

**Cleveland State University  
Department of Political Science**

PSC 420–Seminar in American Politics  
Spring 2008  
Office Hours: MW 9:45-10:50 a.m. & by appt

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**The Fragmenting American Republic:  
Immigration, Diversity, and the Eclipse of Citizenship**

This is a senior seminar in American politics. It is intended to challenge your thinking. It has also been designed to give you the opportunity to write a “capstone” paper. 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 eclipse of citizenship. 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 another 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. 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 political scientists have observed over the past 40 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 stalemate—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 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> 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 eclipse of citizenship 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, and a decline in citizenship. 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 economic globalism and 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 latest cross-national, cross-state, cross-urban, and national-survey data files compiled by Thomson Learning and the MicroCase Corporation.

Since the University is a participating member of the MicroCase Curriculum Plan, all of our students have free and unlimited access to a user-friendly computer software package and an archive of some 494 data sets including data on 172 countries with populations over 200,000, the 50 states, some 3000 counties, and World Values Surveys for some 49 countries. With this package you can test, if you want, your own theories and hypotheses about American government and politics. To access this resource, just bring a blank CD to the Multimedia Center in the Main Library and burn your own copy. But please remember to return the master copy. We will be drawing on this resource throughout the semester.

### **Course Responsibilities**

Class members are expected to read the assigned selections before class and come prepared for discussion. In addition each member will be required to write a 16-20 page seminar paper, complete two take-home examinations on the readings; and lead two class discussions on the readings.

### **Grades**

The seminar paper assignment will count 40% of your final grade. The examinations will each count 20%. And your class attendance, participation, and leadership of two discussions will count a final 20%.

## 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). At the end of this syllabus is an attachment that explains the procedures you need to follow in submitting your work electronically. The class number is "2141448 ". The class password 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.

## Required Texts

Most of the readings are on Electronic Reserve. So there are only three required texts:

- (1) Thomas R. Dye, *Top Down Policymaking* (New York: Chatham House, 2001).
- (2) Patrick Buchanan, *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization* (New York: Thomas Dunne, 2002).
- (3) Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004)

These are available at the University book store.

## Writing Assignments

For help in your writing assignments, you may wish to consult E. B. White and William Strunk's *The Elements of Style*, the *Prentice Hall Reference Guide to Grammar and Usage*, or *The Allyn and Bacon Handbook*. 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. All of these assignments will be completed outside of class. Your grade for each assignment will be based not only on the analytical quality and content of your work but also on the quality of your writing. I will provide written comments and feedback on the two exams, generally no more than one or two class periods after the due date. In addition, I will

provide feedback on the posted “checkpoints”—seminar proposal, introduction, detailed outline, and conclusions--that I have set up to 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 might want to get ahead in the readings whenever you can. Do I expect you to read everything word for word? No. 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 ask a series of interesting and provocative questions that draw out the major points in the readings. In previous classes, student discussion leaders would often distribute 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 don’t grade on a curve. The notes can be reproduced at no cost to you by using the free printers in the library and the Main Classroom building.

### **Course Outline**

Jan. 14            Overview and Organization

                    Class lottery for leading two class discussion

#### **PART I. THE AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT**

##### **A. The Origins of Republican Government**

Jan. 16            The Origins and Social Condition of the Anglo-Americans

                    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

- Jan. 18           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 Republic in the United States, pp. 288-330.
- Daniel Elazar, Tocqueville and the Cultural Basis of American Democracy, *PS: Political Science and Politics* (June 1999), pp. 207-210.
- Jan. 21           No Class: Martin Luther King Day**
- Jan. 23           *E Pluribus Unum* and the American Race Dilemma
- 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.  
           (Skim)
- Conor Cruise O'Brien, Thomas Jefferson: Radical and Racist, *Atlantic Monthly* (ed.), Tocqueville and Democracy in America: A Symposium, *PS: Political Science and Politics* (June 1999), pp.217-224.
- Joel Lieske, Race and Democracy, *PS: Political Science and Politics* (June 1999) pp.217-224.
- Lee, Sharon M. and Barry Edmonson. 2005. New Marriages, New Families: U. S. Racial and Hispanic Intermarriage. *Population Bulletin*, Vol. 60, No. 2.
- Jan. 25           Cultural Foundations, Sectionalism, and Regionalism [**Student Discussant # 1**]
- 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.
- B. The Shaping of American Political Culture
- Jan. 28           The Puritan Stream [**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.

