



**Faculty of Social Sciences  
Department of Political Science**

**POLI 3P07: Democracy in the United States  
Fall 2021**

**Tuesdays and Thursdays 5:00 – 5:50 p.m.  
GSB306**

Professor: Stefan Dolgert

Office: Plaza 345

Office Hours: Wednesdays 12:00-2:00 pm (online), and by appointment

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Seminar 1	Thu	1600-1700	TH149	S. Dolgert
Seminar 2	Tue	1500-1600	MCC404	E. Yilma
Seminar 3	Fri	1600-1700	MCJ209	E. Yilma

Hey Uncle Sam

Put your name at the top of his list

And the Statue of Liberty

Started shakin' her fist

And the eagle will fly

Man, it's gonna be hell

When you hear Mother Freedom

Start ringin' her bell

And it feels like the whole wide world is raining down on you

Brought to you Courtesy of the Red White and Blue

---"Courtesy of the Red, White, and Blue" by Toby Keith (2002)

Elvis was a hero to most

But he never meant shit to me you see

Straight up racist that sucker was

Simple and plain

Motherfxxk him and John Wayne

----"Fight the Power" by Public Enemy (1989)

This course should have a question mark in its title. While the meaning of democracy is fluid, and certainly the United States has had periods where it was substantially undemocratic, the current period is unique in my lifetime. Substantial numbers of American citizens now support the end of American democracy, and in 2024 there is a reasonable chance that they will achieve their goal. How did this happen? Why is American democracy in peril, and what are its prospects for the future? We'll do our best to answer these questions.

These are only a few of the questions we must be prepared to address when we consider how best to approach the subject of "Democracy in the United States." We will begin the class by exploring some of the core issues at stake in the American Revolution, focusing primarily on the question of representation in the Revolution, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitutional Convention. The debates between the British and Americans initially took the form of a clash between "virtual" versus "actual" representation, and we will read these debates and those between Federalists and Anti-Federalists in some depth. We will inquire how these arguments over the best means to represent the polity are rooted in a particular historical context, and how they inform later debates concerning the structure of the American political sphere. At the same time we will see that these debates regarding the "how" of representation, the "how" of politically articulating the community, lead inescapably to the question of the "who" of the community. In the early American period, of course, the "who" does not include women, slaves, Native Americans, and most manual labourers – or if it does, it includes them only "virtually."

The course of American history over the next centuries will witness broad challenges to these earlier conceptions of the proper boundary of the community, and frequently these expansions of the polity will be articulated as challenges to the prevailing idea of representation. We will explore several of these "openings" of the public sphere in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (which often are more akin to an explosion than a gradual evolution): race, gender, class, nation, and environment. From each of these openings we will witness a new vision of the promise of American democracy, as each emerging claimant offers its unique idea of the community and how that community should be represented. One could say, with little hyperbole, that "Democracy in the United States" is constituted by little else than the perennial definition and redefinition of the community in and through the struggle of these contending visions.

At best in this survey course we can only sample a small fraction of the rich diversity of American political life. After finishing this course students will be prepared to explore each of these themes in greater depth on their own or in other classes, always bearing in mind that "Democracy in the United States" is as much a question as it is a defined object of study.

**Books:**

*American Political Thought* (1st edition), edited by Keith Whittington, Oxford University Press

There will also be several secondary readings to supplement this text, as noted in the schedule of readings.

**Assignments:**

Seminar Participation: 20%

Midterm: 15% (October 19) The instructor will distribute topics in advance.

Paper: 25% (Eight-to-ten pages, due November 25, 11 pm to Turnitin.com). The instructor will distribute topics in advance.

Discussion Posts (online in the Forum, via Sakai): 20% (10 postings total, 2% each)

Final Exam: 20% (Take Home Exam, due December 17 by 11 pm to Turnitin.com)

*Seminar Participation:*

This is the place and space for students to take active responsibility for the conduct of this class. Students are expected to attend all seminars, and will not receive any points for those seminars they miss (without a documented medical excuse). Please come prepared to discuss the materials each day, and this means arguing about them in a thoughtful manner with your instructor and fellow classmates. These discussions should be respectful of others' views, but in no way does that suggest that we paper over our differences with others. We will learn from each other precisely to the extent that we can figure out exactly how much we disagree with one another. Merely attending seminar obtain a mark of 50 for that day, while a 70 requires both attentive and thoughtful contributions. Outstanding performance in seminar, usually including synthesizing and responding to the contributions of other students, is required for marks of 80 and above.

