**POT 3302: Political Ideologies** 

Mr. Graham Patrick Gallagher Spring 2024

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Office Hours: 10:45-12:00 M-W-F January 8<sup>th</sup>-April 24<sup>th</sup>

# **COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

The renowned British economist, John Meynard Keynes argued that it was, in fact, economists and political theorists who ruled the world. Keynes once wrote that "practical men who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist" and "madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back." People, Keynes suggested, who think themselves captains of their own minds are merely captives of the ideas of rhetoricians, political thinkers, and analysts from history. This is just as true for those who hold the reins of power as for average people who feel distant from politics. Keynes aptly pointed out that none of us are free from ideology, and there is no escaping ideology – whether we claim to possess one or not. This course attempts to demystify the concept of ideology, the influence it has on us, and its impact on the world. This course has two goals: it will, first, attempt to introduce students to a variety of ideological frameworks which had and have an enormous impact on the world, the historical development of these ideologies, and their modern manifestations. It will, second, confront students with a wide range of ideological alternatives for critical consideration. Students will be exposed to these other frameworks precisely so they can understand precisely what ideology or ideologies they presently believe in, why they believe what they do, and how to best defend their beliefs (and, indeed, if at the end of the day they still think that they are worth defending). This course will attempt to historically contextualize and critically examine important political ideologies by reading, writing, thinking, and talking about them. This class, therefore, necessarily holds open the possibility that what students believe on the first day of class, might not the same as on the last. After all, while ideology is omnipresent, and cannot be dispensed with, it is subject to change.

Students are encouraged to employ critical thinking to interrogate all assigned readings, the assumptions upon which they rest, and the subject matter in this course as a way of determining whether they agree with the readings, their classmates, and/or their instructor. No lesson is intended to espouse, promote, advance, inculcate, or compel a particular feeling, perception, viewpoint, or belief.

### **Required Texts:**

Terence Ball, Richard Dagger, and Daniel O'Neill (eds.), Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader, 11<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Routledge: 2020).

Bobbio, Norberto, Liberalism and Democracy: Volume 4 of Radical Thinkers (New York: Verso, 2005).

De Maistre, Joseph, Considerations on France (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The Communist Manifesto (International Publishers Co, 2014).

#### **Course Requirements:**

This is a face-to-face lecture and discussion-based class. All meetings will be held in person at our assigned room. Physical attendance will be mandatory unless you are not cleared to be on campus, or if you are feeling ill. If you are unable to attend a meeting, alternative assignments for your attendance and participation grade will be required for you to fulfill that portion of your grade. Students are expected to arrive before the start of the period and will be expected to remain attentive and present throughout class time unless an emergency should arise.

Assignments and Grading: Grades for the course will be determined by 5 components: two 9-10 page papers (25% each); a take home course final paper that is 12-15 pages (25%); and class attendance (10%), and participation (15%). The due dates for the paper and the final are listed below. The first 2 papers are due on Canvas before the start of class on the due date. The take-home final paper questions will be uploaded on the last day of class and the third and will be due not later than \_\_\_\_\_\_. In order to receive full credit for the papers, they must be uploaded to Canvas as a doc, pdf, or docx. These components will be aggregated into an overall letter grade at the end of the course, in keeping with current UF policies for assigning grade points, which you can access by following this link to the university grades and grading policies.

The highest grade a late assignment can receive in the absence of a legitimate excuse is a "C+." An example of a legitimate excuse would be an illness for which you have a signed doctor's note. Please be aware: A "C+" is not the lowest grade a late assignment can receive; it is the highest (i.e., it is the ceiling, not the floor). You have plenty of time to write these assignments and the instructor will make themselves available after class and in office hours to discuss all assignments with you at your convenience; do not wait until the last minute. Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies. Click here to read the university attendance policies; Attendance Policies < University of Florida (ufl.edu)

The course is out of 100 total points, and the Grading Scale is as follows: 93-100 (A); 90-92 (A-); 87-89 (B+); 83-86 (B); 80-82 (B-); 77-79 (C+); 73-76 (C); 70-72 (C-); 67-69 (D+); 63-66 (D); 60-62 (D-); 0-59 (E; failing)

**Preparation, Attendance and Participation:** You should do the reading for a given lecture prior to coming to class on that day. If you are playing catch up on the reading, you will have difficulty getting either a satisfactory grade or a worthwhile learning experience. You should consider the reading before coming to class, and make good, detailed annotated notes on the readings; not just to remember what the readings say, but to take note of questions you have about the readings, places where you found the author persuasive, and places where you disagree with their arguments and why. That way you can come to class ready to ask those questions and already prepared to discuss the authors arguments in the spirit of dialogue and discursive learning.

