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History 455
Spring 2009
Class time: M 3:00-5:30
Office hours: WF 11-2

The Conservative View in U.S. History

This seminar traces the evolution of American conservative thought, from the eighteenth century to the present day. We begin by defining “conservatism.” Why is it considered a “problem” for historians? How does American conservatism differ from its European counterparts? What do traditionalists, neoconservatives, and libertarians have in common? Where do they disagree?

This course also examines conservative and libertarian involvement in important historical movements including abolitionism, feminism, and anticommunism. Seminar participants will discuss the conservative response to Progressivism, the New Deal, and the Great Society. Finally, we will explore contemporary conservative perspectives on assorted issues, including race relations, religion, abortion, and the welfare state.

Required readings:

Muccigrosso, A Basic History of American Conservatism (1999)
Boaz, The Libertarian Reader (1997)
Tanner, Leviathan on the Right (2007)
Lake, Cry Wolf: A Political Fable (2008)

“American Conservatism” (e-reserve articles)

Graded Assignments:

Discussion (30%): The quality of the seminar depends upon active **discussion** of the readings. All students are expected to contribute to weekly discussions. Speak up and listen respectfully to others in the group. Convey your understanding of the material, place it in historical context, but also bring your own perspective to bear. **Discussion Leaders**: Each student will team up with a partner and lead one or two class discussions. Try to involve everyone. Remember I am here to facilitate by providing background information on writers and the historical period in question, not lead the discussion. [I have posted discussion questions at <http://tinyurl.com/7wupcm> to consider. See also “Discussion Tips” below]

Reading log (30%) As part of your discussion grade, you must keep a **reading log** analyzing the ideas contained in the assigned essays. Keep this journal separate from your notes. Date your entries and make sure you have written weekly comments *before* the class period.

Journal writing is *informal*, a diary of your reflections on the material, not a simple regurgitation of the main points. You should a) demonstrate **content** mastery (i.e., you’ve done the reading); b) **reflect** critically on the assignment; and c) list **questions** for discussion and relate the material to other readings in the course. **Note**: Because journal writing is informal, you may digress by relating the readings to other courses, current events or your life experiences. See “Reading Log Tips” at the end of the syllabus.

Book Reviews (20%): You will write two book reviews and present your findings to the class. Distribute a one-page sheet summarizing the book's main points. Make a short (15 minute) oral presentation. Try to relate the book to other class readings.

Creative

presentation (20%):

You and your partner will research conservative thinking on a controversial issue or event and present your findings to the class (thirty minutes per team). You may compare different conservative perspectives on an issue or trace the evolution of conservative thought over time. Locate primary sources (a few articles or speeches will do). Be creative! Here are some ways to approach the assignment:

·Contemporary issue:

Choose a controversial issue (e.g., abortion, drug legalization, immigration, free trade) and locate several articles on the subject written from different conservative perspectives (traditionalist, libertarian, neoconservative, southern). See the list of journals and web sites below. Compare and contrast these different types of conservatism. How do they differ in their approach to this issue? Are their arguments reminiscent of earlier debates or are they charting new ground? You may present your findings in the form of a debate or a straight-forward discussion.

·Historical Event:

How did conservatives, libertarians, and southern conservatives differ in their responses to the Civil Rights Act of 1964? Did white and black conservatives raise different objections to the civil rights movement?

Was the neoconservative reaction to the youth culture of the 1960s different from the libertarian response? What about “hippies of the Religious Right?”

Retrospectively, how have conservatives and libertarians assessed the success or failure of the “Reagan Revolution”?

How did 9/11 bolster the case for “Big Government Conservatism?”

·Role playing: Have past conservative thinkers address today’s issues. How would a nineteenth-century libertarian (William Graham Sumner) and a 1950s-era anti-communist conservative (William F. Buckley) respond to the challenge of radical Islam? If Booker T. Washington or George Schuyler traveled across time, what would they say to the current generation of African Americans? Have Ronald Reagan debate George Bush on federal aid to education? (Reagan favored abolishing the Department of Education; Bush gave us “No Child Left Behind”)

·Historical analogies: Can the writings of Cold War conservatives illuminate the diverse American responses to terrorism? (Paul Hollander’s *Political Pilgrims*, for example, explains the behavior of left-wing Americans who visited socialist “paradises” and saw what they wanted to see. Are Americans who convert to “extreme Islam” like these political pilgrims?)

Emergency Procedures. Southern Illinois University Carbondale is committed to providing a safe and healthy environment for study and work. Because some health and safety circumstances are beyond our control, we ask that you become familiar with the SIUC Emergency Response Plan and Building Emergency Response Team (BERT) program. Emergency response information is available on posters in buildings on campus, available on BERT’s website at www.bert.siu.edu, Department of Safety’s website www.dps.siu.edu (disaster drop down), and in Emergency Response Guideline pamphlet. Know how to respond to each type of emergency.