*Discussion Postings:*

Prior to each week of class BEGINNING WITH WEEK TWO, each student is required to post one item to the Forum section of Sakai by NINE A.M. on TUESDAY of that week. THERE IS NO POSTING DUE IN WEEK TWELVE. This posting is to be approximately 50-100 words. The grade will be based on whether the posting meets these requirements – it will not be graded for content, though postings that do not specifically cite the week's readings, or that are simply cut-and-pasted from elsewhere, will not be counted.

Each posting should address a question to the text, or to one of the other student's postings for that week. They can take many forms, and the following are just a few examples: 1) puzzle through what the author means... e.g. "Author X seems to state that Z is the case, but I cannot understand how this argument works, since the Author also says Y. One way to resolve this seeming dilemma is to include B in the argument, which removes the contradiction; 2) argue with the author... "Author M states X and Y, both of which result in a argument that is unjust (state why) and threatens democratic legitimacy (state why). Author M's position is of no use to us in crafting a theory of American democracy; 3) "Student U has posted that Author P is wrong because of K. While I agree that K is a problem, Student U does not take into account Author P's argument J, which answers the contradictions raised by Student U." Hopefully these dreary examples will give you an idea of the flavour of the postings, but please do make your commentary

livelier than what I have just written above. I expect that these postings will facilitate class discussions by placing a number of issues on the table well before the actual class session, and I will likely be responding to some of the issues raised in my lectures/group projects for the week.

(If you've made it to this point, congratulations! Send me an email with "My Hero Academia" in the subject line...nothing else needed though you can certainly say something if you like!)

**Deadline to Withdraw is Tuesday, November 2.**

Last date for withdrawal without academic penalty and last day to change from credit to audit status for duration 2 courses without academic penalty.

**Academic Integrity:**

In this course we aim to conduct ourselves as a community of scholars, recognizing that academic study is both an intellectual and ethical enterprise. You are encouraged to build on the ideas and texts of others; that is a vital part of academic life. You are also obligated to document every occasion when you use another's ideas, language, or syntax. You are encouraged to study together, discuss readings outside of class, and share your drafts during peer review and outside of class. In this course, those activities are well within the bounds of academic honesty. However, when you *use* another's ideas or language—whether through direct quotation, summary, or paraphrase—you must formally acknowledge that debt by signalling it with a standard form of academic citation. Per university policy, **YOU ALSO MAY NOT RE-USE YOUR OWN WORK, FROM PREVIOUS OR CURRENT CLASSES.**

**STUDENTS WHO DO NOT CITE TO THE ASSIGNED EDITIONS OF THE TEXTS WILL INCUR A PENALTY OF -30% ON THEIR ESSAYS OR POSTS.**

See also the Political Science Department's statement on academic integrity, which appears at the end of the syllabus.

**Late Submission Policy:**

The penalties for late submission of assigned coursework (e.g., papers, assignments, weekly reflections) are 2% per day, unless accompanied by medical documentation. See Medical Exemption Policy and the medical health certificate at <http://www.brocku.ca/health-services/policies/exemption>

**Turnitin.com**

Written assignments may be submitted through Turnitin.com, at the instructor's discretion. The instructor will supply links and password at the time of the assignment. If you object to uploading your assignments to Turnitin.com for any reason, please notify the instructor to discuss the matter further.

**Intellectual Property Notice:**

All slides, presentations, handouts, tests, exams, and other course materials created by the instructor in this course are the intellectual property of the instructor. A student who publicly posts or sells an instructor's work, without the instructor's express consent, may be charged with misconduct under Brock's Academic Integrity Policy and/or Code of Conduct, and may also face adverse legal consequences for infringement of intellectual property rights.

**Academic Accommodation:**

As part of Brock University's commitment to a respectful work and learning environment, the University will make every reasonable effort to accommodate all members of the university community with disabilities. If you require academic accommodations related to a documented disability to participate in this course, you are encouraged to contact Services for Students with Disabilities in the Student Development Centre (4th floor Schmon Tower, ex. 3240). You are also encouraged to discuss any accommodations with the instructor well in advance of due dates and scheduled assessments.

**Academic Accommodation due to Religious Obligations:**

Brock University acknowledges the pluralistic nature of the undergraduate and graduate communities such that accommodations will be made for students who, by reason of religious obligation, must miss an examination, test, assignment deadline, laboratory or other compulsory academic event. Students requesting academic accommodation on the basis of religious obligation should make a formal, written request to their instructor(s) for alternative dates and/or means of satisfying requirements.

