

Recent trends in higher education have called for the creation and development of historical consciousness in undergraduates now and in the future. History studies the growth and development of human society from a number of perspectives such as—political, social, economic and/or cultural. From one perspective, historical awareness is a valuable aid in the analysis of present-day problems because historical forces and traditions have created modern life and lie just beneath its surface. From a second perspective, the historical past is an indispensable source of identity and of values, which facilitate social harmony and cooperative effort. Along with this observation, it should be noted that historical study can produce intercultural understanding by tracing cultural differences to their origins in the past. A third perspective on the need for historical awareness is that knowledge of history helps us to learn from the past to make better, more well-informed decisions in the present and the future.

The requirement of a course that is historical in method and content presumes that "history" designates a sequence of past events or a narrative whose intent or effect is to represent both the relationship between events and change over time. The requirement also presumes that these are human events and that history includes all that has been felt, thought, imagined, said, and done by human beings. The opportunities for nurturing historical consciousness are nearly unlimited. History is present in the languages, art, music, literatures, philosophy, religion, and the natural sciences, as well as in the social science traditionally called History.

The justifications for how the course fits each of the criteria need to be clear both in the application tables and the course materials. The Historical Awareness designation requires consistent analysis of the broader historical context of past events and persons, of cause and effect, and of change over time. Providing intermittent, anecdotal historical context of people and events usually will not suffice to meet the Historical Awareness criteria. A Historical Awareness course will instead embed systematic historical analysis in the core of the syllabus, including readings and assignments. For courses focusing on the history of a field of study, the applicant needs to show both how the field of study is affected by political, social, economic, and/or cultural conditions AND how political, social, economic, and/or cultural conditions are affected by the field of study.

Revised October 2015

Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

ASU--[H] CRITERIA			
THE HISTORICAL AWARENESS [H] COURSE MUST MEET THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA:			
YES	NO		Identify Documentation Submitted
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. History is a major focus of the course.	Syllabus
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. The course examines and explains human development as a sequence of events influenced by a variety of factors.	Syllabus
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. There is a disciplined systematic examination of human institutions as they change over time.	Syllabus, Essay Prompts
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. The course examines the relationship among events, ideas, and artifacts and the broad social, political and economic context.	Syllabus
		THE FOLLOWING ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE:	
		• Courses that are merely organized chronologically.	
		• Courses which are exclusively the history of a field of study or of a field of artistic or professional endeavor.	
		• Courses whose subject areas merely occurred in the past.	

Course Prefix	Number	Title	General Studies Designation
CEL	394	Debates in American Civic and Public Affairs	H

Explain in detail which student activities correspond to the **specific** designation criteria.
Please use the following organizer to explain how the criteria are being met.

Criteria (from checksheet)	How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)	Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)
History is a major focus of the course	The pedagogical focus of the class is integrating primary and largely canonical source texts from American political history to ask questions that have shaped and continue to shape current day controversies (first and third perspective noted above)	Sessions alternate between historical readings and contemporary debates (with a focus on the former), forcing students to engage with the ideas of the past as explained by the practitioners themselves in primary sources. Units 2 through 4 are organized as extended case treatments of various political problems that have plagued American politics since the beginning. For example, Days 18-20 of the syllabus in which students consider how the ideas of the Declaration of Independence have been debated over time. This is not merely chronological but sequentially and developmentally, with subsequent participants calling back to previous speakers, their ideas, and preceding events (e.g. Douglass considering and contrasting his views with those of the Garrisonians he broke from, Stephens from Douglass, and Coolidge critiquing Stephens).
The course examines and explains human development as a sequence of events influenced by a variety of factors.	The class is largely organized around developmental treatments of how Americans have grappled with some of the most pressing ideas and problems in the country's history: slavery, America's role in the world, the balance of power between states and the federal government, the development of the imperial presidency, and the like. Students read competing perspectives on political questions in response to and in dialogue with one another and different institutions.	For example, in analyzing the problem of polarization, Day 12 considers the early warnings of the Federalist and Washington's Farewell Address, before noting Tocqueville's analysis of how, contrary to the Founders' expectations, parties actually proved somewhat helpful to American politics, with subsequent days (13-14) looking to 20th century political science to consider how party polarization evolved during the New Deal and beyond (in response to both changing ideas and institutions). The class finally looks to the state of polarization today, and how developments in media, campaign funding, and the like have all interacted to created modern partisanship as we think about which advantages it still brings, as per Tocqueville, while discussing the pathologies that have developed. (day 16-17).

