This is a seminar in American politics. It is intended to challenge your thinking. It has also been designed to give you the opportunity to write a critical paper on the American democratic experiment. To help you select a problem or issue conflict ("topics" are intellectual quicksand), the seminar will focus on the overall theme of a fragmenting American republic and the sub-themes of immigration, diversity, and the loss of community. A comprehensive and demanding list of reading assignments will provide all of the materials you need to write the paper. If you pick a problem or issue conflict that draws on these readings, e.g. "the ordeal of immigration," "the challenge of diversity," "the eclipse of citizenship," or one of 82 other possible issue conflicts that I have suggested in a course handout, little additional library research is expected or required. But nothing prevents you from doing a paper on a problem and source material of your own choosing as long as it relates to the material in this course. I believe that free minds and free ideas are the well springs of a free society.

In the past I have tended to focus on a specific and limited topic, e.g. voting in presidential elections or the impact of political culture on American government and politics. But lately I have taken a different tack and begun to explore one of the most tantalizing questions that is confronting students of American government and politics today. Namely, do many of the trends that political scientists have observed over the past 50 years—e.g. declining levels of voter turnout and civic engagement, declining trust and confidence in government, continuing racial and ethnic separatism, partisan realignment, political polarization and conflict, and government gridlock—have satisfactory answers within traditional, class-based, and pluralist theories of American politics? Or do they require us to develop new explanations that view the United States, not so much as the richest or even the most powerful and stable democracy in the world—a refrain that we often hear from those who wish to expand the domestic and international obligations of the United States—but as a country whose political processes and institutions, if not its very social cohesion, are being eroded and unraveled by the forces of cultural and political fragmentation.

In short, I invite you to join me on an intellectual odyssey. We will begin by reading selections from historical and contemporary monographs on the cultural foundations of the first new nation (including Alexis de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* and David Hackett Fischer’s *Albion’s Seed*), proceed to an analysis of the major cultural and political forces that changed our nation’s political processes and institutions during the 19th and 20th centuries (e.g. the legacies of the
abolitionist, Progressive, and Civil Rights movements as well as our history as a nation of settlers and immigrants—John Kennedy had it only half-right), and then explore the implications of expansionist immigration policies, cultural diversity, and the loss of community on almost every aspect of American government and politics today.

The scope of inquiry will be intellectually broad and wide-ranging. We will look at the growing influence of cultural fragmentation on American government and politics, state government and politics, and urban politics and public policy. We will also attempt to understand its imprint on the level and stability of democracy, social tolerance, income inequality, cultural conflict, affirmative action and minority set-aside programs, immigration reform, state taxes and spending, the politics of “ethnic nepotism,” and institutional reform. But we will also try to understand its origins and roots, especially the effects of expansionist immigration policies, cultural diversity, population growth, and growing individualism. We will also explore, among other topics: the nature and character of political regimes, the rise and fall of nation states and civilizations, the social basis for community life, the impact of ideology on the social sciences, and genetic and evolutionary theories of political behavior.

The approach will be both historical-cultural and comparative. We will analyze, for example, the broad political and cultural implications of recent developments in American society including free trade and economic globalism, economic decline, growing income inequality, political corruption and alienation, and social-cultural fragmentation and conflict. But we will also try to stay close to the facts by referencing our analysis to the cross-national, cross-state, cross-urban, and national-survey data files compiled by Thomson Learning and the MicroCase Corporation, the World Values Surveys, the American National Election Studies, the General Social Survey, Dataverse, and Varieties of Democracy.

Course Responsibilities

Class members are expected to attend class on a regular basis, read the assigned selections before class, and come prepared for discussion. In addition, each member will be required to write an 8-10 page seminar paper, complete a midterm and a final examination, and lead two class discussions on the readings. If you have a work or family conflict, please let me know during the first week of class.

Grades

The seminar paper will count 30% of your final grade. The examinations will each count 25%. Class attendance will count 10%, and your leadership of two discussions will count a final 10%.

Your final grade will be determined by where your total percentile—on the term paper, exams, class attendance, and leadership of two class discussions—falls on the following grade distribution:

A 84+
University grading policies require instructors to attach minuses and pluses in the A to C range. After that, only whole letter grades are recorded.

You can earn extra credit by participating in class discussions. Exceptional and sustained participation can raise your final grade by as much as a whole letter.