You will notice that the portion of your grade comprised by attendance and active participation is rather high. That is by design. Attendance will be taken regularly and comprise 10% of your final grade. This class is both reading and discussion intensive, and in order to do well in it you will need to both keep up with the reading and actively participate in class discussion. If you have not done the reading beforehand, you will have little to contribute to class discussion. At a self-interested level, this will hurt

your grade a.) Because participation counts significantly (15%), and b.) Because the readings and discussion pursuant to them are meant to help you write better papers.

**Policy on Academic Integrity:** All students are required to abide by the University of Florida's Academic Honesty Guidelines. UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code." On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code

(https://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conducthonor-code) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

Among other things, this policy means that cheating on exams is totally unacceptable, as is plagiarism. Plagiarism is the act of portraying as your own the words or ideas of other people. Examples include submitting entire papers, or portions of papers, that you did not write (e.g., old papers written by other students, new papers written by other students, papers which you paid a "research" service to write for you, papers or portions of papers downloaded from the Internet, utilizing artificial intelligence to write the paper or portions of the paper for you). Copying verbatim or paraphrasing any substantial portion of text by another author without acknowledging the source via quotation and/or footnotes is plagiarism. Plagiarism is far easier to spot than you might think. Plagiarism using artificial intelligence is even easier than that. Do not ruin your experience in this or any other class by engaging in academic dishonesty. This should be made somewhat easier in the current class because all outside sources are strictly forbidden. The papers will be put through Turnitin on Canvas.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the disability Resource Center. Click here to get started with the Disability Resource Center. It is important for students to share their accommodation letter with their instructor and discuss their access needs, as early as possible in the semester.

Class Demeanor: Students are expected to arrive at class on time and behave in a manner that is respectful to the instructor and to fellow students. This class encourages a formal demeanor in order to foster respect for both the material and one's fellow students. Opinions held by other students should be respected in discussion, and conversations that do not contribute to the discussion (including online conversations) should be held at a minimum, if at all. Phones should be turned off prior to class. Save Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, TikTok, Twitter, etc., until your free time.

**Course Evaluation Process:** Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. <u>Click here for guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner</u>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in the Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via <u>ufl.bluera.com/ufl/. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students here.</u>

**Materials and Supplies Fees:** There are no additional fees for this course.

# **Contact information for the Counseling and Wellness Center:**

http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/Default.aspx, 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

# Policy Regarding in Class Recording:

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor.

A "class lecture" is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without the permission of the instructor is prohibited. To "publish" means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

# **Lecture, Reading, and Discussion Schedule:**

# Week 1: What is Ideology and What Does it Do?

January 8 (M): Syllabus Overview and Introduction.

January 10 (W): Defining "Ideology" Reading: Ball, Dagger, and O'Neill, "Introduction," "The Concept of Ideology"; Terrell Carver, "Ideology: The Career of a Concept" (BD&O, pp. xvii-13)

January 12 (F): Reading: Ball, Dagger, and O'Neill, "The Democratic Ideal: Historical and Philosophical Foundations"; Euripides, "Democracy and Despotism"; Pericles, "Funeral Oration"; Aristotle, "Democratic Judgment and the 'Middling' Constitution"; Niccolò Machiavelli, "What's Wrong with Princely Rule?" (BD&O, pp. 15-32).

In lieu of Discussion for this week, by Friday upload a short description of your current political ideology as you would describe it to Canvas (there is no right or wrong!)

## Week 2: Democracy and Republicanism

January 15 (M): NO CLASS, MARTIN LUTHER KING JR DAY

January 17 (W): Reading: John Adams, "What is a Republic?" (BD&O), Alexis de Tocqueville, "Democracy and Equality"; John Stuart Mill, Democratic Participation and Political Education"; Alex Keyssar, "Voter Suppression, Then and Now" (BD&O, pp. 33-60).

January 19 (F): Discussion: "What is Democracy, without Adjectives?". Reading: Ober, Josiah "Demopolis" \* (excerpts).