There is a disciplined systematic examination of human institutions as they change over time	The course is largely adapted from the tradition of American political development (often called APD), which uses historical sequencing to understand how American political institutions evolve in response to interactions with one another and in response to circulating political ideas, and in turn shapes those ideas themselves (perspective two).	<p>As noted above, the course is largely organized within various political institutions, organized both topically and chronologically, considering issues like polarization and parties, how Americans have understood the relationship between political freedom and race, the powers of the states and federal government, the system of campaign finance, the filibuster, the imperial presidency, America's role in the world and the historic tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. Within each institution, we look to see how these developed over time. In addition to/along the lines of the examples noted above, Days 22-24 similarly consider the historical development of federalism—from Madison and Hamilton debating it at the Founding, Tocqueville and Frederick Douglass observing its subsequent development, and a variety of contemporary political observers grapple with and apply these debates in considering the merits or disadvantages of federalism. Day 29 looks at the historical development of the filibuster and how it has evolved as an institution; Days 30-34 consider the growth of the imperial presidency (and how its supporters and opponents have changed and why), using the historical case study of the infamous 1930s Louisiana Governor Huey Long, operating in the context of a poverty stricken state in a time of political unrest, as a way to consider possible further developments.</p> <p>Many of the assignments challenge the students to use the historical materials to weigh competing factors and how their balances might have changed over time. See, for more detailed example, the essay prompts on days 12 (asking students to consider whether mid twentieth century Americans were right to call for stronger parties), 16 (to consider whether efforts to create a less aristocratic candidate selection process failed), 18 (whether there was a necessary connection between secessionist and slavery, or whether anti-slavery forces</p>

		might have evolved similarly). Other prompts, such as questions on days 20, 24, 31, 34, 36 require students to assess competing claims of both historical and contemporary practitioners.
The course examines the relationship among events, ideas, and artifacts and the broad social, political, and economic context	As the syllabus notes, each of the primary sources was edited by me and includes an extensive historical headnote situating the document within its historical context, which I discuss as a preface, along with additional lecture material, before beginning the discussion of the arguments from the documents.	In considering formative documents of foreign policy (Day 35-36), students read George Washington and John Quincy Adams, then look to how Wilson tries to find the continuities as well as changes that result from an ever more integrated world and rising American power. From there, we look to the Cold War, as Taft and Eisenhower attempt to remodulate toward a more middle ground between Wilson on the one hand, and the more isolationist views of the Founders on the other, again, making explicit references to preceding ideas in light of institutional, economic, technological, and political change; from there, Bush and Paul debate their own lineages from these debates and how they should or should not influence American foreign policy going forward. In each of these cases of institutional or ideological development, students look to how precedents are employed intellectually and rhetorically—are efforts to claim the intellectual force of precedents actually faithful, or are these in fact rhetorical maneuvers to mask deviations? So students are forced, to consider: is Adams faithful in employing Washington? Is Wilson? Eisenhower and Taft both are writing in the Cold War, claiming each has updated Washington to the era of nuclear terror- which, if either, has done so? That is to say, students not only learn about the evolution of these institutions but also to think about how the rhetorical force of history itself is employed by the actors.

Arizona State University
CEL 294: Debates in American Public Policy and Civic Affairs

Sean Beienburg
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Fall 2018: MWF 2:00 (DSCVRY 120)
Office Hours: W: 3:05-4:05 (Coor 6652)

"The standard-model statesman of today is a..limber and politic fellow. Avoiding ideas as dangerous – which they unquestionably are – he devotes himself to playing upon emotions and sentimentalities. He may himself may be an ignoramus, or he may be a bright lad with a pushing spirit and elastic conscience, [but] in either case he has immense advantages over any frank, earnest, candid, and forthright man."

H.L. Mencken, *A Carnival of Buncombe*

Introduction

A university education should prepare thoughtful citizens for lives of participation and leadership in the self-government of a liberal democracy, and this requires awareness of why citizens in such republics or democracies constantly debate issues of liberty, equality, and social order and also appreciation of how and why to discuss contentious policy issues in a civil manner.

This class is designed as an introduction to some of the key debates in American politics, with a focus on how American institutions and political ideas have developed and connect to current events. It is intended to bridge civics, history, and political science, allowing you to be both an informed observer of and participant in the American political system.

Readings include a mix of the Federalist Papers, Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, other formative or important documents from American history, and contemporary works of political science, as well as extensive readings from current events, as we discuss basic principles of public debate and politics in a free political order. To that end, the course will begin with a focus on analyzing sources and arguments – to think seriously about questions of bias, logic, and understanding and debating the role of free speech in considering them.

