

Political Science 299-5

CRISES IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Governor Raymond P. Shafer
Professor Karl von Vorys

This is a special course, offered on an experimental basis. It is designed to respond to recent rapid and at times turbulent changes in the American political community and the political system, and is focused on some of the major issues which confronted the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations. The course will seek to explore the topics both from a disciplinary perspective and from the vantage point of those directly involved. Naturally, it will also try to maintain an ideological balance.

This is a one-semester, one-unit course. There are no prerequisites, except a thoughtfully open mind and a willingness to read.

Schedule:

The class will meet Mondays 1-4 p.m. in B-6 Stiteler Hall.

Lectures:

Most classes will open with a 75-90 minute statement by a distinguished guest. He will be followed by a complementary presentation of about 20 minutes by a distinguished faculty member of this university and where appropriate additional remarks by Governor Shafer and Professor von Vorys. The remainder of the period will be reserved for questions and discussion.

Recitation Seminars:

Two classes during the semester will be wholly reserved for class discussion. On these days students will be divided into two separate sections: For the first 80 minutes discussion in one section will be led by Governor Shafer and in the other by Professor von Vorys. Then after a short break the sections will exchange discussion leaders.

Assigned Readings:

There is no textbook for the course, however, the following general works are required reading:

Samuel Lubell. The Hidden Crisis of America. New York:
W.W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1971.

Jerome Skolnick. The Politics of Protest. New York:
Simon and Schuster. A Staff Report to the National
Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

John Kenneth Galbraith. The New Industrial State. Boston:
Houghton Mifflin, 1971.

B.F. Skinner. Beyond Freedom and Dignity. New York:
Bantam/Vintage, 1972.

Stanley, Milgram. Obedience to Authority. New York:
Harper Row, 1973.

Erich Fromm. Escape from Freedom. New York: Avon, 1965.

Arthur H. Miller, Warren E. Miller, Alden S. Raine. Thad
A. Brown. "A Majority Party in Disarray: Policy
Polarization in the 1972 Election." The University of
Michigan, Center for Political Studies.

James A. Burkhardt, Samuel Krislov, Raymond L. Lee,
American Government: The Clash of Issues, 4th edition.
Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972. (Referenced
sections only.)

Suggested readings and some required readings are listed according to
lecture topics. All required and some suggested reading has been ordered
by the University of Pennsylvania bookstore. All required and all suggested
reading will be available in the Rosengarten room of the Van Pelt Library.

Requirements:

There will be a final examination in the course.
In addition, a term paper will be required. This
may be a research effort in depth on one of the
substantive issues, or an "idea" paper discussing
as profoundly as possible some relevant norma-
tive question. Term papers are due on April
29, 1974. Except for certified medical reasons
no extensions will be granted.

Course Outline:

January 21.

Organizing Session.
Professor von Vorys

January 28.

The State of American Democracy.
Governor Shafer and Professor von Vorys

February 4. The Civil Rights Movement.
Mr. Clarence Jones, President, The Amsterdam News,
New York City; and
Professor Charles Elder, Department of Political Science.

Suggested Readings:

Jerome Skolnick, The Politics of Protest

Ch. 3: Student Protest

Ch. 4: Black Militancy

Ch. 5: The Racial Attitudes of White Americans

Ch. 6: White Militancy

James Burkhart, Samuel Krislov, and Raymond Lee, The Clash of

Issues. Appropriate readings to include:

Martin Luther King, Jr. "Letter from Birmingham City Jail"

Bayard Rustin, "The Failure of Black Separatism"

Alexander M. Bickel, "Desegregation: Where Do We Go From Here"

Martin Kilson, "Black Politics: A New Power," Dissent (August, 1971),
pp. 333-345.

Daniel Moynihan, "The New Racialism." Atlantic Monthly (August, 1968),
pp. 38 ff.

Wattenberg, Ben and Richard Scammon, "Black Progress and Liberal
Rethoric," Commentary (April, 1973), pp. 35-44. Responses to
above--"On the Nature of Black Progress," Commentary (August,
1973), pp. 4-22.

Pettigrew, Thomas, "Racially Separate or Together?" Journal of
Social Issues, 25, 1 (Jan., 1969).

February 11. The Vacuum in the Political Process.
The Honorable George Romney, Governor of Michigan (1963-
69) and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
(1969-1973); and
Professor Edwin Haefele, Department of Political Science
and Resources for the Future.