Instructors will provide guidance and direction to students in the classroom in the event of an emergency affecting your location. It is important that you follow these instructions and stay with your instructor during an evacuation or sheltering emergency. The Building Emergency Response Team will provide assistance to your instructor in evacuating the building or sheltering within the facility.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CONSERVATISM

The **required readings** plus two books of your choosing total approximately 2000 pages (180 pages/week), but the reading load varies over the course of the semester. Make sure that you complete the assigned readings by the dates listed below.

For conservative and libertarian writings on a variety of other issues, see the bibliographies in your assigned texts. See also Bruce Frohnen, American Conservatism: An Encyclopedia (2006) and Ronald Hamowy, Encyclopedia of Libertarianism (2008). You must report on two books, graduate students will read four books. You may select from the “Suggested Readings” below or come up with your own (subject to instructor's approval).

January 12 **Introduction**

January 19 **NO CLASS (MLK Holiday)**

January 26 *What is Conservatism?*
(123 pages)

Muccigrosso, A Basic History of American Conservatism (1999), preface-13.

Boaz, “Introduction,” The Libertarian Reader, xi-xviii

Hayek, “Why I am not a Conservative,” Essence of Hayek, 281-95

The Roots of American Conservatism and Classical Liberalism

The Bible, I Samuel 8, LR, 5-6

Lao-Tzu, “Harmony,” LR, 207-208

John Locke, “Understanding can not be Compelled,” LR, 53-57

Trenchard and Gordon, “An Enquiry into the Nature and Extent of Liberty,” The English
Libertarian Heritage, 127-37

“Faith and Liberty: The Catholic Scholastic View of Private Property”

Adam Smith, “Society and Self-Interest,” LR, 256-57

Adam Smith, “Labor and Commerce,” LR, 258-59

Adam Smith, “Free Trade,” LR, 260-62

Adam Smith, “The Man of System,” LR, 209-10

Edmund Burke, selected essays, PCR, 3-13, 20-25, 40-47

Revolutionary Conservatives and Classical Liberals

Thomas Paine, “Of the Origin and Design of Government,” LR, 7-12

Thomas Paine, “Of Society and Civilization,” LR, 211-14

Thomas Jefferson, “The Declaration of Independence,” LR, 140-41

James Madison, “Federalist No. 10,” LR, 13-19

John Adams, “Ideology and Ideocracy,” PCR, 64-66

John Adams, “On Natural Aristocracy,” PCR, 67-70

Alexander Hamilton, “The Spectacle of Revolutionary France,” PCR, 78-84

Suggested Readings:

Appleby, Joyce. Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England (1978)
Burke, Edmund. The Portable Edmund Burke
Chafuen, Faith and Liberty: The Economic Thought of the Late Scholastics, 2d ed. (2003)
Locke, John. Second Treatise on Government (1689)
Muller, Jerry Z. Adam Smith in His Time and Ours (1992)

Ames, Fisher. Works of Fisher Ames
Bailyn, Bernard, Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (1967)
Hamburger, Separation of Church and State (2002)
Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. Federalist Papers
Maier, From Resistance to Revolution (1972)
McDonald, Forrest. Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution (1985)
Paine, Thomas. Common Sense, The Rights of Man, and Other Essential Writings

February 2
(99 pages)

Classical Liberals and Conservatives in Peace and War (1800-1877)

Muccigrosso, A Basic History of American Conservatism (1999), 14-38

Lysander Spooner, "The Constitution of No Authority," LR, 154-60
De Tocqueville, "What Sort of Despotism Democratic Nations have to Fear," LR, 20-4
De Tocqueville, "Associations in Civil Life," LR 71-74

De Tocqueville, "The New Social Morality," PCR, 202-207
Randolph, "King Numbers," PCR, 131-54 **OR** Cooper, "On Equality," PCR, 183-202.
Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Earth's Holocaust," PCR, 245-67

Feminism and Abolitionism: The Classical Liberal Tradition

William Lloyd Garrison, "Man Cannot Hold Property in Man," LR, 77-80
Frederick Douglass, "You are a Man, and So Am I," LR, 81-87
William Ellery Channing, "A Human Being Cannot Be Justly Owned," LR, 88-91
Angelina Grimke, "Rights and Responsibilities of Women," LR, 92-93
Sarah Grimke, "Woman as a Moral Being," LR, 94-95
Vance, "Gerrit Smith: A Radical Nineteenth-Century Libertarian," e-reserve

Suggested Readings:

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery (1969)
Brownson, Orestes. Orestes Brownson: Selected Political Essays (1990)
Calhoun, John C. Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun (1992)
Halbrook, That Every Man Be Armed: The Evolution of a Constitutional Right (1984)
Hummel, Emancipating Slaves, Enslaving Free Men (1996)
Kirk, Russell. John Randolph of Roanoke rev. ed. (1994)
McElroy, Wendy, ed. Freedom, Feminism, and the State (1999)
Smith, George, ed. The Lysander Spooner Reader (1992)
Spencer, Herbert. The Man Versus the State – several essays, not the whole book.
Taylor, John. Tyranny Unmasked (1822)

February 9: *Conservatives and the “Progressive” Challenge*
(105 pages)

Muccigrosso, *A Basic History of American Conservatism* (1999), 39-54.