From there, we will turn to a series of questions underlying much of our civic discourse: Is the constitutional order obsolete? Are its institutions broken, by forces such as polarization, geographic districting, the consolidation of wealth and political power, or the concentration of governing authority into an imperial presidency? (And if so, can they be repaired)? What even is America- a nation, a state, a creed, or something else, and how should that inform our discussions of fraught issues such as immigration? What is or ought to be America's role in the world order?

Required Text:

I try to keep book costs down for you. To that end, two of the three books required are classics that anyone interested in American politics ought to have in his or her library, and which can be purchased for a few dollars; the third is a recent (and similarly inexpensive) treatment of free speech with a focus on university education. Other readings will be distributed electronically.

The Federalist: You are free to use any edition, print-out, etc. of your choice.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Harvey Mansfield and Delba Winthrop (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). The readings in the syllabus are in the form of Volume. Book. Chapter to correspond with both Mansfield and most other editions of Tocqueville. (Page numbers are to the Mansfield edition.) I recommend Mansfield, but you may use another version if you have it – provided you are responsible for making sure to do the correct reading and you make any paper citations in the Volume. Book. Chapter format above.

Keith E. Whittington, *Speak Freely: Why Universities Must Defend Free Speech* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

Grading:

Your grade will be determined by

- Two 4-6 page reflection papers (25% each), which will be responses to readings.
- Participation (25%).
- Quizzes (25%): Between 1 and 3 times a week I will administer a brief five question quiz on that day's materials, testing you on basic arguments and facts from the reading. Except for a documented medical absence, quizzes cannot be made up and absences count as a zero, but I will automatically drop the lowest quiz of the semester. I will also drop, up to a total of two times, an additional quiz should you attend one of our SCETL guest speaker/lecture series and write a one page single-spaced response to it.

Reflection Papers:

These are due *at the start of* class since they are meant to provoke you to reflect on the material ahead of time. You may write reflection papers for any *three* days (and I will take the highest two grades; you need only submit two if you wish).

You must submit at least one paper before Fall Break but you may submit both required papers beforehand. Credit will only be given to one paper submitted after the break, including extra papers submitted. Stated another way, I will read any three papers you choose to write, but no more than one after Fall Break.

Most days after the first few weeks will have a prompt, and many will have more than one from which to choose. (Do not answer more than one of the numbered prompts on days where you have a choice.) Because I give you that flexibility to choose both the times and topics of most interest to you, I will not grant extensions or allow late work. This is not designed to be punitive, but because the papers are designed to press you to first grapple with these issues independently before bringing your ideas to the class as a whole. (The only exception is for the introductory paper, which is not flexible and will receive a reduction of one letter grade per day late – including the day of – without a *documented* and excused medical or other emergency.)

Papers should be submitted in 12 font, Times New Roman, double-spaced 1 in. margins. Double-sided printing is fine as long as it is clear on both sides.

“A” range papers are those which are especially creative, perceptive, and persuasive in presenting original, clear arguments backed up by both textual evidence and fluid writing. They should also anticipate and seriously grapple with counterarguments. “B” range papers are for solid, clear arguments with textual support and serviceable writing. Papers that contain one or more of the following errors--primarily summarizing, failing to meaningfully engage the prompt or texts, or lacking basic proofreading--will warrant grades C or below.

These are neither collaborative nor research papers. You need not undertake, and indeed, I do not want, outside research for these papers; thoughtful, *individual* reflection on course materials is more than enough. Citations should be either as parentheticals or endnotes; as no outside research is expected, simple citations (page numbers only) are sufficient. Parenthetical citations or simple endnotes are fine (e.g. Tocqueville 1.2.4; McCulloch; Frymer 20).

Standard canons of academic integrity as described in the college handbook apply. Plagiarism will result in failure of the assignment and referral to the appropriate disciplinary boards. Ask me if you have any specific questions.

I do keep the quality of writing in mind in assigning paper grades. Writing well is one of the essential skills that every college graduate ought to possess, and one which employers increasingly prize, so it is to your benefit to spend time developing your writing. I am happy to work one-on-one with you on your writing. For those interested in improving their writing, I recommend Strunk and White.

I am more than happy to have you run *ideas and thoughts* for papers by me in advance, but I do not review drafts themselves.

Attendance/Participation/Discussion:

Thorough preparation for, and faithful attendance of, all classes is expected of all participants in the course. Unexcused absences will sharply count against your participation grade. If you must miss a session, email me.