**Plagiarism**

Plagiarism can be defined as the improper citation of reference materials. You can use an author’s words verbatim as long as you put them in quotation marks and attribute the source of your information. If you paraphrase an author’s ideas, you only need to cite the source. But if you lift entire passages or sentences from a source without giving due credit, you may be guilty of plagiarism. To help you guard against this common pitfall, I have established a class account with [www.turnitin.com](http://www.turnitin.com). You will need to create an account and user profile. After that you can log in. The class number is “22006518”. The class enrollment key is “Diogenes”. You are required to submit your seminar paper to this web site. Since you have been granted access to the originality reports, you can see the percentage of all words that have been drawn from other sources as well as a breakdown of the percentage that is drawn from each source. This information should help you to insure the integrity of your written work. It should also act as an incentive to keep the amount of quoted remarks to a bare minimum. You should keep running these checks until you turn in your completed type-written papers. Generally, the web site limits users to one submission each day to prevent system overload and gridlock.


**Required Texts**

There are three required texts:


(3) Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America’s National Identity* (New

These are available at the University book store. All of the other assigned readings are on Electronic Reserve. The password is **2765**.

**Writing Assignments**

For help in your writing assignments, you may wish to consult E. B. White and William Strunk’s *The Elements of Style* or the Prentice Hall Reference Guide to Grammar and Usage. You should also take advantage of the resources that are available at CSU’s Writing Center. Remember: good writers are made, not born. It is also wise to spend as much time writing a paper as you do researching it.

During the semester, you will be graded on three writing assignments—two examinations and your seminar paper. Your grade for each assignment will be based not only on the analytic quality and content of your work but also on the quality of your writing. Please note the posted “checkpoints”—seminar proposal, introduction, detailed outline, and conclusions—that I have set up are designed to give you feedback and help you complete your seminar paper.

**Fulfilling the University’s WAC Requirement**

The CSU Undergraduate Catalog states: “Students must demonstrate satisfactory performance (C or better) in the writing required to receive a C in the course and satisfactorily complete that portion of the WAC requirement.” **This means that you must attain a grade of C or higher in this course to receive WAC credit.**

**Reading Assignments**

Some of the reading assignments are relatively light. Most, however, are fairly demanding. So you may want to get ahead in the readings whenever you can. Do I expect you to read everything word for word? No. I want you to be *ruthless* readers. But I do expect you to know the major ideas and arguments in each reading so you can join in class discussions, write well-reasoned answers to the test questions, and put together informed and scholarly seminar papers. To facilitate discussion of the readings, we will employ a division of labor in which each member of the class will have the opportunity to lead two class discussions. As “professor of the day,” however, your job is not to lecture or “profess” but to come up with a series of interesting and provocative questions that draw out the major points in the readings. In previous classes, student discussion leaders would often share their reading notes to facilitate class discussion. These shared notes, which represent collective acts of cooperation and reciprocity, would invariably improve everyone’s grades since I do not grade on a curve. You can email them to me and the other members of the class or I can forward them for you. These will also be taken into consideration for the class-discussion component of your final grade.

**Course Outline**
Aug. 27    Overview and Organization
          Class lottery for leading two class discussions
Aug. 29    No Class: Get ahead on your readings

PART I.  THE AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT

A.  The Origins of Republican Government

1. The Origins and Social Condition of the Anglo-Americans

Sept. 3    Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. 1
          Preface and Introduction, pp. ix-16
          Ch. 1 - Exterior Form of North America, pp. 17-25.
          Ch. 2 - Origin of the Anglo-Americans, and Importance of Their
          Origin in Relation to Their Future Condition, pp. 26-45.
          Ch. 3 - Social Condition of the Anglo-Americans, pp. 46-54

2. The Cultural Logic of American Democracy

          Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. 1
          Ch. 4 - The Principle of the Sovereignty of the People of America,
          pp. 55-58.
          Ch. 17 - Principal Causes Which Tend to Maintain the Democratic

          Daniel Elazar, Tocqueville and the Cultural Basis of American

3.  *E Pluribus Unum* and the American Race Dilemma

Sept. 5    Conor Cruise O'Brien, Thomas Jefferson: Radical and Racist, *Atlantic
          Monthly* (October 1996), pp. 53-74

          Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. 1
          Ch. 18 - The Present and Probable Future Condition of the Three
          Races That Inhabit the Territory of the United States, pp. 331-434.