Andrew Carnegie, “Popular Illusions about Trusts,” *The Gospel of Wealth*, 78-91

William Graham Sumner, “The Forgotten Man,” <http://tinyurl.com/b9e4ka>

E.L. Godkin, “Who will pay the bills of socialism?,” *PCR*, 325-40

-----, “The Effects of Public Opinion on Democracy,” document 9 in Muccigrosso

H.L. Mencken, “More of the Same,” *LR*, 28-30

Boaz, “Peace and International Harmony,” *LR*, 315-17

Richard Cobden, “Commerce is the Grand Panacea,” *LR*, 319-21

E.L. Godkin, “The Eclipse of Liberalism,” *LR*, 324-26

Sumner, “The Conquest of the United States by Spain,” *On Liberty*, 272-97

Suggested Readings:

Adams, Henry. *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918)

Armstrong, William. *E.L. Godkin: A Biography* (1978)

Carnegie, Andrew. *Empire of Business* (1902)

Babbitt, Irving. *Democracy and Leadership* (1924)

Crunden, *The Superfluous Men: Conservative Critics of American Culture, 1900-1945* (1977)

Godkin, E.L. *Problems of Modern Democracy* (1896)

Higgs, *Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of American Government* (1987)

Hobson, Fred. *H.L. Mencken: A Life* (1994)

McElroy, ed. *The Debates of Liberty: An Overview of Individualist Anarchism, 1881-1908* (2003)

Mencken and Rodgers, *The Impossible H.L. Mencken: A Selection of His Best Newspaper Stories* (1991)

Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (1883)

Teachout, Terry. *The Skeptic: A Life of H.L. Mencken* (2002)

Tooley and West, ed. *Government Failure: E.G. West on Education* (2003)

Vogel, David. “Why Businessmen Distrust Their State: The Political Consciousness of American Corporate Executives” (1978), chap. 1 in *Kindred Strangers: The Uneasy Relationship Between Politics and Business in America* (1997), 29-72.

Von Mises, *Socialism* (1922)

February 16: *Voices in the Wilderness (1933-1964)*
(102 pages)

Muccigrosso, *A Basic History of American Conservatism* (1999), 66-94

GREAT DEPRESSION

Moley, "Roosevelt's Refusal to Make a Choice." No. 21 in Zinn, *New Deal Thought*, 135-44
Taft, "New Deal Must be Limited," e-reserve

Lippmann, "Planning Will Lead to Oligarchy." No. 15 in Zinn, *New Deal Thought*, 95-102

HOT AND COLD WAR (1941-1964)

Isabel Paterson, "The Humanitarian with the Guillotine," LR 31-35

Hayek, "The Great Utopia," chap. 2 in *The Road to Serfdom*, 28-36.

Taft, "A Conservative Opposes Universal Military Training," document 14 in Muccigrosso
Beito, "Isabel Paterson, Rose Wilder Lane, and Zora Neale Hurston on War, Race, the State,
and Liberty," *The Independent Review* (2008): 553-73. <http://tinyurl.com/9drv97>

Chambers, "A Witness," in Schneider, *Conservatism in America*, 135-48

Buckley, "National Review" founding, in Schneider, *Conservatism*, 201-205 (skip 195-200).

Friedman, "The Relation between Economic Freedom and Political Freedom," LR, 292-30

SOUTHERN CONSERVATISM

"A Southern Agrarian Takes His Stand," document 13 in Muccigrosso.

Suggested Readings:

Allitt, Patrick. *Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America, 1950-1985* (1993)

Beito, David. *Taxpayers in Revolt: Tax Resistance During the Great Depression* (1989)

Best, Gary Dean. *The Critical Press and the New Deal: The Press Versus Presidential Power, 1933-1938* (1993)

-----, *Pride, Prejudice, and Politics Roosevelt Versus Recovery, 1933-1938* (1991)

Buckley, William F. *God and Man at Yale: The Superstitions of "Academic Freedom"* (1951)

Burnham, James. *Containment or Liberation?* (1954)

-----, *Suicide of the West* (1964)

Chambers, Whittaker. *Witness* (1952)

Conquest, Robert. *The Great Terror* (1968)

Dos Passos, John. *District of Columbia* (1952)

Edwards, Lee. *Goldwater: The Man Who Made A Revolution* (1995)

-----, *The Conservative Revolution* (1999)

Evans, M. Stanton. *Revolt on the Campus* (1961)

Friedman, Milton. *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962)

Goldwater, Barry M. *The Conscience of a Conservative* (1960)

Hart, Jeffrey. *The Making of the Conservative Mind: National Review and Its Times* (2006)

