TUESDAY 2:00 – 4:00 PM

Contemporary American Political Thought/Theory

This new course represents the second course in the American Political Thought track of American Politics, focusing on the 20th and 21st centuries.  (The seminar entitled American Political Thought concentrates on the 18th and 19th centuries.)

This seminar not only enlightens those interested in American Political Thought but also helps students prepare for the electoral and behavioral aspects of the American Politics examination by concentrating on public opinion and social movements of post-war identity leaders and their followers.

Contemporary American Political Thought/Theory examines the spaces and juxtapositions created by identity movements and vulnerable populations on three analytical tracks: 1) Race; 2) Women, Gender, Sexuality, and Vulnerable Populations; and 3) Class, American Capitalism, & Hegemony.  First, the track on race compares and contrasts universal civil rights, black power, radical black feminism, and multiculturalism and multiracialism.  Second, the track on gender and sexuality reviews first- and third-wave feminism, queer theory, postmodernist feminism, theories of the body, and immigrant and vulnerable populations.  The final track focuses on American capitalism, transnationalism, and hegemony (anti-imperialism and post-colonialism, post-war neoclassical economics or neo-liberalism, and behavioral economics).

This seminar modernizes American political thought and includes the revolutionizing American Studies scholarship at the Graduate Center, with its emphasis on genealogies of revolutionary action, discourse, and political culture(s).  It does this by giving attention to the writings, pamphlets, and thoughts of social-movement leaders and members and analyzing the question of political rhetoric and resonance (is the trajectory top-down or bottom-up?).  For instance, the manifesto of S.C.U.M. (the Society for Cutting Up Men) had as much resonance for its leader, who shot Andy Warhol, as did its minuscule membership.  How are events on Wall Street today similar to early-20th-century events?

Finally, this seminar provides a foundation for students interested in contemporary political theory by reading contemporary political thinkers as diverse as William Faulkner, Hannah Arendt, Herbert Marcuse, W. E. B. Dubois, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Gloria Steinem, Patricia Collins, Judith Butler, Anne Norton, Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman, Antonio Negri, and Michael Hardt.

**I. BOTTOM UP; TOP DOWN – POLITICAL CULTURE, DISCOURSE, TRACTS, & HISTORIES**

1/31 1. Introduction: What is Social History; Political Thought, Theory or Philosophy

2/7 2. How to Distinguish & Define – Culture(s) & Histories

*Reading:*

Michael Walzer,

David Brion Davis, “Reflections: Intellectual Trajectories: Why People Study What They Do,” *Reviews in American History* 37 (2009): 148-59l

Anne Norton, 95 *Theses on Politics, Culture, and Method* (New Have, CT: Yale University Press, 1993)

Judith N. Shklar, “Redeeming American Political Theory,” *APSR* 85.1 (1991), 3-15

*Recommended*

Gabriel A. Almond, “Political Theory and Political Science,” *APSR* 60.4 (1966), 869-879

Charles Mills, "Ideal Theory" as Ideology,” [*Hypatia* 20 (2005](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/hypatia/toc/hyp20.3.html)): 165-84

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* [Richard Philcox](http://www.amazon.com/Richard-Philcox/e/B001IQW67A/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_pel_2) (Translator), [Jean-Paul Sartre](http://www.amazon.com/s/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_sr_3?_encoding=UTF8&sort=relevancerank&search-alias=books&ie=UTF8&field-author=Jean-Paul%20Sartre) (Preface), [Homi K. Bhabha](http://www.amazon.com/s/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_sr_4?_encoding=UTF8&sort=relevancerank&search-alias=books&ie=UTF8&field-author=Homi%20K.%20Bhabha) (Foreword) (Grove Press, 2005).

II. RACE

2/14 3. American Existentialism, Power, & Separatism

*Reading:*

William Faulkner, *Light in August* (specific edition?)

W.E.B. DuBois, *The Soul of Black Folk* (New York: Signet Classic), I, II, IV, X, XIV

*The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley* (Ballatine Books, 1987)

*Recommended:*

Marcus Garvey, [*Selected Writings and Speeches of Marcus Garvey* (any edition)](http://www.amazon.com/Selected-Writings-Speeches-Marcus-Editions/dp/0486437876/ref%3Dpd_sim_b_7)

Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (Viking, 2011)

(2/21 Classes follow Monday schedule)

2/28 4. Booker T. Washington & Martin L. King, Assimilation & Normalcy

*Reading:*

Booker T. Washington*, Booker T. Washington: Up From Slavery* (any edition)

Martin Luther King, *Letter from Birmingham Jail* 26 *U.C. Davis L. Rev.* 835 (1992-1993) [http://mrluko.webs.com/Civil%20Rights/Letter%20From%20Birmingham%20City%20Jail%20(H).pdf](http://mrluko.webs.com/Civil%20Rights/Letter%20From%20Birmingham%20City%20Jail%20%28H%29.pdf)

*Recommended:*

Andrew Koll, *The Colorblind Constitution* (NYU Press,)

Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture) *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokley Carmichael*, (Scribner, 2005).

Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice* (Delta, 1999).

Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)

Carol A. Horton, *Race and the Making of American Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), Introduction

Robert Terrill, “Protest, Prophecy, and Prudence in the Rhetoric of Malcolm X” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 4 (2001): 25-53.

Thaddeus Russell,“The Color of Discipline: Civil Rights and Black Sexuality,” *American Quarterly* 60.1 (2008) 101-28

Gwen Bergner, “Black Children, White Preference: *Brown v. Board*, the Doll Tests, and the Politics of Self-Esteem,” [*American Quarterly* 61 (2009](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/american_quarterly/toc/aq.61.2.html)) 299-332

Carla Willard, “Timing Impossible Subjects: The Marketing Style of Booker T. Washington,”[*American Quarterly* 61 (2009](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/american_quarterly/toc/aq.61.2.html)): 299-332.

3/6 5. Postracial: Beyond Race?

*Reading:*

Barak Obama, “A More Perfect Union” Speech, Philadelphia, PA, Mar 18, 2008 <http://my.barackobama.com/page/content/hisownwords>

Barak Obama, Cairo Speech, Cairo, Egypt, Jun 4, 2009

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/04/us/politics/04obama.text.html?pagewanted=all>

John Pittman, A*frican-American Perspectives and Philosophical Traditions* (New York: Routledge, 1996), intro/chapter 1

David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic* *America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), intro/chapter 1

*Recommended:*

Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action was White* (Norton, 2005)

Michael C. Dawson, *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies* (University of Chicago Press, 2003)

Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (Vintage, 1992).

**III. GENDER, SEXUALITY, & VULNERABLE POPULATIONS**

3/13 6. 1st Wave Feminism: From Home to Work

*Reading:*

Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001)

Gloria Steinman, “After Black Power, Women’s Liberation,” *New York Magazine*, 4 Apr, 1969. <http://nymag.com/news/politics/46802/>

Daniel Horowitz, [*Betty Friedan and the Making of "The Feminine Mystique": The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism*](http://www.amazon.com/Betty-Friedan-Making-Feminine-Mystique/dp/1558492763/ref%3Dsr_1_2?ie=UTF8&s=books&qid=1264086045&sr=1-2)(Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000)

*Recommended:*

Anita Hill, *Reimagining Equality: Stories of Gender, Race, and Finding Home* (Beacon, 2011).

Eileen Boris, “On the Importance of Naming: Gender, Race, and the Writing of Policy History,” *Journal of Policy History* 17 (2005): 72-93.

3/20 7. 3rd Wave Feminism, Intersectionality, Collaborative?

*Reading:*

Kimberlee Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991): 1241-58

Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, eds. *In Harm’s Way: The Pornography Civil Rights Hearings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997) Catharine MacKinnon, *Only Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993)

*Recommended:*

Anita Hill, *Speaking Truth to Power* (Anchor Press, 1998).

**Inequality Regimes Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations**

Joan Acker

*Gender and Society* , Vol. 20, No. 4 (Aug., 2006), pp. 441-464

Sabine Gurtler and Andrew F. Smith, “The Ethical Dimension of Work: A Feminist Perspective,” *Hypatia* 20 (2005): 119-34

Iris Marion Young, “Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice,” *Hypatia* 16 (2001): 91-93

Joan Tronto, “Beyond Gender Difference to a Theory of Care,” in *An Ethic of Care: Feminist and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Ed. Mary Jeanne Larrabee (New York: Routledge, 1993)

Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race, & Class* (Vintage, 1983)

3/27 8. Postmodernist or Radical Feminism?

*Reading:*

Patricia Hill Collins, [*Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Black_Feminist_Thought:_Knowledge,_Consciousness_and_the_Politics_of_Empowerment&action=edit&redlink=1) (New York: Routledge, 1990, 2000, 2008)

Gloria Anzaldua, *This Bridge Called my Back The Gloria Anzaldua Reader,* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009)

bell hooks, *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center* (New York: South End Press, 1984 or 2000).