As participation is an essential part of the course, I expect each of you to contribute to the discussion; merely showing up will not earn a strong grade. I am happy to expand on any material or answer any questions, but the primary purpose of our meetings is to think hard about the material in conversation with one another. Your participation grade is based not on attendance—which is assumed—but on thoughtful contribution to discussion- *not* measured by how many times you raise your hand but the substance of the contribution. This includes serious engagement with and reference to the texts- which you should bring to class.

Throughout the semester, several of our sessions will instead be run as debates between students (or groups of students) rather than as hybrid discussion/lectures. You will not need to do any outside research for those except, in some cases (which you will be informed about beforehand) reviewing our materials from several sessions.

As this is a discussion based course, I want your attention focused on what your peers are saying. Thus, with the exception of documented medical needs, the use of laptops, tablets, and other electronic devices is not allowed in class. This is not meant to be punitive or because I don't trust you, but because research has shown participation, retention, and comprehension are drastically lessened even when laptop users conscientiously and diligently focus on participation and note-taking.¹ (Because I believe in conservation I will allow, and indeed encourage, those of you with old-fashioned, e-ink readers such as non-Fire Amazon Kindles to use them and save paper and ink by not printing the materials.)

My expectations include courteous treatment of your peers; this is often controversial material that elicits strong passions (including my own!), but discussion should remain civil and respectful, even when forceful, focused on the ideas and not the speaker, as reasonable people of good will may disagree.

Contact Information

I will do my best to respond to emails within 48 hrs, but you should not email me at the last minute for questions about papers. If you have a substantive question – not a logistical one – come to my office instead so we can discuss it. I love discussing this material and really do welcome any chance to meander over it, so you should feel free to come in and discuss it more.

Other policies, notes, and addenda:

Please arrive on time and do not leave early; let me know if you must be late or depart early. Should you withdraw from the class, please let me know.

I reserve the right to alter this syllabus as necessary.

Day 1: August 17

Lincoln, Lyceum Address (1838)	4
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Unit 1: Free Speech in a Free Society

Day 2: August 20

Havel, "Power of the Powerless" ("the Greengrocer") (1978)	12
French, "Civility isn't Surrender" (2018)	2

Day 3: August 22

Reading and Analyzing Sources [in class exercise]

Day 4: August 24

The Development of Modern Free Speech Law

<i>Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire</i> (1942)	1.5
<i>Cohen v. California</i> (1971)	2.5

¹ See, for example, <http://www.newyorker.com/tech/elements/the-case-for-banning-laptops-in-the-classroom>.

<i>Brandenburg v. Ohio</i> (1969)	1.5
<i>Terminiello v. Chicago</i> (1949)	5
<i>Matal v. Tam</i> (2017)	2

Day 5: August 27

Whittington, *Speak Freely: Introduction and Chapter 1: The Mission of a University*

Day 6: August 29

Whittington, <i>Speak Freely: Chapter 2</i>	
Liptak, "How Conservatives Weaponized the First Amendment" (2018)	5.5
Park, "The ACLU Needs to Rethink Free Speech," (2017)	2
Soave, "ACLU Wavering on Free Speech" (2018)	2
Cogan, "Twilight of Free Speech Liberalism" (2018)	6.5
Cole, "Liberals, Don't Give Up on the First Amendment" (2018)	2

Day 7: August 31:

Whittington, *Speak Freely Chapter 3*, 51-93

September 3 LABOR DAY

Day 8: September 5

Whittington, *Speak Freely: Chapter 3*, 94-141

Day 9: September 7

Whittington, *Speak Freely: Chapter 4:*

Unit 2: Partisanship and Polarization

Day 10: September 10:

What does polarization look like?

<i>Washington Post</i> Symposium on Polarization (2014)	30
[it's heavy on charts/ tables so not that long]	


Day 11: September 12:

What does polarization look like? Ctd

<i>Pew</i> Polarization Study (write-up from <i>Politico</i>) (2016)	2
<i>Pew</i> Polarization Study (2017)	13
Thompson, "Trump's Language Reshaping American Politics," (2018)	3
Douthat, "Marco Rubio Must be Destroyed," (2018)	3
Cooke, "CNN's Town Hall was a Disaster for our Civil Discourse," (2018)	1
Davidson, "The Culture War Will End in Civil War" (2018)	3

Day 12: September 14

What are parties for?