## Week 3: Early Liberalism

January 22 (M): Ball, Dagger, and O'Neill, "Introduction"; Thomas Hobbes, "The State of Nature and the Basis of Political Obligation"; John Locke, "Toleration and Government"; Thomas Paine, "Government, Rights, and the Freedom of Generations"

January 24 (W): Declaration of Independence of the United States; Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen; Bill of Rights of the United States; Adam Smith, "Private Profit, Public Good"; Immanuel Kant, "Freedom and Enlightenment"; John Stuart Mill, "Liberty and Individuality"

January 26 (F): Discussion: "Liberalism versus Democracy?". Reading: Bobbio, Norberto "Liberalism and Democracy" (Excerpts). 1-49, 73-90

#### Week 4: Modern Liberalism I: Market Liberalism and Libertarianism

January 29 (M): \*Edmund Burke, excerpt from "Thoughts and Details on Scarcity"; William Graham Sumner, "According to the Fitness of Things"; Donald Allen, "Paternalism vs. Democracy: A Libertarian View";

January 31 (W): Murray Rothbard, "Libertarian Anarchism"; Terence Ball. "A Libertarian Utopia"; (BD&O, pp. 131-134, 159-177); \*Ayn Rand, "Collectivized Ethics"; Robert Nozick, excerpt from Anarchy, State, and Utopia.

February 2 (F): Discussion "How Much Inequality is Compatible with Liberty? Does Liberalism Depend on Inequality?". Reading: Losurdo, Domenico "Liberalism: A Counter-History" (Excerpts) \*.

# Week 5: Modern Liberalism II: Welfare Liberalism and Social Liberalism

February 5 (M): T.H. Green, "Liberalism and Positive Freedom"; Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Commonwealth Club Address"; Lyndon B. Johnson, "'To Fulfill These Rights: Speech at Howard University"; Paul Krugman, "The Conscience of a Liberal" (BD&O, pp. 135-158);

February 7 (W): \*John Rawls, excerpt from A Theory of Justice; Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira, "The Social-Liberal State" \*.

FIRST PAPER TOPIC AVAILABLE ON WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7th

February 9 (F): Discussion: "Is There Something Called Liberalism? What is it?" Reading: Alan Ryan, "Liberalism," \*

## Week 6: Early Conservatism

February 12 (M): Ball, Dagger, and O'Neill, "Conservatism"; Edmund Burke, "Society, Reverence, and the True 'Natural Aristocracy'"; Joseph de Maistre, "Conservatism as Reaction";

February 14 (W): Michael Oakeshott, "On Being Conservative"; Russell Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles"

February 16 (F): Discussion: "Is Conservatism Irrationalist? Is this necessarily a bad thing?" Reading: Joseph de Maistre, "Considerations on France" (Excerpts).

# FIRST PAPER DUE ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16th

# **Week 7: Contemporary Conservatism**

February 19 (M): Many Authors, "Manhattan Declaration: A Call of Christian Conscience"; Ronald Reagan, "Modern American Conservatism"; Irving Kristol, "The Neoconservative Persuasion".

February 21 (W): Many Authors, "The Paris Statement: A Europe We Can Believe In" \*; Michael Anton, "The Flight 93 Election" \*.

February 23 (F): Discussion: "What does it mean to be a conservative today?" Reading: No Reading

## Week 8: Anarchism, Syndicalism, and Early Socialism

February 26 (M): Anarchism and Non-Marxian Socialisms: Ball, Dagger, and O'Neill, "Socialism and Communism: More to Marx"; Thomas More, "Utopia"; Robert Owen, "Address to the Inhabitants of New Lanark"; Mikhail Bakunin, "Anarcho-Communism vs. Marxism"; Emma Goldman, "Anarchism: What it Really Stands For"

February 28 (W): Karl Marx, "On the Materialist Conception of History"; Karl Marx, "Class Struggle and the Mode of Production" \*;

March 1 (F): Discussion: "Is the End of Capitalism Inevitable? Is It Desirable?" Reading: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto".

#### Week 9: Socialism After Marx

March 4 (M): Revolution: Ball, Dagger, and O'Neill, "Socialism and Communism After Marx"; ; V.I. Lenin, "Revisionism, Imperialism, and Revolution"; Leon Trotsky, "The Permanent Revolution"; Mao Zedong, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship"

March 6 (W): Evolution: Eduard Bernstein, "Evolutionary Socialism"; Eugene V. Debs, "Speech to the Conference for Progressive Political Action"; Bernie Sanders, "On Democratic Socialism in the United States"

March 8 (F): Discussion: "What Would a Post-Capitalist World Look Like? How Would We Get There?" Reading: William Morris "The Day is Coming" \* .

### Week 10: Spring Break!

March 11 (M): NO CLASS, SPRING BREAK

March 13 (W): NO CLASS, SPRING BREAK

#### Week 11: Fascism

March 18 (M): Ball, Dagger, and O'Neill, "Fascism"; Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism"; Alfredo Rocco, "The Political Theory of Fascism"; Zeev Sternhell, "The Birth of Fascist Ideology" (Excerpt) \*.