Hayek, F.A. *Capitalism and the Historians* (1954)

-----, *The Constitution of Liberty* (1960)

-----, *The Fatal Conceit: The Errors of Socialism* (1988)

-----, *The Essence of Hayek* (1984)

-----, *The Road to Serfdom* (1944)

Hazlitt, Henry. *Economics in One Lesson* (1946)

Herberg, Will. *Protestant, Catholic, and Jew* (1960)

Judis, John. *William F. Buckley, Jr.: Patron Saint of the Conservatives* (1988)

King, Richard H. "The Struggle Against Equality: Conservative Intellectuals in the Civil Rights Era, 1954-1975." Chap. In Badger, Tony, ed. *The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South* (2002)

Kirk, The Conservative Mind (1953)
 Kirk, Russell and James McClellan. The Political Principles of Robert A. Taft (1967)
 Lane, Rose Wilder. Discovery of Freedom (1943)
 Lippmann, Walter. The Good Society (1937)
 Lyons, Eugene. The Red Decade: The Stalinist Penetration of America (1961)
 Meyer, Frank S. In Defense of Freedom: A Conservative Credo (1962)
 Morley, Felix. Freedom and Federalism (1959)
 Nash, The Conservative Intellectual Movement Since 1945 rev. ed. (1996)
 Nisbet, Robert. The Quest for Community (1953)
 Nock, Albert Jay. Our Enemy the State (1935)
 -----. The State of the Union
 -----. Memoirs of a Superfluous Man (1943)
 Paterson, Isabel. God of the Machine (1943)
 Rand, Ayn. Atlas Shrugged (1957)
 -----. Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal (1967)
 -----. Fountainhead (1943)
 Regnery, Henry. Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher (1979)
 Rommen, Heinrich A. The Natural Law: A Study in Legal and Social History and Philosophy
 (1947; rpt. 1998)
 Root, Collectivism on the Campus: The Battle for the Mind in American Colleges (1955)
 Schumpeter, Joseph. Can Capitalism Survive? (Part II of *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*
 [1942]). Also, Neil McInnes, "Wrong for Superior Reasons," The National Interest 39
 (Spring 1995): 85-96.
 Schneider, Gregory. Conservatism in America since 1930: A Reader
 Agar, Herbert and Allen Tate, ed. Who Owns America? A New Declaration of Independence (1936)
 Bradford, M.E. Remembering Who We Are: Observations of a Southern Conservative (1985)
 Murphy, The Rebuke of History: Southern Agrarians and American Conservative Thought (2001)
 Ransom, John Crowe, et al. I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition (1930)
 Weaver, Richard M. The Southern Essays of Richard M. Weaver

February 23

Sixties, Seventies, Eighties:

Radical Cons, Libertarians, Neocons, the Religious Right and Ronald Reagan

(140 pages)

Muccigrosso, A Basic History of American Conservatism (1999), 95-130

YOUNG CONSERVATISM

"The Sharon Statement" (1960), Muccigrosso, 184-85

LIBERTARIANISM

Rothbard, "Why Be Libertarian?," *ibid.*, 253-58

NEOCONSERVATISM

Glazer, "The Campus Crucible: Students Politics and the University," ENCR, 41-63
 P.J. O'Rourke, "Second Thoughts about the Sixties," Give War a Chance (1992), 90-97

Domestic Policy:

Irving Kristol, Muccigrosso, "Conservatism and Capitalism," 189-91.
 Irving Kristol, "Human Nature and Social Reform," ENCR, 209-12
 Irving Kristol, "A Conservative Welfare State," ENCR, 283-87
 Charles Murray, "The Tendrils of Community," LR, 108-111

Anti-Communism

Paul Hollander, "Soviet Terror, American Amnesia," National Review, 2 May 1994:28-39
Reagan, "Orlando Evangelical Address" (1983), in Schneider, Conservatism, 352-61

RELIGIOUS RIGHT

"The Moral Majority and Its Goals," document 20 in Muccigrosso.

REAGAN REVOLUTION?

George Will, "Ronald Reagan: The Captain who Calmed the Sea," Suddenly, 141-50
David Frum, "Athwart History," Dead Right (1996), 1-14
Dreher, "Crunchy Cons," National Review (2002), <http://tinyurl.com/9k2zzt>

Suggested Readings:

Anderson, Terry and P.J. Hill, The Birth of a Transfer Society (1980)
Anderson, Martin. The Federal Bulldozer (1964)
Banfield, Edward C. The Unheavenly City Revisited (1974)
Berger and Neuhaus, To Empower People: From State to Civil Society, rev. ed. (1977; 1996)
Cornuelle, Richard. Reclaiming the American Dream: The Role of Private Individuals and Voluntary Associations (1965)
Decter, Midge. Liberal Parents, Radical Children (1975)
Doherty, Radicals for Capitalism: A Freewheeling History of the Modern American Libertarian Movement (2007)
Dreher, Rod. Crunchy Cons (2006)
Farber and Roche, ed. The Conservative Sixties (2003)
Gerson, Mark. The Neoconservative Vision: From the Cold War to the Culture Wars (1996)
Glazer, Nathan. The Limits of Social Policy (1988)
Hollander, Paul. The Survival of the Adversary Culture (1988)
Horowitz and Collier, The Destructive Generation: Second Thoughts About the Sixties (1989)
Horowitz, David. Radical Son (1998)
Kristol, Irving. Neo-Conservatism: The Autobiography of An Idea (1995)
Mead, Lawrence. Beyond Entitlement: The Social Obligations of Citizenship (1986)
Neuhaus, Richard. The Naked Public Square (1984)
Novak, Michael. Business as a Calling: Work and the Examined Life (1996)
----- . The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism (1982)
Nozick, Robert. Anarchy, State, and Utopia (1974)
Podhoretz, Why we were in Vietnam (1982)
Radosh, Commies: A Journey Through the Old Left, the New Left, and the Leftover Left (2001)
Rothbard, Murray. Egalitarianism as a Revolt against Nature and Other Essays (1974)
----- . For a New Liberty: A Libertarian Manifesto (1973)
Shires, Preston. Hippies of the Religious Right (2007)
Sowell, The Vision of the Anointed: Self-Congratulation as a Basis for Social Policy (1995)
----- . Knowledge and Decisions (1980)
Hollander, Political Pilgrims: Western Intellectuals in Search of the Good Society, 4th ed. (1998)
Kirkpatrick, Jeane. Dictatorship and Double Standards (1982)
Maddox, Robert J. The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War (1973)
Pipes, Richard. Survival is Not Enough: Soviet Realities and America's Future (1984)
Podhoretz, Norman. The Present Danger (1980)
Shires, Preston. Hippies of the Religious Right (2007)

March 2 *The Nineties and Beyond: Big Government Conservatism*

(230 pages)

Tanner, Leviathan on the Right (2007)

Suggested Readings:

Bartlett, Bruce R. Impostor: How George W. Bush Bankrupted America And Betrayed The Reagan Legacy. (2006)

_____. 2008. Wrong On Race: The Democratic Party's Buried Past (2008)

Bloom, Allan, The Closing of the American Mind (1987)

Bork, Robert. The Tempting of America: The Political Seduction of the Law (1990)

Brooks, Who Really Cares? The Surprising Truth About Compassionate Conservatism (2007)

D'Souza, Dinesh. Illiberal Education (1991)

Eberstadt, ed. Why I Turned Right: Leading Baby Boom Conservatives Chronicle Their Political Journeys (2007)

Eland, Ivan. Recarving Rushmore: Ranking the Presidents on Peace, Prosperity, and Liberty (2008)

Friedman, David. The Machinery of Freedom: Radical Capitalism 2d ed. (1989)

Francis, Samuel. Beautiful Losers: Essays on the Failure of Conservatism (1993)

Hart, A Secular Faith: Why Christianity Favor the Separation of Church and State (2006)

Higgs, Against Aggression: Government Power and a Free Society (2004)

-----, Depression, War, and Cold War (2006)

Hyman, Medicare Meets Mephistopheles (2006)

Gilder, George. Wealth and Poverty (1981)

Herrnstein and Murray, The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life

Kengo and Schweitzer, ed. The Reagan Presidency: Assessing the Man and Legacy (2005)

Lind, Michael. Up From Conservatism: Why the Right Is Wrong for America (1996)

McKenzie, Richard B. What Went Right in the 1980s (1994)

Murray, Charles. Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980 (1984)

-----, In Pursuit of Happiness and Good Government (1988)

-----, What It Means to be A Libertarian (1997)

Postrel, The Future and Its Enemies (1999)

Reagan, Ronald. Reagan, In His Own Hand (2001)

Reagan, Ronald. Ronald Reagan: An American Life (1990)

Schweizer, Peter. Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy That Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union (1994)

Sullum, For Your Own Good: The Anti-Smoking Crusade and Tyranny of Public Health (1998)

Stockman, David. Triumph of Politics (1986)

Tyrrell, R. Emmett, Jr. The Conservative Crack-Up (1992)

Will, George F. Statecraft as Soulcraft (1983)

March 9 (NO CLASS)

March 16: *Utopia or Dystopia? Political Correctness and the Future of Freedom*

(210 pages)

Lake, Cry Wolf: A Political Fable (2008)

Suggested Readings:

Kors and Silverglate, The Shadow University: The Betrayal of Liberty on America's Campuses (1999)

Patai, Heterophobia: Sexual Harassment and the Future of Feminism (2000)

-----, Professing Feminism: Cautionary Tales from the Strange World of Women's Studies, rev. ed. (2003)

Rauch, The Kindly Inquisitors: The New Attacks on Free Thought (1995)
Roth, The Human Stain (2001)