Jan. 30 The Origins of Progressivism [**Student Discussnt #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.

Feb. 1 The Peoples of the United States: Their Cultures and Subcultures

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 Correlates of Life Quality in U. S. Metropolitan Areas, *Publius*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter 1990), pp. 43-54.

Joel Lieske, Regional Subcultures of the United States, *Journal of Politics* (November 1993), pp. 888-913.

C.. Cultural and Ideological Conflicts in American Politics

Feb. 4 Liberal, Conservative, Populist, and Progressive Views

George McKenna and Stanley Feingold, *Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues*

Introduction: Labels and Alignments in American Politics, pp. xii-xxi

Charles Kadushin, Who are the elite intellectuals? *Public Interest* (Fall, 1972), pp. 109-125..

Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique*

Ch. 1, Jews and the Radical Critique of Gentile Culture, pp. 1-19.

Ch. 3, Jews and the Left, pp. 53-107.

Patrick Buchanan, *The Death of the West*

Ch. 1, Introduction, pp. 1-10.

Feb. 6 Culture and Politics

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.

Is the U. S. a Fragmenting Country?: An Empirical Test of Woshinsky's Theory of Political Regimes Using MicroCase Data (Burn your own CD of the MicroCase Curriculum Plan and check out a University laptop before class and then follow along.)

## PART II. DEMOCRACY AND IMMIGRATION

### A. Understanding the U. S. Immigration Problem

- Feb. 8            John Tanton, Denis McCormack, and Joseph Wayne Smith (eds.), *Immigration and the Social Contract: The Implosion of Western Societies* [**Student Discussant #4**]  
Joseph Wayne Smith, Foreward, xiv-xviii.  
John Tanton, End of the Migration Epoch? Time for a New Paradigm, pp. 3-21.  
Douglas Massey, The Social and Economic Origins of Immigration, pp. 22-26.  
Philip Martin, Immigration and Integration: Challenges for the 1990s, pp. 27-34.  
David Simcox, Population Growth and the American Future: A Lost Opportunity, pp. 35-43.  
Vernon Briggs, Jr., The Administration of U. S. Immigration Policy: Time for Another Change, pp. 44-51.  
Roy Beck, Immigration: No. 1 in U. S. Growth, pp. 52-56.

### B. The Social Costs of Immigration

- Feb. 11            John Tanton, Denis McCormack, and Joseph Wayne Smith (eds.), *Immigration and the Social Contract: The Implosion of Western Societies* [**Student Discussant # 5**]  
Linda Thom, Where Are All of These Poor People Coming From? pp. 59-65,  
John Sullivan, Immigration and African Americans, pp. 66-70.  
Donald Huddle and David Simcox, The Impact of Immigration on the Social Security System, pp. 71-77.  
Wayne Lutton, The High Cost of Immigration to New York State, pp. 78-80.



**Feb. 18      President's Day: Formerly Washington's Birthday**

E. The Growing Ordeal of Immigration

Feb. 20                      Jack Miles, Blacks vs. Browns, *Atlantic Monthly* 270 (October 1992), pp. 41-68.

Roy Beck, The Ordeal of Immigration in Wausau, *Atlantic Monthly* (April 1994), pp. 84-97.

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

Steven A. Camarota, Immigrants in the United States: A Profile of America's Foreign-Born Population, Center for Immigration Studies, November 2007.

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

F. The Politics of Immigration Control

Feb. 22                      The Politics of Immigration [**Student Discussant #8**]

James Gimpel and James Edwards, Jr., *The Congressional Politics of Immigration Reform*

Ch. 1, Immigration To the United States: Politics and Policy, pp. 1-26.

Ch. 2, Public Opinion and Interest Group Influence, pp. 27-59.

Ch. 3, Issues in the Contemporary Immigration Debate on Capitol Hill, pp. 60-92.

Feb. 25                      The Nature of Regime Change [**Student Discussant #9**]

Daniel Tichenor, *Dividing Lines* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press)

Ch. 1, Introduction, pp. 1-15,

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

**Distribution of First Take-Home Examination**

Feb. 27                      Forces for Expansion and Contraction [**Student Discussant #10**]

Daniel Tichenor, *Dividing Lines* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press)

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

#### G. Immigration and the Holocaust: The Future of Immigration Policy

Feb. 29 Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique* [**Student Discussant #11**]  
Ch. 7, Jewish Involvement in Shaping U.S. Immigration Policy, pp. 243-301.