          Joel Lieske (ed.), Tocqueville and Democracy in America: A Symposium,
          *PS: Political Science and Politics* (June 1999)
          Introduction to Tocqueville and Democracy in America, pp. 195-6.
          Race and Democracy, pp.217-224.
4. Cultural Foundations, Sectionalism, and Regionalism

David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*
Preface, pp. vii-xi.
Introduction: The Determinants of a Voluntary Society, pp. 3-11.
Conclusion--Four British Folkways in America: The Origin and Persistence of Regional Cultures in the United States, pp. 783-898.

5. Institutional Foundations: Did the Founders Leave Us with a Pluralist System of Top-Down Policymaking that Frustrates Majority Rule?

Sept. 10 William Hudson, *American Democracy in Peril*
Preface, pp. xv-xix.
Introduction: Models of Democracy
Ch. 1 - The First Challenge: Separation of Powers.
Ch. 2 - The Second Challenge: The Imperial Judiciary.

Student Discussant #1

Thomas Dye, *Top Down Policymaking* (Skim)
Preface, ix-x.
Ch. 1, Policymaking from the Top Down, pp. 1-15.
Ch. 2, Power, Wealth, and Policymaking, pp. 16-38.
Ch. 3, The Policy Formulation Process, pp. 39-64.

B. The Shaping of American Political Culture

1. The Puritan Stream

Sept. 12 Student Discussant #2

Stewart Holbrook, *The Yankee Exodus*
Ch. 1 - Melancholy on a Hill, pp. 1-9.
Ch. 2 - The Other Side of the Mountain, pp. 10-24.
Ch. 3 - Settling the Western Reserve, p. 25-38.
Ch. 4 - A Beacon in the Wilderness, pp. 39-47.
Ch. 5 - The Heralds of Moroni, pp. 48-61.
Ch. 12 - Pioneers in Minnesota, pp. 166-186.
Ch. 23 - There She Stands..., pp. 351-362.

2. The Origins of Progressivism
Student Discussant #3

Russell Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics*
- Ch. 1 - The Midwestern Problem, pp. 3-32.
- Ch. 5 - Progressivism at Flood Tide 1900-1908, pp. 169-242.

3. The Peoples of the United States: Their Cultures and Subcultures

Sept. 17  Daniel Elazar, *The American Mosaic*
- Ch. 7 - The Peoples of the United States and Their Cultures, pp. 199-227.
- Ch. 8 - The Political Subcultures of the United States, pp. 229-257.

   Joel Lieske, The Changing Regional Subcultures of the United States and the Utility of a New Cultural Measure, *Political Research Quarterly* (Fall, 2010).


C. Cultural and Ideological Conflicts in American Politics


Sept. 19  Student Discussant #4

Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique*
  - Ch. 2, The Boasian School of Anthropology and the Decline of Darwinism in the Social Sciences, pp. 21-51.

   William Hudson, *American Democracy in Peril*
   - Ch. 3 - The Third Challenge: Radical Individualism, pp. 105-137.

2. Culture and Politics

Sept. 24  Oliver Woshinsky, *Culture and Politics*
- Ch. 1 - The Impact of Culture on Politics, pp. 1-19.
- Ch. 2 - Politics as Conflict, pp. 20-35.
- Ch. 3 - Political Cultures, pp. 36-50.
- Ch. 4 - Political Behavior in Four Cultures, pp. 51-67.

   Instructor Slide Show: Is the U. S. a Fragmenting Country?: An Empirical Test of Woshinsky’s Theory of Political Regimes Using MicroCase Data

PART II. DEMOCRACY AND IMMIGRATION
A. Understanding the U. S. Immigration Problem

Sept. 26   Student Discussant #5

Joseph Wayne Smith, Foreward, xiv-xviii.


B. The Social and Economic Costs of Immigration: Is It Time for a Moratorium?


Oct. 1   Student Discussant #6

*The Social Contract* Winter 2010-2011
Wayne Lutton, A Note from the Editor: What Do We Mean By a Moratorium on Immigration?

Edwin Rubinstein
The Economic Case for an Immigration Moratorium: An Introduction.
The Economic Case for an Immigration Moratorium: Part 1.
Government Deficits and a Moratorium: Part 2.
Social Security and Immigration: Part 3.
Medicaid under an Immigration Moratorium: Part 4.
K-12 Education and Immigration: Part 5.
Wages Under a Moratorium: Part 7.
C. The Growing Ordeal of Immigration

Oct. 3      Student Discussant #7


Matthew Connelly and Paul Kennedy, Must It Be The Rest Against the West, *Atlantic Monthly* 274 (December 1994), pp. 61-91.