March 23
(133 pages)

Gender Wars

Schlafly, "What's Wrong with 'Equal Rights' for Women?," Phyllis Schlafly Report (1972)
Christina Hoff Sommers, "The Backlash Myth," Who stole Feminism? (1994), 227-54
Warren Farrell, The Myth of Male Power: Why Men are the Disposable Sex (1993), 27-41

The Sexual Revolution

Irving Kristol, "Pornography, Obscenity, and the Case for Censorship," ENCR, 305-16
Wendy McElroy, XXX: A Woman's Right to Pornography (1996), 125-45
P.J. O'Rourke, "Sex with Dr. Ruth," Give War a Chance, 130-40
Sullivan, "Here Comes the Groom: The Conservative Case for Gay Marriage" (1989)
Jones, "Marriage Proposal: Why Not Privatize?" <http://tinyurl.com/38bcpd>
First Things: Many Christian and Jewish critiques of gay marriage. Search for gay marriage and read one of the short articles. <http://firstthings.com/>

Family Values

Murray, "Poor Suffering Bastards," Policy Review (1994): 9-15. <http://tinyurl.com/9atclf>
Horn, "You've come a long way, Daddy," Policy Review (1997) <http://tinyurl.com/96u2mr>

Suggested Readings:

Cassidy, "The Right to Life Movement," Journal of Policy History 7, no. 1 (1995): 128-59.
Critchlow, Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism a Woman's Crusade (2005)
Dicter, Midge. The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation (1972)
Felsenthal, Carol. The Biography of Phyllis Schlafly: Sweetheart of the Silent Majority (1981)
Gallagher, Maggie. The Abolition of Marriage (1996)
George, Robert. Making Men Moral: Civil Liberties and Public Morality (1993)
Gilder, George. Men and Marriage (1986)
Graglia, F. Carolyn. Domestic Tranquility: A Brief Against Feminism (1998)
Magnet, Myron, ed. Modern Sex: Liberation and Its Discontents (2001)
McElroy, Wendy. Sexual Correctness: The Gender-Feminist Attack on Women (1996)
-----, ed. Liberty for Women: Freedom and Feminism in the 21st Century (2002)
Medved, Michael. Hollywood vs. America: Popular Culture and the War on Traditional Values (1992)
Posner, Richard. Sex and Reason (1992)
Olasky, Marvin. Abortion Rites: A Social History of Abortion in America (1992)
Schlafly, Phyllis. The Power of the Positive Woman (1977)
Shalit, Wendy. A Return to Modesty: Discovering the Lost Virtue (1999)
Taylor, Joan K. Reclaiming the Mainstream: Individualist Feminism Rediscovered (1992)
Wilson, James Q. The Marriage Problem: How Our Culture has Weakened Families (2001)

March 30
(80 pages)

Race relations: Conservatism in Black and White

Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery (1900), 18-24, 47-53, 126-39.
Robert Norrell, "Booker T. Washington: Understanding the Wizard of Tuskegee," Journal of Blacks in Higher Education (2003-2004): 96-109. <http://tinyurl.com/a4wdt8>
George S. Schuyler, "Scripture for Lynchers" (1935) <http://tinyurl.com/93svk5>
-----, "Their Fight is Our Fight" (1943) <http://tinyurl.com/9dckzo>
-----, Black and Conservative (1966): 1-16, 341-52
-----, "The Rising Tide of Black Racism" in Leak, ed. Rac[e]ing to the Right

Clarence Thomas, "No Room at the Inn: The Loneliness of the Black Conservative," Black and Right (1997), 3-13.

Shelby Steele, "The Loneliness of the 'Black Conservative,'" in A Dream Deferred: The Second Betrayal of Black Freedom in America (HarperPerennial, 1998), 1-18.

Suggested Readings:

Bean, Big Government and Affirmative Action: The Scandalous History of the Small Business Administration (2001) [short] and
-----, "'Burn, Baby, Burn': Small Business in the Urban Riots of the 1960s," The Independent Review (Fall 2000): 165-88. PDF at <http://tinyurl.com/4aulm>
-----, Race and Liberty in America: The Essential Reader (2009)
Chavez, Linda. Out of the Barrio: Toward a New Politics of Hispanic Assimilation (1992)
-----, An Unlikely Conservative: The Transformation of an Ex-Liberal, Or, How I Became the Most Hated Hispanic in America (2003)
Dillard, Angela D. Guess Who's Coming to Dinner Now? Multicultural Conservatism (2001)
Eastland, Terry. Ending Affirmative Action: The Case for Colorblind Justice (1996)
Eisenstadt, Peter, ed. Black Conservatism: Essays in Intellectual and Political History (1999)
Glazer, Nathan. Affirmative Discrimination (1975)
Hurston, Zora Neale. Dust Tracks on a Road [1942], rev. ed. (1996)
McWhorter, John. Losing the Race: Self-Sabotage in Black America (2001)
Sowell, Thomas. Markets and Minorities (1982)
Schuyler, George. Rac(e)ing to the Right: Selected Essays (2001)
Steele, Shelby. The Content of Our Character: A New Vision of Race in America (1991)
Williams, Walter. The State Against Blacks (1982)

April 6
(80 pages)

Environmentalism: The Green Tree has Red Roots

Postrel, "The Green Road to Serfdom," Reason (1990), 2-8.
Tierney, "Recycling is Garbage," New York Times Magazine, 30 June 1996: 24-44, 48-50

Culture Wars: Are we a "Nation of Victims"?