**Medical Exemption Policy:**

The University requires that a student be medically examined in Health Services, or by an off-campus physician prior to an absence due to medical reasons from an exam, lab, test, quiz, seminar, assignment, etc. The Medical Certificate can be found at: <http://www.brocku.ca/health-services/policies/exemption>

**Schedule of Readings (students should be prepared to discuss all readings for the week by Tuesday):**

**Week One: Introduction**

September 9: Syllabus!

**Week Two: Who's Afraid of Talking About Race?**

September 14

Malcolm X, Interview (1963): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FZMrti8QcPA>  
Derrick Bell, "Who's Afraid of Critical Race Theory?" (PDF emailed by professor)

September 16

The 1619 Project, Part One (Read up through the essay "Undemocratic Democracy")

[https://pulitzercenter.org/sites/default/files/full\\_issue\\_of\\_the\\_1619\\_project.pdf](https://pulitzercenter.org/sites/default/files/full_issue_of_the_1619_project.pdf)

### **Week Three: Duelling Narratives**

September 21

The 1619 Project, Part Two (Read the rest)

September 23

The 1776 Report

<https://f.hubspotusercontent10.net/hubfs/397762/The%20President%E2%80%99s%20Advisory%201776%20Commission%20-%20Final%20Report.pdf>

### **Week Four: Back to the Start**

September 28

John Winthrop, “The Little Speech” 26-28

Roger Williams, “*The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience*” 21-24

John Cotton, “An Exposition Upon the 13<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the Revelations” 24-26

John Wise, “Vindication of the Government of New England Churches” 28-33

Cotton Mather, “A Christian at his Calling” 62-64

Slaves’ Petition to the Massachusetts Governor (1774), 52-54

September 30

Great Law of Peace of the Haudenosaunee/Iroquois

<http://www.indigenouspeople.net/iroqcon.htm>

Joseph Doddridge, “Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars” 68-70

Corn Tassel/Onitositah, “Reply to the American Commissioners” 149-151

### **Week Five: The Revolution and Constitution**

October 5

Thomas Paine, “*Common Sense*” 33-39

Thomas Jefferson, “The Declaration of Independence” 77-81

John Adams, “Thoughts on Government” 87-90

Carter Braxton, “An Address to the Convention” 90-92

Thomas Jefferson, “An Act for Establishing Religious Freedom” 92-94

Articles of Confederation (online)

October 7

The Constitution

Alexander Hamilton’s *Federalist* essays 94-100

James Madison’s *Federalist* essays 100-111

*Brutus* Essays, 111-119

Richard Henry Lee, “Letters from the Federal Farmer” 119-123

Sheldon Wolin, "Tending and Intending a Constitution: Bicentennial Misgivings," in *The Presence of the Past* (1989) (emailed PDF)

## **FALL BREAK/READING WEEK October 11th – 15<sup>th</sup>**

### **Week Six: Early Dilemmas**

October 19: Midterm

October 21

Abigail and John Adams, "Correspondence on Women's Rights" 132-134

Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia* 134-138; 146-148

James Madison, "Vices of the Political System of the United States" 142-146

Banneker and Jefferson, "Correspondence on Slavery" 138-141

Thomas Jefferson, *First Inaugural Address* 186-188

Alexander Hamilton, *Report on Credit* 206-210

Alexander Hamilton, *Report on Manufactures* 210-217

### **Week Seven: Empire, Inequality, and the Civil War**

October 26

John Marshall, *Marbury v. Madison* 171-173

George Bancroft, "The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion" 236-238

William Lloyd Garrison, "Declaration of Principles for the Liberator" 266-269

Orestes Brownson, "The Laboring Classes" 293-296

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions" 269-271

Sojourner Truth, "Ain't I a Woman" 271-272

Andrew Jackson, "Speech on Indian Removal" 298-301

Memorial of the Cherokee Nation, 301-304

John L. O'Sullivan, "Manifest Destiny" 304-309

October 28

Henry David Thoreau, "Civil Disobedience" 238-243

John C. Calhoun, "A Disquisition on Government" 243-250

Frederick Douglass, "What to the Slave is the 4<sup>th</sup> of July" 272-276

George Fitzhugh, "*Cannibals, All!*" 276-279

Alexander Stephens, "Cornerstone Address" 334-337

Abraham Lincoln, "Speech at New Haven" 282-284

Abraham Lincoln, "First Annual Message" 348-350

Extra Credit Commentary: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (selections on “The Tyranny of the Majority,” “Public Associations” and “Interest Rightly Understood”)