SCUM Manifesto, Society of Cutting up Men (URL)

*Recommended:*

Seyla Benhabib, S*ituating the Self: Gender, Community, and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992)

Katherine Adams, “At the Table with Arendt: Toward a Self-Interested Practice of Coalition Discourse,” 17 *H*y*patia* (2002), 1-33

V. Denise James, “Theorizing Black Feminist Pragmatism: Forethoughts on the Practice and Purpose of Philosophy as Envisioned by Black Feminists and John Dewey,” *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 23 (2009), 92-99

Melissa V. Harris-Perry, *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America* (Yale University Press, 2011).

Melissa Victoria Harris-Lacewell, *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought* (Princeton University Press, 2006).

4/3 9. Queer Theory, theories of the body, and immigrant and vulnerable populations.

*Readings:*

Leonard Kriegel, “Crippled”

Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge

Adrienne Rich, *On Lies, Secrets and Silence, Selected Prose 1966-78* (New York: Norton, 1979).

Arlene Stein and John [" I Can't Even Think Straight": Queer Theory and the Missing Sexual Revolution in Sociology](http://www.ucm.es/info/rqtr/biblioteca/Estudios%20gltb/I%20cant%20even%20think%20straight%20queer%20theory.pdf) A Stein… - *Sociological Theory*, (1994)

<http://www.ucm.es/info/rqtr/biblioteca/Estudios%20gltb/I%20cant%20even%20think%20straight%20queer%20theory.pdf>

**Individualism from the New Woman to the Genome: Autonomy and Independence**

[**Regenia Gagnier**](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/search/results?action=search&searchtype=author&section1=author&search1=%22Gagnier,%20Regenia.%22)

[**Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas, Volume 1 Number 1, January 2003**](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/partial_answers/toc/pan.1.1.html)**, pp. 103-128 (Article)**

*Recommended:*

Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*: *Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Indiana University Press, 1994).

[Chauncey, George,.](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/search/results?action=search&searchtype=author&section1=author&search1=%22Chauncey,%20George.%22)"What Gay Studies Taught the Court": The Historians' Amicus Brief in Lawrence v. Texas,” *G*[*LQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 10 (2004*](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/journal_of_lesbian_and_gay_studies/toc/glq10.3.html)), 509-38

*John* James R. Barrett, “Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880–1930,” *The Journal of American History* (1992) 79 (3): 996-1020.

[Jeffrey E. Mirel](http://www.amazon.com/s/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_sr_1?_encoding=UTF8&sort=relevancerank&search-alias=books&ie=UTF8&field-author=Jeffrey%20E.%20Mirel), *Patriotic Pluralism: Americanization Education and European Immigrants* (Harvard University Press, 2010

[Simone de Beauvo](http://www.amazon.com/Simone-de-Beauvoir/e/B000AQ0HRU/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_pel_1)ir *The Second Sex*, [Constance Borde](http://www.amazon.com/s/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_sr_2?_encoding=UTF8&sort=relevancerank&search-alias=books&ie=UTF8&field-author=Constance%20Borde) (Translator), [Sheila Malovany-Chevallier](http://www.amazon.com/s/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_sr_3?_encoding=UTF8&sort=relevancerank&search-alias=books&ie=UTF8&field-author=Sheila%20Malovany-Chevallier) (Translator) (Vintage, 2011).

Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One*

[Brett Beemyn](http://www.amazon.com/Brett-Beemyn/e/B002ZVTCK6/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_pel_1) and [Michele Eliason](http://www.amazon.com/s/ref%3Dntt_athr_dp_sr_2?_encoding=UTF8&sort=relevancerank&search-alias=books&ie=UTF8&field-author=Michele%20Eliason), *Queer Studies: A Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Anthology* (NYU Press, 1996).

Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinit*y (Duke University Press, 1998).

Eve Kosofsky Sedawick, *Epistemology of the Closet: Updated with a New Preface* (University of California Press, 2008).

IV. CLASS, AMERICAN CAPITALISM & HEGEMONY

(4/10 Spring Recess)

4/17 10. Class

Reading:

Samuel Gompers, Non Partisan Platform (is below most relevant reference?)

Samuel Gompers, *The Samuel Gompers Papers: The Postwar Years 1919-21* (Champaigne, IL: University of Illinois Press)

Saul Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989)

David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1999)

Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978 and 1990).

Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1970) (Reprinted editions: Bantam, 1979; Farrar Straus Giroux, 2003)

Catharine MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989)

Ellen Willis, “Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism,” *No More Nice Girls: Countercultural Essays* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1992), 117-50.

Recommended:

Eric Arneson, “Up From Exclusion: Black and White Workers, Race, and the State of Labor History,” [*Reviews in American History* 26 (1998](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/reviews_in_american_history/toc/rah26.1.html)): 146-74

Alonzo L. Hamby, “Is There No Democratic Left in America? Reflections on the Transformation of an Ideology,” [*Journal of Policy History*, 15 (2003](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/journal_of_policy_history/toc/jph15.1.html)): 3-25.

 (Find some Reviews in American History – generic overview of class; classic Walter Dean Burnham – essay);

Barbara J. Love and Nancy F. Cott, *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963-1975* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006)

Anne Koedt, Ellen Levine, and Anita Rapone, eds. *Radical Feminism* (New York: Times Books, 1973)

4/24 11. Antimonopoly Capitalism, the New Deal, Consumerism

Reading:

**Social History and the Multicultural Turn**

[**Kurashige, Lon, 1964-**](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/search/results?action=search&searchtype=author&section1=author&search1=%22Kurashige,%20Lon,%201964-%22)

[**Reviews in American History, Volume 30, Number 3, September 2002**](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/reviews_in_american_history/toc/rah30.3.html)**, pp. 355-364**

**Olivier Zunz. *Why the American Century?*** Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

sociological process (broad-based rise in income and access to credit) and an ideological one (middle class as social ideal).

Louis Brandeis, *Other People’s Money* <http://www.law.louisville.edu/library/collections/brandeis/node/191>

Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Mineola, NY: Dover Thrift, 1994) Chps 1, 4, 12;

Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991)

[**A New Global Capitalism? From "Americanism and Fordism" to "Americanization-Globalization"**](http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/stable/40643230?&Search=yes&searchText=politics&searchText=21st&searchText=century&searchText=%22american+middle+class%22&list=hide&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3D%2522american%2Bmiddle%2Bclass%2522%2B%252B%2B21st%2Bcentury%2B%252B%2Bpolitics%26acc%3Don%26wc%3Don&prevSearch=&item=21&ttl=60&returnArticleService=showFullText) ****

[Robert J. Antonio](http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/action/doBasicSearch?Query=au%3A%22Robert+J.+Antonio%22&wc=on), [Alessandro Bonanno](http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/action/doBasicSearch?Query=au%3A%22Alessandro+Bonanno%22&wc=on)

*American Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2/3, Globalization, Transnationalism, and The End of the American Century (Summer/Fall, 2000), pp. 33-77 Jstor

Recommended:

Gerald Berk, *Louis D. Brandeis and the Making of Regulated Competition, 1900-1932* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Harry Chatten Boyte, “Seeds of a Different Politics,” *The Good Society* 12 (2003): 70-73

Malcolm Rutherford, “Institutional Economies at Columbia University,” *History of Political Economy* 36 (2004): 31-78

5/1 12. The Rise of the Right: From Serfdom to Freedom?

Reading:

Frederick Hayek, Road to Serfdom (New York: Routledge, 1944)

Milton Freedman, *Capitalism & Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962)

*(Find good overview of*  Neoclassical ??)

Recommended*:*

Jeff Madrick, *The Case for Big Government* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009)

5/8 13. Neo-Liberalism & Empires

Readings:

(Find good tract from WTO,

position piece from WSO,

Wall Street Occupiers);

(Wendy Brown for Neo-Liberalism);

Reinhold Neibhur, T*he Irony of American History* (University of Chicago Press, 2008), pages??

# Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), pages??

Recommended:

Kevin Mattson, “Why We Should Be Reading Reinhold Niebuhr Now More Than Ever: Liberalism and the Future of American Political Thought,” [*The Good Society* 14 (2005](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/good_society/toc/gso14.3.html)) 77-82

Susan K. Gillman, “The New, Newest Thing: Have American Studies Gone Imperial?” [*American Literary History* 17 (2005](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/american_literary_history/toc/alh17.1.html)): 196-214

Sandra M. Gustafson, “Histories of Democracy and Empire,” [*American Quarterly* 59 (2007](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/journals/american_quarterly/toc/aq59.1.html)): 107-33

Harold Meyerson, “Liberalism and Its Friends,” *Dissent* 56 (2009): 128-31.

5/15 14. Behavioral Economics & Collaborative Justice?

Find Classics from Princeton

Daniel Kah

Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (University of Chicago Press, 1998)