

HERTOG POLITICAL STUDIES PROGRAM 2016 SUMMER FELLOWSHIP SYLLABUS Washington, DC

All readings will be provided and should be completed before the class discussion.

Plenary sessions will feature distinguished speakers on a variety of topics and special events. A shaded text box designates plenary sessions.

Sunday, June 19, 2016

3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. Arrival and Check-in — **George Washington University,**
1959 E St NW

6:30 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. Arrival Reception and Dinner — Teddy and the Bully Bar
Welcoming Remarks: **Peter Berkowitz**
1200 19th St NW

WEEK 1—WHAT IS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY?

Peter Berkowitz, senior fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

In this opening week, led by Program Dean Peter Berkowitz, we introduce the study of politics by exploring the work of Leo Strauss, one of the twentieth century's most consequential teachers and scholars of political philosophy.

Location: This class will take place at George Washington University's Elliott School:
1957 E Street NW, Room 111.

Monday, June 20, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon **Introduction**

- Leo Strauss, "What is Political Philosophy?"

Questions:

1. What does Jerusalem stand for (pp. 9–10), and how is it related to the problem of political philosophy?
2. What is political philosophy, and how does it differ from political theory, political theology, and political science?
3. What is positivism, and what are its limitations?
4. What is historicism, and why is it "the serious antagonist of political philosophy" (p. 26)?

Tuesday, June 21, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Session 2

- Leo Strauss, "What is Political Philosophy?"

Questions:

1. What are the distinguishing characteristics of classical political philosophy?
2. What are the "two very common objections" (p. 36) to classical political philosophy, and how might classical political philosophy reply?

Wednesday, June 22, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Session 3

- Leo Strauss, "What is Political Philosophy?"

Questions:

1. What are the distinguishing characteristics of modern political philosophy?
2. What is the first wave of modernity?
3. What is the second wave of modernity?
4. What is the third wave of modernity?

5:30 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

**Speaker Reception & Dinner — Robert Doar, scholar,
American Enterprise Institute**
Mayflower Hotel Palm Court Ballroom,
1127 Connecticut Ave NW

Thursday, June 23, 2016

***** EARLY START *****

7:30 a.m. – 8:00 a.m.

Group Breakfast — Rm 111, GWU

8:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.

Session 4

- Leo Strauss, Preface to *Spinoza's Critique of Religion*, pp. 1–15 (ending with "only if Spinoza were wrong in every respect"), and pp. 28–31 (beginning with "The results of this examination").

Questions:

1. What is the theologico-political predicament?
2. What about Weimar made liberal democracy in Weimar weak? What about liberal democracy made liberal democracy in Weimar weak?

3. How was Zionism a response to the weakness of liberal democracy in Weimar? What are the limits of the Zionist response?
4. How was a return to Judaism a response to the weakness of liberal democracy in Weimar? What are limits of the return-to-Judaism response?

12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.	Speaker — Senator Tom Cotton, member, U.S. Senate Russell Senate Office Building (Travel as a group from GWU)
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Friday, June 24, 2016

***** LATE START *****

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.	Speaker — Charles Krauthammer, syndicated columnist, <i>The Washington Post</i> GWU, Rm 111
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12:15 p.m. – 1:15 p.m.	Weekly Group Lunch — Rm 111, GWU
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1:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. Session 5

- Leo Strauss, Preface to *Spinoza's Critique of Religion*

Questions:

1. What is Heidegger's challenge?
2. What is Nietzsche's challenge?
3. What are the practical and theoretical implications of the challenges of Heidegger and Nietzsche?
4. What are the implications of Nietzsche's failure "to escape from the evidence of the Biblical understanding of man" (pp. 12–13, and 30–31)?

Saturday, June 25, 2016

1:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	American Art Tour (Group 1) National Gallery of Art Travel to this event will be by Metro.
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2:00 p.m. – 3:00 p.m.	American Art Tour (Group 2) National Gallery of Art Travel to this event will be by Metro.
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WEEKS 2 & 3—CLASSICAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

This two-week seminar gives students the chance to study intensively classical texts in the Western political tradition. One week will explore Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, which brings into focus the virtues and the human good, and his *Politics*, particularly its discussion of the variety of regimes. The second week will read carefully Machiavelli's *The Prince* along with particularly pertinent excerpts from his *Discourses*.

Section 1 ARISTOTLE
Robert Bartlett, professor, Boston College

Section 2 MACHIAVELLI
Vickie Sullivan, professor, Tufts University

Location: This class will take place at George Washington University's Elliott School: **1957 E Street NW, Room 111.**

ARISTOTLE

Robert Bartlett, professor, Boston College

This course focuses on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*. Through a close reading of these texts, we will investigate the relations between virtue and happiness and virtue and politics. We devote most of the week to *Nicomachean Ethics* and its study of the human good before following this study into *Politics*, particularly its discussion of the kind and quality of regimes.