### **Week Eight: Reconstruction, Social Darwinism, Socialism, Populism, and the Frontier**

November 2

Abraham Lincoln, “The Gettysburg Address” 337-338

Abraham Lincoln, “Second Inaugural Address” 325-327

Reconstruction Amendments to the Constitution 338-340

Susan B. Anthony, “Is it a Crime...?” 343-347

Francis Parkman, “The Failure of Universal Suffrage 368-370

Booker T. Washington, “Atlanta Exposition Address” 390-393

Grover Cleveland, “Literacy Test Veto” 384-386

Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” 379-382

November 4

William Graham Sumner, “*What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*” 399-405

Andrew Carnegie, “Gospel of Wealth” 405-408

Henry Lloyd, “Wealth Against Commonwealth” 408-411

Thorsten Veblen, “Theory of the Leisure Class” 411-413

William Graham Sumner, “The Conquest of the United States by Spain” 417-420

Suggested: Richard Slotkin, “The Winning of the West: Theodore Roosevelt’s Frontier Thesis, 1880-1900,” in *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (1998)

### **Week Nine: The Progressive Era**

November 9

Theodore Roosevelt, “The New Nationalism” 432-436

Woodrow Wilson, “The New Freedom” 436-440

John Dewey, “The Public and Its Problems” 440-446

W.E.B. Dubois, “The Souls of Black Folk” 456-462

November 11

Jane Addams, “If Men Were Seeking the Franchise” 462-465

Eugene Debs, “Unionism and Socialism” 466-470

Emma Goldman, “Anarchism” 470-474

Herbert Croly, “The Promise of American Life” 474-481

Randolph Bourne, “The State” 491-494

### **Week Ten: The New Deal and Postwar Liberalism**

November 16

Herbert Hoover, “Rugged Individualism Speech” 505-508

Franklin Roosevelt, "The Commonwealth Club Address" 508-513  
Thurman Arnold, "The Symbols of Government" 523-526  
Ralph Bunche, "A Critical Analysis..." 531-533  
Rexford Tugwell, "The Principle of Planning and the Institution of Laissez Faire" 536-539

November 18

George Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" 547-551  
Reinhold Niebuhr, "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness" 554-558  
Robert Taft, "A Foreign Policy for America" 558-563  
Milton Friedman, "Capitalism and Freedom" 569-571  
Barry Goldwater, "Acceptance Speech..." 571-575

### **Week Eleven: Civil Rights, the Great Society, and Vietnam**

November 23

Young Americans for Freedom, "The Sharon Statement" 584-585  
Students for Democratic Society, "Port Huron Statement" 585-590  
Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from the Birmingham City Jail" 597-602  
Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have a Dream Speech" 602-605  
Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet" 605-610

Speech by Ronald Reagan, "A Time for Choosing"

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/ronaldreaganatimeforchoosing.htm>

November 25

Betty Friedan, "The Feminine Mystique" 610-613  
Kate Millett, "Sexual Politics" 613-616  
John Kenneth Galbraith, "American Capitalism" 618-620  
J. William Fulbright, "The Arrogance of Power" 630-635

"Hearts and Minds" Documentary: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v77z\\_ZZDUKc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v77z_ZZDUKc)

### **Week Twelve: 1980-now**

November 30

Ronald Reagan, "First Inaugural Address" 640-643  
Richard Epstein, "Skepticism and Freedom" 646-648  
Richard John Neuhaus, "What the Fundamentalists Want" 653-656  
Irving Kristol, "The Neoconservative Persuasion" 660-662  
Thomas Sowell, "Civil Rights: Rhetoric or Reality?" 666-668  
Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations" 691-694

December 2

Richard Rorty, "The Priority of Democracy to Philosophy" 643-646  
David Graeber, "Direct Action..." 646-648  
Michael Walzer, "What Does it Mean to be an American" 656-660

Wendell Berry, "Citizenship Papers" 662-665

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, "Economic Justice for All" 681-683

Noam Chomsky, "Understanding Power" 694-697

**Week Twelve.5: Whither Democracy**

December 7

Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins" (PDF emailed)

Extra Credit Commentary: George Grant, *Lament for a Nation* (excerpt)