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Defining Deviancy Down," ENCR, 356-71
Charles Krauthammer, "Defining Deviancy Up," ENCR, 372-82
William A. Henry, III, "The Vital Lie," In Defense of Elitism (1994), 1-32
P.J. O'Rourke, "Hunting the Virtuous—and how to Clean and Skin Them," Give War a Chance, xix-xxii

Suggested Readings:

Bailey, Ronald. Eco-Scam: The False Prophets of Ecological Apocalypse (1993)
Buckley, Christopher. Thank You for Smoking (1994) and other books.
Michaels, Patrick. Sound and Fury: The Science and Politics of Global Warming (1992), along with other titles by Michaels.
Goklany, The Improving State of the World: Why We're Living Longer, Healthier, More Comfortable Lives on a Cleaner Planet (2006)
Simon, Julian. The Ultimate Resource 2 (1996)
Sykes, Charles. Nation of Victims: The Decay of the American Character (1992)

April 13: Presentations
April 20: Presentations
April 27: Presentations

Conservative Journals

This is a short list of contemporary conservative periodicals (see library databases and Internet for additional online archives). Some of these journals, especially *National Review*, offer forums for competing conservative ideologies. For an excellent description of past conservative journals, see Ronald Lora and William Henry Longton, *The Conservative Press in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century America* (1999) and *The Conservative Press in Twentieth-Century America* (1999).

Traditionalist

American Spectator
Chronicles
Commentary
First Things
The National Interest
Modern Age
National Review
Southern Partisan

Neoconservative

The American Enterprise
City Journal

Public Interest

Weekly Standard

Libertarian

Cato Journal
Ideas on Liberty
(formerly *Freeman*)
Reason

Independent Review
Individualist Review
(1961-1969)
Liberty

Archives

First Things (1993-): <http://www.firstthings.com/menus/browse.html>
Freeman (1955-present): http://www.fee.org/publications/the-freeman/back_issues.asp
Independent Review (1996-) <http://www.independent.org/publications/tir/>
Individualist Review (1961-69): <http://www.libertyfund.org/details.asp?displayID=1705>
National Review (1955-present): <http://store.nationalreview.com/archives/>
Reason (1968-present, incomplete): <http://www.reason.com/advancedsearch/>

THE RIGHT GUIDE TO THE INTERNET

This list of conservative and libertarian organizations is by no means definitive. Please e-mail recommended additions to jonbean@siu.edu. For a good guide to Liberal web sites: <http://www.afn.org/~afn49740>

General

American Conservative Union	www.conservative.org
American Enterprise Institute	www.aei.org
Capital Research Center	www.capitalresearch.org
Cato Institute	www.cato.org
Center for Libertarian Studies	www.libertarianstudies.org
Center for the Study of American Business	www.csab.wustl.edu
Center for New Black Leadership	www.cnbl.org/
Center for the Study of Popular Culture	www.cspc.org
Claremont Institute	www.claremont.org
Eagle Forum	www.eagleforum.org
Empower America	www.empower.org/
ESR's Conservative Site of the Day	www.enterstageright.com/site
Evergreen Freedom Foundation	www.effwa.org/
Free Republic	www.freerepublic.com
Free-Market.Net	www.free-market.net
Green Watch	www.Green-Watch.com
Heritage Foundation	www.heritage.org
Hoover Institution	www.hoover.org
Hudson Institute	www.hudson.org
Independent Institute	www.independent.org
Independent Women's Forum	www.iwf.org
Leadership Institute	www.lead_inst.org/
Libertarian Party	www.lp.org
LibertyGuide.com	www.libertyguide.com
John Locke Foundation	www.johnlocke.org/
Libertarian Republican Caucus	www.rlc.org
Mackinac Center	www.mackinac.org/
Manhattan Institute	www.manhattan_institute.org/
Mises Institute	http://www.mises.org/
Overlawyered.com	www.overlawyered.com
Pioneer Institute	www.pioneerinstitute.org/
Policy.Com	www.policy.com/community/ttank.html
Pope Center for Higher Education Policy	www.popecenter.org/
Public Policy Web Sites	www.cascadepolicy.org/website.htm
National Right to Work	
Legal Defense Foundation	www.nrtw.org
Rockford Institute	www.rockfordinstitute.org
Republican Party	www.rnc.org
State-based Think Tanks	www.cascadepolicy.org/spn.htm
Townhall	www.townhall.com
Virtual Phone Book (Conservative Directory)	www.atlas_fdn.org/fonebook/ind/index.html