Monday, June 27, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Nicomachean Ethics*

- *Ethics*, Book I, Chs.1–5 and 7–9, 13

Questions:

1. The "Declaration of Independence" specifies the right to the pursuit, as distinguished from the attainment, of happiness. Aristotle in the opening chapters of the *Ethics* seems to go much further by suggesting that politics or "the political art" is intimately bound up with and may even secure "happiness," understood as the superlative good that is the target of all our lesser strivings. What precisely is Aristotle's argument concerning the relation of politics and happiness, and do you find it persuasive? Has it been superseded by modern liberal democracy, which seems to leave to each of us the right to pursue happiness as we think best?
2. Although we often use "happy" or "happiness" in very casual ways—"I'm not that happy with my sandwich"—Aristotle is at pains in Book 1 of the *Ethics* to flesh out our deepest hopes for happiness, together with the obstacles those hopes encounter. What is "happiness" according to Aristotle?

3. The distinction between means and ends seems to play an important role in Aristotle's account of happiness. What exactly does Aristotle mean by an "end"?

Tuesday, June 28, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Nicomachean Ethics*

- *Ethics*, Book II, Chs. 1, 5–7; Book III, Chs. 6–9; Book IV, Ch. 3

Questions:

1. Aristotle's *Ethics* is probably best known for its doctrine of virtue as a "mean." State clearly the principal features of that doctrine. Do you find it a helpful guide to correct action?
2. Only in the case of courage does Aristotle speak at length of the characteristics of soul that resemble it but in various ways fall short. Give a clear account of the crucial features of the real thing, while also supplying a guess at least as to why Aristotle spends so much time on the ersatz versions of it.
3. Do significant statesmen—say Washington or Churchill—exemplify the core of Aristotle's discussion of greatness of soul? Or are there important differences?

12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Speaker — Charles Murray , scholar, American Enterprise Institute Hertog HQ
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Wednesday, June 29, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Nicomachean Ethics*

- *Ethics*, Book V, Chs. 1–5, 10; Book X, Chs. 6–9

Questions:

1. How are reciprocity and equality related in Chapter 5 of Book 5?
2. Why, according to Chapter 9 of Book 10, are laws necessary?

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.	Speaker — Steven Teles , professor, Johns Hopkins University Hertog HQ
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Thursday, June 30, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Politics*

- *Politics*, Book I, Chs. 1–7; Book III, Chs. 6–13

Questions:

1. What is Aristotle's final understanding of "natural" slavery? What relevance does his discussion of slavery have for the rest of his political thought?
2. What is the point of Aristotle's discussion of flutes in Book III, Chapter 12?
3. What is the strongest part of the "oligarchic" claim to rule?

12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Lunch and Speakers — Fred Kagan , scholar, American Enterprise Institute Kim Kagan , founder and president, Institute for the Study of War Hertog HQ
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Friday, July 1, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Politics*

- *Politics*, Book IV; Book VII, Chs. 1–3

Questions:

1. If human beings are naturally political, why are there so many different kinds of political organization? Why don't humans fall naturally into one sort of society, as bees and other social animals seem to?

12:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m.	Weekly Group Lunch — Hertog HQ
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6:05 p.m. – 10:00 p.m.	Baseball Game — Nationals Park Travel to this event will be by Metro.
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MACHIAVELLI

Vickie Sullivan, professor, Tufts University

Location: The first day of this class will take place in a conference room within the building where the Hertog office is housed: **1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 315, Washington, DC, 20009**. The remaining sessions will take place at George Washington University's Elliott School: **1957 E Street NW, Room 111**.

Machiavelli is one of the most profound and challenging political thinkers. He cannot be understood merely by extracting generalizations; rather, one must pay close attention to the details of his argument in order to understand his account of virtue and the low, but solid ground on which he recommends we construct our political regimes. The chronology in *The Prince* (pp. xxix-xxxi) and the indexes and glossaries in both works can assist in elucidating the particular characters, incidents, and key terms one finds in his writings. In particular, we explore the following themes and terms: founding, corruption, renewal, fortune vs. virtue, ordinary vs. extraordinary, appearance vs. truth, nature, necessity, acquisition, glory, and prudence. We read the entirety of *The Prince* along with excerpts from the *Discourses on Livy*.

Monday, July 4, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. Introduction to *The Prince* and *Discourses on Livy*

- *The Prince*, Dedicatory Letter; Letter to Vettori, pp. 107–11
- *Discourses*, Dedicatory Letter; Book I: Preface

Questions:

1. What light do the dedicatory letter of *The Prince* and the dedicatory letter and the preface to Book I of the *Discourses* cast on the addressees and purposes of the two works?
2. Why does Machiavelli, according to the dedicatory letter of *The Prince* and the preface to Book I of the *Discourses*, acquire his political knowledge from both modern experience and ancient reading?
3. What light does the analogy to those who sketch landscapes in the dedicatory letter of *The Prince* cast on the distinction between the natures of princes and peoples and on Machiavelli's own status?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Hereditary and Mixed Principalities

- *The Prince*, Chs. 1–5
- *Discourses*, Book I, Chs. 16, 19, 20; Book II, Ch. 2 (§§1, 3)

Questions:

1. What is the underlying basis of the typology of states in *The Prince*, Chapter 1?
2. What light do *Discourses*, Book I, Chapters 19–20, cast on the issue of hereditary rule discussed in *The Prince*, Chapter 2, and the treatment of republics in Chapter 5?