James Gimpel and James Edwards, Jr., *The Congressional Politics of Immigration Reform*  
Ch. 7, Congress and the Future of Immigration Policy, pp. 297-315.

### PART III. IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY

#### A. The Diversity Myth and the Nature of Ethnic Relations

Mar. 3 Benjamin Schwarz, The Diversity Myth: America's Leading Export. *Atlantic Monthly* 275 (May 1995), pp. 57-67.

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

#### **First Take Home Examination Due**

#### B. The Sociology of Ethnic Stratification

Mar. 5 Martin Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations* [**Student Discussant #12**]  
Techniques of Dominance: Prejudice and Discrimination, 61-97.  
Patterns of Ethnic Relations: Assimilation and Pluralism, 98-130.

#### C. Is There an American Ethnic Hierarchy?

Mar. 7 Martin Marger, *Race and Ethnic Relations*  
Ethnicity in the United States, 131-133.  
Foundations of the American Ethnic Hierarchy, 134-167.  
Current and Future Issues of Race and Ethnicity in the United States, 379-406.

Joel Lieske, Cultural Issues and Images in the 1988 Presidential Election--Why the Democrats Lost--Again! *PS: Political Science and Politics* (June

1991), pp. 180-187.

**Mar. 9-16 Spring [Winter] Recess--If You Can't Hit the Beaches in Florida, Go Ice Fishing in Minnesota, or Go Cross-Country Skiing in Vermont, You Can Always Beat the Winter "Blahs" by Working on Your Seminar Paper. So Work Hard and Enjoy Yourself. It's Later Than You Think.**

D. The Politics of Ethnic Nepotism

Mar. 17 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.

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

E. Social and Genetic Distance Scales

Mar. 19 Richard T. Schaefer, The Social Distance Scale, *Racial and Ethnic Groups*, pp. 49-52.

Nei, Masatoshi and Arun K. Roychoudhury. 1993. Evolutionary Relationships of Human Populations on a Global Scale, *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 10: 927-943.

F. Toward Evolutionary Theories of Social and Political Behavior

Mar. 21 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.

Edward O. Wilson, The Biological Basis of Morality, *Atlantic Monthly* (April 1998), pp. 53-70.

John R. Alford and John R. Hibbing, The Origin of Politics: An Evolutionary Theory of Political Behavior, *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (December 2004): 707-723.

Mar. 24 The Demography of Power [**Student Discussant #13**]

Patrick Buchanan, *The Death of the West*

- Ch. 1, Endangered Spies, pp.11-24.
- Ch. 2, “Where Have All the Children Gone?”, pp. 25-49.

Frank Miele, To Rule Is to Populate: Puritanism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy, the Rise (and Fall?) of Anglo-America, and the Unifying or Fragging of Knowledge, Paper delivered at the 2000 American Political Science Convention.

## PART IV. DIVERSITY AND THE ECLIPSE OF CITIZENSHIP

### A. Civic Disengagement

#### Mar. 26 Trends in Civic Engagement [**Student Discussant #14**]

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. 4, Religious Participation, pp. 65-79.
- Ch. 8, Reciprocity, Honesty, and Trust, pp. 134-147.

#### Mar. 28 Causes of Civic Engagement [**Student Discussant #15**]

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*

- Ch. 10, Introduction, pp. 183-188.
- Ch. 11, Pressures of Time and Money, pp. 189-203.
- Ch. 12, Mobility and Sprawl, pp 204-215.
- Ch. 13, Technology and Mass Media, pp. 216-246.
- Ch. 14, From Generation to Generation, pp. 247-276.
- Ch. 15, What Killed Civic Engagement? Summing Up, pp. 277-284.

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

#### Mar. 31 Social Effects [**Student Discussant #16**]

Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone*

- Ch. 16, Introduction, pp. 287-295.
- Ch. 17, Education and Children’s Welfare, pp. 296-306.
- Ch. 18, Safe and Productive Neighborhoods, pp. 307-318.
- Ch. 19, Economic Prosperity, pp. 31-325.
- Ch. 20, Health and Happiness, pp. 326-335.
- Ch. 21, Democracy, pp. 336-349.

Ch. 22, The Dark Side of Social Capital, pp. 350-363.