 <i>Federalist</i> #10, #51	10
n.b. pay very close attention to how Madison defines a faction.	
Washington, Farewell Address (1796) (first two pages only for now)	2

Tocqueville

- 1.2.2, "On Parties in the United States," 166-72
- 1.2.4 "On Political Associations in the United States," 180-86
- 2.2.5-7 "On the Relationship Between Parties and Newspapers,
Relations Between Civil Associations and Political...." 489-91, 493-500

Day 13: September 17

What are parties for? II

Milkis, "Localism, Political Parties, and Democratic Participation" (1999) 13-34

Day 14: September 19

Why Strong Parties?

- Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, 3-12, 298-311
- "Toward a Responsible Party System: APSA Report" (1950) 1-7, 15-24

Day 15: September 21 NO CLASS

Day 16: September 24:

Polarization: Candidate Selection

- "House Democrats Seethe over Superdelegates Plan," 2018
- Cost, "Our Presidential Nomination Process is an Embarrassing Mess," (2018) 2
- Anderson and Cost, "A Republican Nomination Process," (2013) 11

Day 17: September 26:

Polarization and the Media

- Sunstein, "Daily We" (2001) 15
- Douthat, "Trump Hacked the Media Right Before Our Eyes," (2018) 2.5

Unit 3: Is the American constitutional order obsolete?

Day 18: September 28:

The Constitution's Original Sin?

- Declaration of Independence
- Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls* (1848) 6
- Garrison, "On the Dissolution of the Union," (1855) 9.5

Day 19: October 1

The Constitution's Original Sin? ctd

- Douglass, "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" (1852) 19
- "The Constitution: Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?" (1860) 8

Day 20: October 3

The Constitution's Original Sin? ctd

- Stephens, Cornerstone Speech (1861) 8
- Coolidge, On the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary
of the Declaration (1926) 8

Day 21: October 5

Is the Constitution Undemocratic? If so, what should we do?

Day and Sunkara, "Think the Constitution Will Save Us?" (2018)	1
Yglesias, "American Democracy is Doomed," (2015)	10
Cooper, "The Case Against the Constitution," (2017)	2
Lemieux, "Democrats, Prepare to Pack the Supreme Court," (2018)	2
Cost, "Let's not throw out the Constitution," (2018)	2.5

October 8 Fall Break: NO CLASS

Day 22: October 10

Constitutional Federalism I:

Declaration & Resolves, 1st Continental Congress (1774) [read to unnumbered NCD]	3.5
Federalist 39, 45, 46,	
Hamilton, "Conjectures about the New Constitution (1787)"	1
Madison, on structural features of Constitution, <i>National Gazette</i> (1792)	1.5
Tocqueville:	
1.1.5 "On the Political Effects of Administrative Centralization,"	82-92
1.2.8 "Absence of Administrative Centralization,"	250-51
1.1.8 "Summary Picture of the Federal Constitution,"	107-110
What Distinguishes the Federal Constitution..."	152-54
Douglass, "Reconstruction" (1866)	1
Beienburg, "Federalism and the American Constitutional Order,"	6

Day 23: October 12

Constitutional Federalism in an age of Polarization and Balkanization: Federalism? Nullification? Separatism?

Secession Polling Data, 2014-2017	5
Baker, "Bluxit: A Modest Proposal for Separating Blue States" (2018)	8
French, "Increasingly Partisan Americans Don't Want Unity" (2017) and "Of Course America's Too Big to Govern" (2018)	6
"California's Soft Secession Accelerates" (2018)	3
Cost, "The Constitution is very hard to amend," (2018)	2
Convention of States Project (2014)	4-8, 16

Day 24: October 15

Constitutional Federalism III: Contemporary Thoughts and Challenges

Samuel, "States are a Relic of the Past," (2016)	2
Hunter, "Abolish the States" (2014)	4
Lane, "Liberals are Learning to Love States' Rights (2017)	2
Freedman, "A Less Perfect Union"	

Is Congress Broken?

Day 25: October 17

What are elections deciding?

Federalist #49, 57

Tocqueville	
1.2.5, "On the Choices of the People and Instincts of American Democracy,"	187-90
Downs, <i>Economic Theory of Democracy</i> ,	114-141

Day 26: October 19

Who should Congress represent?

Burke, "Speech to the Electors at Bristol," (1774)	1.5
Tocqueville,	
2.1.21, "On Parliamentary Eloquence in the United States,"	472-76
Mayhew, <i>Electoral Connection</i> [excerpts] [5-9, 15-19, 47-56, 60-77]	34
"Nevada Lawmakers Push Back on...Yucca Mountain"	2

Day 27: October 22:

Who does Congress represent? How dangerous is money in politics?