Take Home Final, due December 17

## APPENDIX 1: ACADEMIC MISCONDUCT AND LATE ESSAYS POLICY

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### Department of Political Science *POLICY ON LATE ESSAYS*

Late essays received by the instructor or deposited in the Political Science department essay boxes after 4:00 p.m. of the date on which they were due will be penalized **two per cent** per day from Monday through Friday and **five per cent** from Friday 4:00 p.m. to Monday 8:30 a.m. No paper will be accepted two weeks after the due date. **Individual instructors may impose different penalties and submission requirements. Be sure to check your course outlines.**

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An essay is considered received when the **original** hard copy of the paper is in the hands of the instructor or in the box outside the Political Science Department's office. (ALL ESSAYS MUST INCLUDE A TITLE PAGE WITH THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION CLEARLY MARKED: STUDENT NUMBER, TA and INSTRUCTOR'S NAME, COURSE NAME and NUMBER).

Having an essay date-stamped by security, or the library, or anyone else does **not** constitute receipt of the essay by the Political Science Department. Instructors may require that essays be submitted electronically. In this case, students must consult with the instructor on what constitutes a late essay.

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Instructors may establish more restrictive deadlines or more severe penalties in particular courses – check the course outline. Extensions of due dates are granted only in circumstances that are beyond the student's control, such as health problems that are supported by a Brock medical certificate or other, clearly equivalent, situations.

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Time management problems are not grounds for extensions. You are strongly urged to avoid these penalties by beginning to work on essays early in the term; by setting your own target dates for completion that are several days before the due date; and by carefully budgeting your time.

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### *POLICY ON RETURNING MARKED ESSAYS*

Marked essays will normally be returned during class meetings or at the final examination. Students who are not in class to receive their essays or do not receive them at the final examination can obtain them in three ways:

- directly from the instructor during his/her office hours (unless the instructor specifies in the course outline or by notice on his/her office door that this option is not available), and/or
- directly from the instructor on specific days and at specific times announced in class or posted on his/her office door.
- after the term has ended students should contact their instructor for specific instructions for

collecting their papers. **Note:** Essays that are not picked up within a year after the end of term will be shredded. UPDATED March 2017

## APPENDIX 2: STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

### STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

**Please read and sign the following statement, and submit this sheet with your paper. Your paper will not be graded until you have submitted this form.**

I, the undersigned, confirm that I understand that all the following constitutes academic misconduct according to Brock University's policy on academic misconduct, which in turn is consistent with general academic practice:

- Quoting someone's words without using quotation marks
- Quoting someone's words without acknowledging the source
- Citing someone else's ideas in my own words but without citing the source
- Using someone else's organization of ideas
- Allowing someone else the opportunity to borrow material from my paper (e.g., by letting them have access to my paper when they are writing their own paper)
- Writing the paper for another student, or doing some of the work for them (such as, but not limited to, reading the articles for them and providing them with notes on the articles)
- Allowing someone else (or paying someone else) to write part or all of my paper, or do some of the work for me. The exceptions to this are that it is acceptable to allow someone to type the paper for me or make editorial comment on it. However, if someone types the paper for me, or if I incorporate an editorial suggestion, and there are errors in the typing or the suggestion was misguided, I take full responsibility for those errors.
- Submitting this work to another course without both instructors' permission.

I confirm that I have not done any of the above forms of academic misconduct.

Name (please print): \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX 3: MENTAL HEALTH SUPPORT SERVICES**

### **Mental Health Support Services**

#### **Confidential Personal Counselling on Campus**

- To make an appointment to see a counsellor call 905-688-5550 extension 4750 during regular
- office hours (8:30 - 12:00, 1:00 - 4:30) or visit the Student Development Centre (ST400)
- during office hours.
- <https://brocku.ca/personal-counselling>

#### **Student Justice Centre**

A space safe on campus that provides listening, support, and referral services. Services are available Monday through Friday 9:00-5:00 (TH252A) by appointment or drop in. [www.brocksjc.ca](http://www.brocksjc.ca)

#### **I.M. Well App**

The I.M. Well app aims to address the stigma surrounding mental wellness by connecting students to the appropriate services on campus and within the community. This is an educational tool that covers a wide variety of topics such as anxiety, depression, transition and addiction. This app also offers a 24/7 live chat with mental health professionals.

<https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=com.eapexpert.iamwell&hl=en>  
<https://itunes.apple.com/ca/app/im-well/id1150435727?mt=8>