Student Discussant #8

Ann Coulter, *Adios America!: The Left’s Plan to Turn Our Country Into a Third World Hellhole*

Ch. 7 Immigrants and Crime: Why Do You Ask, pp. 99-113.
Ch. 8 Why Can’t We Have Israel’s Policy on Immigration, pp. 115-141.
Ch. 12 Keep America Beautiful Multicultural, pp. 195-212.

Seminar Paper Proposal Due [See Guidelines at end of syllabus]

D. The Politics of Immigration

1. The Nature of Regime Change


Ch. 1, Introduction, pp. 1-15,
   Ch. 2, The Politics of Immigration Control: Understanding the Rise and Fall of Political Regimes, pp. 16-45.

2. Forces for Expansion and Contraction


Ch. 8, The Rebirth of American Immigration, pp. 219-241 (skim).
Ch. 9, Two Faces of Expansion, pp. 242-288 (skim).
Ch. 10, Conclusion, pp. 289-296

3. Immigration and the Holocaust: The Future of Immigration Policy

Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique*

Ch. 7, Jewish Involvement in Shaping U.S. Immigration Policy, pp. 243-301 (skim).
PART III. IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY

A. The Diversity Myth and the Nature of Ethnic Relations

Oct. 17

Student Discussant #9


Martin Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations*
- The Nature of Ethnic Relations, pp. 1-3.
- Introduction: Some Basic Concepts, pp. 4-33
- Ethnic Stratification: Power and Inequality, pp. 34-60

B. The Sociology of Ethnic Stratification

Oct. 22

Student Discussant #10

Martin Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations*

C. Is There an American Ethnic Hierarchy?

Student Discussant #11

Martin Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations*
- Ethnicity in the United States, 131-133.

D. The Politics of Ethnic Nepotism

Oct. 24

Tatu Vanhanen, *The Politics of Ethnic Nepotism*
- Ch. 1- Introduction, pp. 1-4.
- Ch. 2 - A Theory of Ethnic Nepotism, pp. 5-14.
- Ch. 3 - Democracy in Plural Societies, pp. 15-19.
Ch. 5 - Ethnic Problems of the USA Compared with Those of India, pp. 139-159.
Ch. 7 - Summary, pp. 179-188.

E. Social and Genetic Distance Scales


Joel Lieske, Race, Ethnicity, and Politics. *American Political Culture Encyclopedia*.

**Introduction Due [See Guidelines at end of syllabus]**

F. Toward Evolutionary Theories of Social and Political Behavior

**Oct. 29 Student Discussant #12**


**PART IV. DIVERSITY AND THE ECLIPSE OF CITIZENSHIP**

A. Civic Disengagement: Trends, Causes, and Social Effects

**Student Discussant #13**

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*

Ch. 1, Thinking About Social Change in America, pp. 15-28.
Ch. 2, Political Participation, pp. 31-47.
Ch. 3, Civic Participation, pp. 48-64.
Ch. 8, Reciprocity, Honesty, and Trust, pp. 134-147.
Ch. 10, Introduction, pp. 183-188.
Ch. 16, Introduction, pp. 287-295.

B. Diversity and the Loss of Community
Oct. 31  Student Discussant #14


Dora Costa and Matthew Kahn, Civic Engagement and Community Heterogeneity: An Economist’s Perspective, Perspectives on Politics 1 (March 2003), pp. 103-111.

William Hudson, American Democracy in Perl
Ch. 4, The Fourth Challenge: Citizen Participation, pp. 139-173.
Ch. 5, The Fifth Challenge: Elections Without the People’s Voice, pp. 175-221.

Detailed Outline Due [See Guidelines at end of syllabus]

C. The Loss of American National Identity

1. The Issues of Identity

Nov. 5  Student Discussant #15

Samuel Huntington, Who Are We?
Forward, xv-xvii
Crisis of National Identity, 3-20.
Identities: National and Other, 21-33.

2. American Identity
Anglo-Protestant Culture, 59-80
Religion and Christianity, 81-106

3. Challenges to American Identity

Nov. 7  Student Discussant #16

Samuel Huntington, Who Are We?
Emergence, Triumph, Erosion, 107-138
Deconstructing America: The Rise of Subnational Identities, 141-177.
Assimilation: Converts, Ampersands, and the Erosion of Citizenship, 178-220

Nov. 12  Student Discussant #17
Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We?*
Mexican Immigration and Hispanization, 221-256
Merging America with the World, 257-291

4. Can an American National Identity Be Renewed?

**Student Discussant #18**

Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We?*

**Conclusions Due [See Guidelines at end of syllabus]**

D. National Breakdown and the Demography of Power

**Nov. 14 Student Discussant #19**

Patrick Buchanan, *Suicide of a Superpower*
  Ch. 1, The Passing of a Superpower, pp. 9-45.
  Ch. 2, The Death of Christian America, pp. 46-87.
  Ch. 3, The Crisis of Catholicism, pp. 88-122.