Suggested Readings:

Walter Lippman. Essays in the Public Philosophy. New York: Little
Brown, 1955.

Raymond L. Bruckberger. The Image of America. New York: Viking
Press, 1959.

James A. Burkhart, Samuel Krislov, and Raymond L. Lee, American
Government: The Clash of Issues, 4th edition. Englewood Cliffs,
N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1972. Ch. 1, "The State of America: Upheaval
or Regeneration," pp. 1-23; and ch. 2, "Democracy or Direction:
Theory and Practice," pp. 24-51.

February 18

Transition in the Cities.

Mr. John Bunting, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, The First Pennsylvania Corporation, and Professor Oliver P. Williams, Chairman, Department of Political Science.

Suggested Readings:

Burkhart, Krislov, and Lee, Ch. 15, "The Crisis in Urban Government: Will the Cities Remain Habitable?" pp. 395-422.

Oliver P. Williams. Metropolitan Political Analysis. New York: Free Press, 1971.

February 25.

Recitation Sessions.

Suggested Readings:

Stanley Milgram, Obedience to Authority.

Samuel Lubell. The Hidden Crisis in American Politics.

Burkhart, Krislov and Lee, Ch. 3, "The Constitution: Frame or Framework?", pp. 52-71.

March 4.

Intervention in Vietnam.

Dean George Reedy, School of Journalism, Marquette University. Press Secretary and Special Counselor to President Johnson (1964-65; 1968-69); and Professor Marvin Wolfgang, Department of Sociology and President, American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Suggested Readings:

George Reedy. The Presidency in Flux. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973, Ch. 4.

Jerome Skolnick. The Politics of Protest. A Staff Report to the national Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. New York: Simon & Schuster, ch. 1, 2.

David Halberstam. The Best and the Brightest (available in paperback)

March 11.

Spring Vacation.

March 18

The Rights of the Mass Communications Media.
Mr. Sander Vanocur, Correspondent (Formerly
with NBC News and Public Broadcasting Service);
and
Dean George Gerbner, Annenberg School of
Communications.

Suggested Readings:

James M. Perry, Us and Them: How the Press Covered
the 1972 Election, Clarkson N. Potter, Crown Publishing
Co., 1973.

George Gerbner, "Communications and Social Environment,"
Scientific American, September, 1972, pp. 153-160.

George Gerbner, Larry P. Gross and William H. Melody
(eds.), Communications Technology and Social Policy,
Ch. 17, "Teacher Images in Mass Culture: Symbolic
Functions of the Hidden Curriculum," pp. 265-288,
Ch. 36, "Cultural Indicators: The Third Voice,"
pp. 555-572. (Also in Annenberg)

March 25

The Responsibilities of the Mass Communications Media
Mr. Patrick J. Buchanan, Special Assistant to the
President (1969-present); and
Professor Edward C. Banfield, Department of
Political Science.

Suggested Readings:

Robert D. Novak, "The New Journalism," (Public Affairs
Conference Center, Kenyon College, multilithed, 1972).
(Rosengarten)

George F. Will, ed., Press Politics and Popular Government
(American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research,
Washington, D.C., 1972). Statements by Robert L. Bartley,
Irving Kristol, Rowland Evans, Douglass Cater and
Paul H. Weaver. (Rosengarten)

Edward Jay Epstein, News from Nowhere, New York:
Random, 1973.

Vice President Agnew's Speech in Des Moines, November 13, 1969. (Rosengarten)
Theodore H. White, Making of the President, Ch. 10.
Patrick J. Buchanan, "Mr. Nixon and the Big Media,"
The New Majority (Rosengarten)
David Moynihan, "The President and the Press," Commentary,
March, 1971.

April 1 Discussion Session.

Suggested Reading:

Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom, New York: Avon, 1965.

April 8 Building a New International System.
Mr. A. Phillip Odeen, Director of Program Analysis,
National Security Council (1971-1973); and
Professor Francine Frankel, Department of Political
Science.

Suggested Readings:

Burkhart, Krislov and Lee, Ch. 12, "United States Foreign
Policy," pp. 323-350.
Henry A. Kissinger, American Foreign Policy, New York:
W. W. Norton and Company.
Klaus Knorr, On the Use of Military Power in the Nuclear
Age, Princeton: Center for International Studies, Praeger,
1966.