"40 Charts that Explain Money in Politics," <i>Vox</i> , [skim, don't need to print] https://www.vox.com/2014/7/30/5949581/money-in-politics-charts-explain	
Leech, "Lobbying and Influence,"	534-51
Samuelson, "Lobbyists for the rich do not own government," (2013)	3
Drutman, "Why we still need to worry about money in politics," (2014)	2
Bohlen, "American Democracy is Drowning in Money," (2017)	2.5
Matthews, "Remember that Study saying America is an Oligarchy?" (2016)	5

Day 28: October 24

"Big Business" and American Politics

"How Big Banks Became Our Masters," (2017)	2
"Can American Capitalism be Saved from Itself?" (2017)	3
"Inside the New Battle Against Google," (2017)	8
"Google is not an American Company," (2018)	2
"Google Struggles to Contain Employee Uproar..over China" (2018)	3
"Big Tech Finds Itself Lacking Political Allies," (2017)	2

Day 29: October 26

Has the Filibuster broken Congress? Should it be reformed?

McClintock, "How and Why the Senate must Reform the Filibuster" (2017)	5
Cottle, "What is the Filibuster?" (2017)	3
Arenberg, "In Defense of the Filibuster," (2013)	2
Franck, "In Defense of the Filibuster," (2010)	3
Friedman and Martin, "A One-Track Senate," (2010)	1
Cost and Barnett, "Fix the Filibuster," (2015)	7

Day 30: October 29

The Imperial Presidency? Origins

US Constitution, Article II [skip bracketed/amended out sections]	
<i>Federalist</i> #47 (skip from "I pass..." until the last paragraph)	3.5
#48 (skip from "The first example..." until the last paragraph)	2
#70 (skip last three paragraphs)	4.5

#71	2.5
#72	3
Tocqueville, 1.1.8, "On the Executive Power,"	[113-124]

Day 31: October 31

The Imperial Presidency? Evolution

Wilson, "The Need for Cabinet Government," (1879)	14
Roosevelt, T., on the stewardship theory of the president, from the <i>Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt</i> (1913)	6
Yglesias, On Executive Power in Contemporary America (2015)	1.5

Day 32: November 2

The Imperial Presidency? Ctd.

Blehar, "Beware the Ides of March" (2015)	4
Williamson, "Great Caesar's Ghost," (2014)	2
Williamson, "I Won: Donald Trump and Executive Power," (2016)	2
Levin, "Donald Trump: Entertainer in Chief," (2017)	4
Cost, "Taming the Imperial Presidency," (2017)	3
Rappaport, "Establishing a Stricter Separation of Powers: REINS Act,"	2
Costa, "5 Terrible Things about the REINS Act" (2011)	3

Day 33: November 5

Huey Long and Executive Power I

Kennedy, <i>Freedom from Fear</i> , 215, 234-43,	
Long, "Share the Wealth," (1935)	5 (plus audio)
[before reading listen to 3 min clip http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5109]	
"How Come Huey Long? Bogeyman or Superman?"	
Symposium in <i>The New Republic</i> (1935)	8

Day 34: November 7

Huey Long and Executive Power II

Swing, "The Menace of Huey Long," <i>The Nation</i> (1934-35)	
Part I, Part II, and the last two paragraphs of Part III	9
Kennedy, <i>Freedom from Fear</i> , 278-279	
Magliocca, "Huey Long and the Guarantee Clause,"	1-22, 43*
[*it's a law review article so mostly footnotes you can skip]	

Unit 4: America in the World:

Day 35: November 9

Foreign Policy: America and the World:

Washington, "Farewell Address" (1796)	6
Adams, "Fourth of July Address," (1821)	5
and "Monroe Doctrine" (1823)	5
Wilson, "Fourteen Points" (1918)	4

November 12 Veterans Day: NO CLASS

Day 36: November 14**Foreign Policy: The Cold War and Beyond**

Taft, "A Foreign Policy for Americans" (1951)	5
Eisenhower, "Farewell Address," (1961)	6
Bush, On Democratization and Freedom (2005)	6
("Speech on Terrorism at National Defense University"; "Second Inaugural Address")	
Paul, "A New Foreign Policy for Americans," (2018)	5

Day 37: November 16**Western Civilization?**

Trump, "Warsaw Speech" (2017)	8
Beinart, "Racial and Religious Paranoia of the Warsaw Speech" (2017)	3
Dreher, "Yes, They Really do Hate Us," (2017)	5
Mehta, "This Land is Their Land," (2017)	5
Borjas, "The Immigration Debate We Need," (2017)	3