E. The Distortion of National Interests and the Sorrows of Empire

**Nov. 19 Student Discussant #20**

William Hudson, *American Democracy in Peril*
  Ch. 6, The Privileged Position of Business, pp. 223-261.
  Ch. 7, Economic Inequality, pp. 263-307.

**Student Discussant #21**


**Nov. 21 Student Discussant #22**

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*
  Ch. 1, Imperialisms, Old and New, pp. 15-37.
F. Culture Wars and the Struggle for Dominance

Nov. 26  Student Discussant #23

Patrick Buchanan, *Suicide of a Superpower*
Ch. 4, The End of White America, pp. 123-161.
Ch. 5, Demographic Winter, pp. 162-189.
Ch. 6, Equality or Freedom? pp. 190-225.
Ch. 7, The Diversity Cult, pp. 226-272.

Student Discussant #24

Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique*
Ch. 5, The Frankfurt School of Social Research and the Pathologization of Gentile Group Allegiances, pp. 155-211
Ch. 6, The Jewish Criticism of Gentile Culture: A Reprise, pp. 213-242

Nov. 28  Happy Thanksgiving!: No Class.

PART V. THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

A. Does California’s Experience Portend the American Future?

Dec. 3  Student Discussant #25

Peter Schrag, *Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future*
Introduction, pp. 5-24.
Golden Moment, pp. 27-62.
The Next America, pp. 257-283.

B. Economic Globalism and the Loss of Democracy


C. Ethnic Polarization and Partisan Sorting

Student Discussant #26

Patrick Buchanan, *Suicide of a Superpower*
Ch. 8, The Triumph of Tribalism, pp. 273-328.
FINAL SEMINAR PAPER DUE (See guidelines at the end of this syllabus)

D. Is America on a Path to National Suicide?

Dec. 5  Patrick Buchanan, *Suicide of a Superpower*
Ch. 11, The Last Chance, pp. 399-428.

Dec. 12  FINAL EXAMINATION 6-8 pm

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Guidelines for Seminar Paper Proposal

Your proposal should be about two to three pages, double-spaced. It should include, at a minimum:

1. A tentative title
2. A thesis
3. A series of supporting arguments or contentions
4. A preliminary conclusion
5. A working bibliography that contains approximately one page of references.

Guidelines for the Introduction, Detailed Outline, and Conclusions

The “introduction” should include a statement of the problem, i.e. the issue conflict you want to study. It should be about 2-3 pages long.

The “detailed outline” should lay out and develop your thesis, arguments, and supporting evidence. The arguments and supporting evidence should follow one another in the order that you want them to appear in your seminar paper. See, for example, my 1991 article in *PS: Political Science and Politics* titled “Cultural Issues and Images in the 1988 Presidential Election: Why the Democrats Lost—Again!” The outline should be written in complete sentences. This will allow me to comment on the strength and logic of your arguments and evidence. It will also help you to organize your material and construct well-developed arguments that do not fall apart at the end. This outline will constitute the preliminary stage to writing the “text” of your seminar paper.

The “conclusions” section should bring your paper to closure by reviewing what you set out to study, the thesis and/or theoretical hypotheses you examined, and the conclusions that can
reasonably be drawn from the evidence and/or results.

**Guidelines for Seminar Paper**

Your final paper should be about 8-10 double-spaced, typewritten pages in length including references and footnotes and follow the conventions and protocols outlined in the *Style Manual for Political Science* (http://www.ipsonet.org/data/files/APSAStyleManual2006.pdf). It should focus on a problem or issue-conflict in American politics that relates to the major theme of this course, cultural and political fragmentation, or one of the sub-themes, i.e., immigration, diversity, and the loss of community.

The paper should be organized according to the following format:

1. A title page bearing the title of your paper and your name
2. An executive summary or abstract, no longer than one page, which summarizes your major findings and conclusions.
3. The text or main body of the paper (with references to works cited in parenthesis by author, year, and, if inclusive of a quote, pages)
4. Notes (digressions that were not included in the main body of the paper).
5. References (by last name of author, in alphabetical order).
6. Tables and figures.

Again, you should try to spend as much time writing the paper as researching it.