April 15 The President, Congress and the Courts.
The Honorable Elliot Richardson, Secretary of Health,
Education, and Welfare (1970-January-1973),
Secretary of Defense (January-May-1973) and
Attorney General of the United States (May-
October 1973); and
Professor Curtis Reitz, The Law School.

Suggested Readings:

Burkhart, Krislov and Lee, Ch. 9, "The Presidency, the
Hardest Job in the World?," pp. 240-257.
Arthur Schlesinger, The Imperial Presidency, Houghton
Mifflin, 1973.
Donald Bruce Johnson and Jack L. Walker (eds.), The
Dynamics of the American Presidency, New York: Wiley,
1964.

Section 1, "The Development of the Presidency," Essays
by Warren, Hamilton, Rossiter, pp. 4-15.

Section V, "Concepts of the Presidency," Essays
Hyman, Roosevelt, Taft, Kennedy and Corwin
(especially read Corwin's), pp. 132-150.

George Reedy, The Twilight of the Presidency, New York:
World Publishing Company, 1970.

April 22 Political Parties in Transition.
George Bush, Chairman of the National Committee of
the Republican Party; and
Robert Strauss, Chairman of the National Committee
of the Democratic Party.

Suggested Readings:

Arthur H. Miller, Warren Miller, Alden S. Raine, Thad A.
Brown, "A Majority Party in Disarray: Policy Polarization
in the 1972 Election," The University of Michigan, Center
for Political Studies.

Sidney Verba and Norman Nye, Participation in America:
Political Democracy and Social Equality, 1972.

April 29 Prospects for American Democracy

TO BE ANNOUNCED.

The following are criteria and general suggestions for researching and writing your paper for this course. Papers may be research efforts or may be "idea" papers discussing an important normative question for the American Political System.

Criteria

A research paper should justify the topic to be researched in terms of a concept, theory, or policy problem. The research should be reported (if original) or restated (if using library sources) systematically. You should be explicit as to the reasons for selecting the object of study, and assumptions made by that selection. Conclusions should be related to the concept, theory, or policy problem chosen. You may also wish to suggest implications of what you've learned for the American Political System.

Idea papers or normative papers should not be construed as a license for ideological statements. You should be explicit as to what assumptions you are making, justify them, and then proceed. You may rely less on documentation than you would in a research paper but pay special attention to the logic of your arguments.

Footnotes and bibliography should be included. Be consistent in the form you use.

Admittedly, evaluation is a subjective process. Nevertheless, a) clarity, b) analytical insight, c) logic of argument, and d) significance of topic selected, will be the major evaluative criteria.

General Suggestions

1) Select two of the required readings, suggest their major ideas or themes, and analyze one recent crisis in the American Political System. Note: the required readings should provide a basis for the analysis but you should utilize other themes (sources) as well. Or you may vary the number of readings and crises used (i. e., one reading, four crises).

2) Is the American Political System in crisis? WHY? What are the major crises? What are their (its) implications for the American Political System?

3) Trace the development of a particular crisis in the American Political System emphasizing the period since 1961, i. e., Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon Administrations. Significance? Impact? Note: this type of paper should avoid a purely historical form of analysis, attempting to use some concepts developed in the course and the readings or in political science in general.

4) Some topic of your choice. These suggestions are not meant to restrict the scope of possible topics but only to provide some guidelines if desired.

Specific Requirements

A brief outline or statement (1-2 pages) should be presented by March 20. You may turn it in in class March 18 or during office hours March 19 or 20, or in my mail box (E-122 Dietrich Hall). The outline should state:

- 1) What you plan to do
- 2) How you plan to proceed
- 3) Sources available, if required.

The paper is definitely due on or before April 29, 1974.

John Straub, Graduate Assistant
Office Hours

Tuesday 10-12

Wednesday 11-12

If neither of these times are convenient, arrange another time with me if you wish to come in.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY

1. OVERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENCY AS AN INSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT
2. OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
3. EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP IN WORLD PERSPECTIVE
4. THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS
5. THE PRESIDENT AND PARTIES
6. THE PRESIDENT AND ADMINISTRATION
7. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
8. THE PRESIDENT AND THE MILITARY
9. THE PRESIDENT AND THE MEDIA
10. THE PRESIDENT UNDER FEDERALISM
11. THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADVISORS
12. THE PRESIDENT AND WORLD AFFAIRS