Day 38: November 19**A Creedal Nation? A Cosmopolitan One?**

<i>Federalist</i> #2 [read until "take that important subject under consideration."]	3
Huntington, "Who Are We?" (2004)	37-80
Bourne, "Transnational America" (1916)	7.5

Day 39: November 21**A Creedal Nation? A Cosmopolitan One?**

Reich, "Secession of the Successful" (1991)	8
Lasch, <i>Revolt of the Elites</i> (1995)	p.4-8
Deneen, "The Ignoble Lie," (2018)	6
Eaton, "How Elite Colleges Hide their Wealth," (2017)	1.5
Noonan, "How Global Elites Forsake Their Countrymen," (2016)	4

November 23 Thanksgiving Day: NO CLASS**Day 40: November 26****A Creedal Nation? A Cosmopolitan One?**

Huntington, "Dead Souls: The Denationalization of the American Elite" (2004)	12
Lind, "Future of American Politics" (+ response by T.A. Frank) (2016)	8

Day 41: November 28**SPECIAL TOPICS TBD****Day 42: November 30****The Enduring Project?**

Tocqueville,	
2.2.1, 2.2.2, and 2.2.4 [on equality and individualism] [479-88]	
2.4.3 "The Sentiments of Democratic Peoples"	

[Bring] Them to Concentrate Power," 643-45

2.4.6-7 "What Kind of Despotism Democratic Nations Have to Fear," 661-72

Debates in American Politics Essay Prompts:

Remember, these prompts are due on the day listed, at the beginning of class. If there are more than one numbered prompt, choose among them — *do not write on multiple prompts on the same day.*

Response Readings,

You must choose two (and may write a third), as per the syllabus:

Day 6: Free Speech

Park argues that progressives should reconsider a commitment to free speech, arguing, in effect, that free speech disproportionately harms minorities. Is Park's critique persuasive-- should the ACLU back down from its historic commitment to defend the free speech of Klansmen, etc?

Day 10: Polarization I

Although political scientists disagree on the extent to which the American electorate is polarized, most agree that attentiveness to and interest in politics is more likely to correlate with (and probably cause) polarization — thus, an informed citizen is less likely to be a compromising citizen, as he or she both assimilates reinforcing data and situates political information and theories within a coherent body of thought. Does this mean we must choose between an educated but bitterly divided public on the one hand, or a moderate but ignorant one on the other? How should we respond?

Day 12: Parties I

1: The Constitution and its framers famously hoped to build a system without parties, but within less than a decade loosely organized parties — one of which was built by James Madison himself — had developed and remain a core part of American political practice today. Can parties be reconciled with Madison's thinking (in Federalist 10 and 51) as well as his practice? How, or why not — under what circumstances might parties be helpful to or corrosive of the American constitutional and political order? Ideas you might consider include the implications of partisanship on the separation of powers and the tyranny of the majority, what principles parties are organized to defend, and the politics of the Sedition Act (and Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions) that animated a change in Madison's thinking.

2: The APSA report on parties in the 1950s, expanding on Wilson's thinking on responsible party government from decades before, proposed that American government would be more effective if partisanship were stronger: it would be more efficient and better able to engage citizens. Partisanship has since returned

to its norm, instead of its weak period in the mid 20th century. In short, American politics looks much like midcentury political scientists wanted: with strong, ideologically coherent, and centralized/nationalized parties. Was APSA right to call for strong parties in America?

Day 14: Why strong parties?

Are strong and sorted parties helpful in advancing the interests of racial minorities? Under what circumstances might strong parties be helpful in protecting those interests, and when might they be counterproductive?

Day 16: Polarization: Candidate Selection

The modern primary system was made to create a system that would be more transparent and democratic than the elitist, aristocratic, and often corrupt “smoke-filled rooms” that had previously selected nominees—and indeed, vestiges of that system, such as the Democrats’ “superdelegate” system, are often attacked for being elitist. Anderson and Cost propose a new presidential candidate selection system that would restore a modicum of strength to party selection. Would their system be an improvement?

Day 17: Polarization and the Media

Would Sunstein’s proposals to reverse media polarization enhance the health of American democracy?

Day 18: The Constitution’s Original Sin?

Today we associate secession with the southern Confederacy, but to observers in the 1850s it was not obvious that such pressures would not instead come from northern abolitionists like Garrison. Was Garrison right? If you were a northerner in 1855, would you have supported his effort to have Wisconsin, etc. secede from a Union long dominated by southern slaveholders or their so-called “doughface” northern enablers?