March 20 (W): Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau, "Civilization and Race"; Adolf Hitler, "Nation and Race"; Costin Vlad Alamariu, "Bronze Age Mindset" (Excerpts)\*. Recommended: John Ganz "The Super Duper Men" \*.

## SECOND PAPER TOPIC AVAILABLE ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20th

March 22 (F): Discussion: "What is Fascism?" Reading: Umberto Eco, "Ur-Fascism" \* .

# Week 12: The Politics of Identity: African American Liberation

March 25 (M): Ball, Dagger, and O'Neill, "Liberation Ideologies and the Politics of Identity"; Frederick Douglass, "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?"; Cornel West, from Race Matters (BD&O, pp. 373-386); \*Martin Luther King, Jr., Letter from a Birmingham Jail; \*Malcom X, "The Ballot or the Bullet"

March 27 (W): Erik Loomis, "A New Chapter in the Black Liberation Movement"; \*Black Lives Matter, "A Vision for Black Lives: Demands for Black Power, Freedom & Justice" (BD&O, pp. 387-399); \*Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The Case for Reparations"

March 29 (F): Discussion: "Is True Liberation Possible within Liberalism?" Reading: Charles W. Mills, "Black Rights / White Wrongs" (excerpts) \*.

# Week 13: The Politics of Identity: Feminism(s)

April 1 (M): Mary Wollstonecraft, from A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions; Marilyn Frye, "Feminism is for Everybody"; Josephine Livingston, "The Task Ahead for Feminism"

April 3 (W): "Oppression"; bell hooks, Donna Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto" (Excerpts) \* : "The Combahee River Collective Statement" \* : Barbara Ehrenreich "What is Socialist Feminism?" \*

April 5 (F): Discussion: "What Is the Role of Feminism(s) Today?" Reading: Kimberlee Crenshaw "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color" (Excerpts) \*.

# Week 14: The Politics of Identity: LGBTQ Liberation and Indigenism

April 8 (M): John Corvino, "Homosexuality: The Nature and Harm Arguments"; Eve Sedgewick "Tendencies" (Introduction) \*; Susan Stryker "My Words to Victor Frankenstein Above the Village of Chamounix: Performing Transgender Rage" (Excerpts) \*; Leo Bersani "Is the Rectum a Grave?" (excerpts) \*

April 10 (W): Vine Deloria, Jr., "On Liberation"; Tawinikay, "Autonomously and with Conviction: A Métis Refusal of State-Led Reconciliation" \*; Many Authors "The proclamation of the Indians of All Tribes who occupied Alcatraz from November 1969 to June 1971" \*.

April 12 (F): Discussion: "What is Oppression? How do We Know it When We See it?" Reading: Iris Marion Young "Five Faces of Oppression" \*.

### Week 15: Postcolonialism and National Liberation in the Global South

April 15 (M): Benedict Anderson, "Cacique Democracy and the Philippines: Origins and Dreams" \*; Mahatma Gandhi "The 'Quit India' Speeches" \*;

April 17 (W): Frantz Fanon, "The Wretched of the Earth" (Excerpts) \*; Edward Said, "Orientalism" (excerpts).

April 19 (F): "How Should We Approach Postcolonial Claims?" Reading Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (excerpts) \*

# Week 16: Ecologism and Ideology Revisited

April 22 (M): Ball, Dagger, and O'Neill, "Green Politics: Ecology as Ideology"; Leslie Paul Thiele, "Sustainability in the Age of Ecology"; Wendell Berry, Getting Along with Nature"; Val Plumwood, "Feminism and the Mastery of Nature," James H. Cone, "Whose Earth is it Anyway?"; Pope Francis, "Laudato Si': On Care for our Common Home" (BD&O, pp. 465-510)

Take Home Final Paper Questions Uploaded and Discussed (Last Day of Class)

April 24 (W): Discussion: "What is Ideology? What Does Ideology Do to and For Us?" Reading: No Reading Today

April 26 (F): NO CLASS, READING DAY, Mr. Gallagher Available in Office from 9-12

In Lieu of Friday Discussion, using tools and readings from this class to give shape and context to your beliefs, upload a brief description of your current political ideology to Canvas. Reflect on how the readings of this class have changed your views, or improved your understanding of the beliefs you began the class with.

Week 17: Final Paper and Farewell

May 1st (F): FINAL PAPERS DUE 12 NOON FRIDAY

May 6<sup>th</sup> (M): Final Grades Released