Search Engines (searchable databases of conservative positions on various issues)

The Insider	www.policyexperts.org/insider
Townhall	www.townhall.com

Civil Rights / Affirmative Action Sites

American Civil Rights Institute	www.acri.org/
American Civil Rights Coalition	www.acrc1.org/
Booker Rising	http://bookerrising.blogspot.com/
Campaign for a Color-Blind America	www.equalrights.com
Center for Equal Opportunity	www.ceousa.org
Center for Individual Rights	www.cir-usa.org
Citizens Initiative on Race and Ethnicity	www.cire.org/

Education

Accuracy in Academia	www.academia.org
Education Policy Institute	www.educationpolicy.org
Education Watch	www.EducationWatch.org
Institute for Humane Studies	www.mason.gmu.edu/~ihs1
Intercollegiate Studies Institute	www.isi.org/
National Alumni Forum	www.naf.org/
Noindoctrination.org	www.noindoctrination.org
Young America Foundation	www.yaf.org

Magazines and Journals

American Enterprise	www.taemag.com
American Spectator	www.gilder.com/amspec/index.html
Cato Journal	www.cato.org/pubs/journal/cato_journal.html
Chronicles	www.chroniclesmagazine.org
Commentary	www.commentarymagazine.com
First Things	www.firstthings.com
Front Page	www.frontpagemag.com
Independent Review	www.independent.org/review.html
Liberty	www.libertysoft.com/liberty/liberty.html
National Review	www.nationalreview.com
Reason	www.reason.com
Southern Partisan	www.southernpartisan.org
Weekly Standard	www.weeklystandard.com

Public Interest Law

Atlantic Legal Foundation	www.atlanticlegal.org
Center for Individual Rights	www.cir-usa.org
The Federalist Society	www.fed_soc.org
Institute for Justice	www.ij.org
Mountain States Legal Foundation	mslf.net
Pacific Legal Foundation	pacificlegal.org
Southeastern Legal Foundation	southeasternlegal.org
Western Legal Foundation	wlf.org/

Reading Log Tips

Use your log to summarize and reflect on the readings. Do not worry about using proper grammar or spelling. At the end of each weekly log, write several questions or issues you want to raise in class. Critical thinking skills are essential: Do not accept what you read as incontrovertible truth. You should affirm, deny, debate, and generally wrestle with the meaning of the texts. Remember that this is a graded assignment, so please take it seriously.

Relate your readings to your broader knowledge of American history. What is the historical context of these writings? What causes are they fighting for or against?

What assumptions about society or human nature underlie your readings?

Which assertions are based on a priori reasoning? Do you accept them?

What role did conservatives play in some of the great movements of American history? What effect did they have on the outcome?

How do the readings support or challenge your own beliefs? What do you find most appealing or distasteful in the writings you read?

How might you apply conservative or libertarian principles to modern-day life?

Grading Scale

Your reading log is an important part of your grade and a “launching pad” for discussion—also part of your grade and vital to the class experience. The following scale is a guide to grading expectations:

100	Excellent summary of readings. Does a fine job of relating works to each other (<i>synthesis</i>). Offers insightful commentary and asks good questions of the reading material (<i>analysis</i>). Overall, a critical reader who engages the documents.
75	Satisfactory summary, synthesis, and analysis but the coverage is incomplete, the commentary superficial, and the writer asks few good questions.
50	Weak on all of the above traits. No serious effort.
0	Failure to turn in an assignment.

Next Week’s Assignment: Use your reading log to answer questions #1 and 2.

1. Before reading your texts, write your definition of "conservative." What is your impression of conservatives and conservatism?
2. After reading your texts, write down your definition of "conservative," "liberal," and "libertarian." What values or beliefs do they each hold?
3. Fill in the attached chart with the terms listed below it. You may assign a term to more than one philosophy.

Discussion Tips

Do

Try to elicit conversation among the other students, not simply have it directed at you as moderator. Get everyone involved even if this means going around the table.

Ask questions that call for a critical response to an argument, movement, or historic decision

Keep students thinking *historically*; have them put themselves in the context of the time.

Refer to specific readings or events

If a student makes a hesitant or unclear comment, encourage him or her to give *examples* or *restate* points.

Use chalk board to jot down contributions

Follow their lead. Sometimes, the best discussions deviate from your prepared script. You can always return to the issues you had hoped to raise initially.

You can be creative: Break the class into two groups and have them debate a central issue of the readings, etc.

Don't

Dominate the discussion. You should elicit the students' opinions or interpretations of the material, not just your own.

Ask yes/no questions because they elicit yes/no answers.

Start questions with "What did you think of. . . .?"

Terminate discussion; instead, *redirect* question to another student.