B. The Loss of Community

- Apr. 2 Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone* [**Student Discussant #17**]  
Ch. 23, Lessons of History: The Gilded Age and the Progressive Era, pp. 367-401.  
Ch. 24, Toward an Agenda for Social Capitalists, pp. 402-414.

**Apr. 4 No Class: Work on Your Seminar Paper**

C. The Loss of American National Identity  
Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We?*

1. The Issues of Identity

- Apr. 7 Forward, xv-xvii [**Student Discussant #18**]  
  
Crisis of National Identity, 3-20.  
Identities: National and Other, 21-33.

2. American Identity

Components of American Identity, 37-58.

**Detailed Outline Due [See Guidelines at end of syllabus]**

- April 9 Anglo-Protestant Culture, 59-80 [**Student Discussant #19**]  
Religion and Christianity, 81-106  
Emergence, Triumph, Erosion, 107-138

3. Challenges to American Identity

- April 11 Deconstructing America: The Rise of Subnational Identities, 141-177.  
[**Student Discussant #20**]  
Assimilation: Converts, Ampersands, and the Erosion of Citizenship, 178-220

- April 14 Mexican Immigration and Hispanization, 221-256 [  
Merging America with the World, 257-291

4. Can an American National Identity Be Renewed?

- April 16 Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We?*  
Fault Lines: Old and New, pp. 295-335.

Twenty-first Century America: Vulnerability, Religion, and National Identity, pp. 336-366.

D. Top Down Policy Making and the Rise of Political Oligarchy

Apr. 18 Elite Influence on American Political Processes [**Student Discussant #21**]

Thomas Dye, *Top Down Policymaking*

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.

Ch. 4, The Leadership Selection Process, pp. 65-84.

Apr. 21 Elite Influence on American Political Institutions and Public Policies [**Student Discussant #22**]

Thomas Dye, *Top Down Policymaking*

Ch. 5, The Interest Group Process, pp. 85-102.

Ch. 6, The Opinion Making Process, pp. 103-115.

Ch. 7, The Policy Legitimation Process, pp. 116-136.

Ch. 8, The Policy Implementation Process, pp. 137-157.

Ch. 9, The Policy Evaluation Process, pp. 158-174.

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

D. National Breakdown and the War Against America

Apr. 23 Patrick Buchanan, *The Death of the West*

Ch. 3, Catechism of a Revolution, pp. 51-71.

Ch. 4, Four Who Made a Revolution, pp. 73-96.

Ch. 5, The Coming Great Migrations, pp. 97-122.

Ch. 6, La Reconquista, pp. 123-146.

Ch. 7, The War Against the Past, pp. 147-177.

E. Culture Wars and the Struggle for Cultural Dominance

Apr. 25 Patrick Buchanan, *The Death of the West*

Ch. 8 - De-Christianizing America, pp. 179-204.

Ch. 9 - Intimidated Majority, pp. 205-226

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.

## F. The Distortion of National Interests and the Sorrows of Empire

Apr. 28 John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, *London Review of Books*, Vol. 28, No.6 (March 23, 2006).

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*

Prologue: The Unveiling of the American Empire, pp. 1-13.

Ch. 1, Imperialisms, Old and New, pp. 15-37.

Ch. 2, The Roots of American Militarism, pp. 39-65.

Ch. 10, The Sorrows of Empire, pp. 283-312.

### **Final Seminar Paper Due (See guidelines at the end of this syllabus)**

## PART V. THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

### A. Does California's Experience Portend the American Future?

Apr. 30 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.

Robert Kaplan, *Travels into America's Future*, *Atlantic Monthly* 282 (July 1998), pp.47-68.

### **Distribution of Final Take-home Test**

### B. Is Progressivism Still Possible or Is It Being Doomed by Diversity?

May 2 Robert D. Putnam, *E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century*, The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 2007, pp. 137-174.

Patrick Buchanan, *The Death of the West*

Ch. 10, A House Divided, pp. 227-268.

Afterward, pp. 269-271.

**May 7 Final Take-home Examination Due at 1 p.m.**

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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 3-5 pages long.

The “detailed outline” should lay out and develop your thesis, supporting 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 16-20 double-spaced, typewritten pages in length including references and footnotes. I prefer scientific (APA) formatting, as used in most professional journals, such as the *American Political Science Review*. It should focus on a problem or issue-conflict in American politics that relates to the major theme of this course, cultural fragmentation or at least one of the sub-themes, i.e., immigration, diversity, and the eclipse of citizenship.

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.