Day 20: The Constitution’s Original Sin? Ctd [LAST DAY TO SUBMIT A PAPER BEFORE FALL BREAK]

Is Alexander Stephens’s understanding of the relationship between the Declaration/Constitution and white supremacy closer to Douglass or Garrison? Why?

Fall Break

Day 24: Federalism

Should we abolish the states? Or strengthen them and reduce federal power?

Day 26: Congress II

Assuming the two are in tension, do we want members of Congress to seek re-election as their goal – thereby serving in what Burke would call an ambassador or delegate model of representation by pleasing constituents – or would we prefer they use their good judgement as “trustees” advancing good policy, even against the wishes of their constituents? Is not the former preferable in and more consistent with the American system of representative self-government? Why or why not? Consider the actual behavior of members of Congress discussed in Fenno and Mayhew—is that how we want members of Congress acting?

Day 27: Interest Groups

Decrying “special interests” is a popular bipartisan slogan, as politicians charge interest groups and other elites with buying the political system and turning it against the wishes of the American electorate, while James Madison worried that interest groups could take on the role of similarly corrupt “factions”. Others have argued that interest groups serve to inform legislators of policy, organize and represent the objectives of voters, and are in fact unable to pay for policy results. Based on these readings, do interest groups serve as a helpful addition to American politics, a corrupting influence, or somewhere in between?

Day 30: Presidency I

Many at the time argued, and many today still propose, that a single, six year term for the president would be preferable to a renewable four year term. What does Hamilton think of this argument, and do you agree with him? [Remember that at the time of the *Federalist* there was no two-term limit.]

Day 31: Presidency II:

1: Like many in the progressive era, Woodrow Wilson proposed reworking the traditional separation of powers so that the American polity would more closely resemble a parliamentary system, in which a strong executive both encapsulates the will of the nation and governs with a tightly unified party until replacement in the next election, rather than dividing power between separate branches. While he changed how he wanted to see this implemented – early in life he favoured selecting the cabinet members from the legislature, as in England, and later in life sought a strong executive pressuring a deferential legislature – his common position was hostility to the American separation of powers. Is he right that the political science of the *Federalist* and its effort to divide and balance power are obsolete and should be replaced by something closer to the more efficient Westminster model?

Day 34: Huey Long

The government of Huey Long in Louisiana – with non-existent separation of powers and similarly weak judicial review and civil liberties, but effective policy implementation-- arguably represents an ideal type of the post-Madisonian

thinking of Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, and other critics of the traditional constitutional order as too slow, too biased toward the status quo, and unable to implement a true democracy representing the wishes of the citizens. Matt Yglesias's piece effectively serves as an updated version of that critique in the present, arguing contemporary Democrats should brush aside such "procedural niceties" in order to achieve the important policy goals of political equality. Is Long's Louisiana a more desirable model of government than strict adherence to the Madisonian system? Consider Madison's arguments for divided power (e.g. Federalist 10, 47, 48, and 51) in thinking about your answer.

Day 36: Foreign Policy

Is skepticism of intervention, as Washington proposed, still the appropriate starting point in thinking about America's role in the world? Are the doctrines of Woodrow Wilson and George W. Bush faithful updates to Washington's thinking, or betrayals of it as anti-war critics often allege? Take into consideration not only Washington's discussions about America's strategic situation but also his observations about the relationship between an assertive foreign policy and American values. If one thinks historical changes (such as the development of nuclear weapons, expansionist ideologies like communism or radical Islam, and the growing military strength Washington acknowledged would allow Americans the freedom to intervene more), suggest the possibility and need for more intervention than Washington envisioned, do Washington's concerns--echoed most explicitly in Taft and Eisenhower--about the implications of foreign involvement and war-making on *domestic and constitutional liberty* still hold?

Day 38: Creedal Nation?

Huntington tries to make a distinction between Anglo-Protestant culture, which he argues has been dispersed throughout Americans as they assimilated to the country's norms and remains essential in forming the core of the American political understanding, and Anglo-Protestants as a specific people. Is this a persuasive distinction, or religious bigotry trumped up as social science, as critics of the book have often alleged?

Day 42: The Enduring Project?

Would Tocqueville view the America of today as the soft despotism he warns of in the conclusion—one of an increasingly pervasive effort to use government power to create equality and homogeneity [both economic and cultural/ideological], but in which freedom of action and thought has been deadened? Or would he see it as closer to the America which he celebrates throughout his text? Revisit the readings from our early sessions on American creeds in answering this question.