3. What are the implications and the moral and political consequences of Machiavelli's assertion in *The Prince*, Chapter 3, that the desire to acquire is "a very natural and ordinary thing"?
4. Does Machiavelli stick to his announcement in *The Prince*, Chapter 2 that he will leave out reasoning on republics? Note the example he offers for wise princes to imitate in *The Prince*, Chapters 3–5.
5. What are the implications of the treatment of republics in *The Prince*, Chapter 5? Compare *Discourses*, Book I, Chapters 16 and 20, and Book II, Chapter 2.
6. Machiavelli uses the term "princes" in *Discourses* Book I, Chapter 20, for example, to include the leaders of a republic. What implications might this have for how to read *The Prince*?

12:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.	Straussian Picnic — Alan Levine, professor, American University American University, 4400 Massachusetts Ave NW
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Tuesday, July 5, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. **New Princes**

- *The Prince*, Chs. 6–7
- *Discourses*, Book I, Chs. 9, 10 (§§ 1-3, 6), 18, 25–26, 37 (§ 2); Book III, Ch.30 (§ 1)

Questions:

1. Why are founders the most important examples for Machiavelli? What can we learn from their examples that we might not learn otherwise?
2. How should we understand the treatment of Moses in *The Prince*, Chapter 6, and *Discourses*, Book III, Chapter 30 (§ 1)?
3. What is the point of the story of Remirro de Orco in *The Prince*, Chapter 7?
4. Is Cesare Borgia Machiavelli's model prince?
5. Do the distinctions between acquiring by one's own arms and virtue, and acquiring by the arms of others and fortune, hold up?
6. What sets Caesar and Romulus apart in Machiavelli's view?
7. What might Machiavelli mean when he says that Rome was never free after Caesar?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. **Criminal and Civil Principalities**

- *The Prince*, Chs. 8–10
- *Discourses*, Book I, Ch. 27, 33, 46, 55 (§§ 4–5)

Questions:

1. Is crime compatible with virtue and glory?
2. Should a would-be prince in a republic seek to come to power with the support of the people or that of the great?
3. What is the ultimate distinction between the people and the great? Is it a difference of natures?
4. Why is the origin of tyranny so difficult to perceive?

5. How does Machiavelli propose overcoming corruption?

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m. Speaker — **Leon Kass**, scholar, American Enterprise Institute
Hertog HQ

Wednesday, July 6, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. **Ecclesiastical Principalities
and the Political Uses of Religion**

- *The Prince*, Ch. 11
- *Discourses*, Book I, Chs. 11–12, 14; Book II, Ch. 2 (§§ 2, 5); Book III, Ch. 1 (§§ 1–4)

Questions:

1. How and why is Cesare Borgia's story told differently in *The Prince*, Chapters 6 and 11?
2. Is religion politically useful and even necessary, according to Machiavelli?
3. What for him are the politically relevant differences between the religious practices of ancient Rome and Christianity?

10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m. **Arms and Politics; Morality and Politics**

- *The Prince*, Chs. 12–15
- *Discourses*, Book I, Ch. 43

Questions:

1. How does the point of Machiavelli's story of David and Goliath differ from its point in the Bible?
2. Are war and arms all that matter and can laws be disregarded?
3. What is the role of writers according to Chapter 14? How does this square with his discussion of previous writers in Chapter 15?
4. What is Machiavelli's teaching about morality?
5. What is Machiavelli's teaching on "imaginary republics"? Who might he be implicitly attacking, and what are the revolutionary implications of this teaching?

12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m. Lunch and Speaker — **Alan Levine**, professor, American University
Hertog HQ

Thursday, July 7, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. **Morality and Politics (cont'd)**

- *The Prince*, Chs. 16–18
- *Discourses*, Book III, Chs. 40–42

Questions:

1. Does Machiavelli's teaching about morality serve only the prince or his subjects as well?

2. Does it matter what qualities a prince really has, or is appearance all that matters?
3. What are the similarities and differences, if any, between the teaching Machiavelli ascribes to the ancient writers in *The Prince*, Chapter 18, and his own teaching in that chapter?
4. How does the moral character of Machiavelli's advice to republics in *Discourses* Book III, Chapters 40–42 differ from that of his advice to princes in *The Prince*?

**10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Conspiracies, Soldiers, and Armed Subjects;
A Prince's Conduct, Ministers, and Advisers**

- *The Prince*, Chs. 19–23
- *Discourses*, Book II, Ch. 24 (§§ 1–2); Book III, Ch. 35

Questions:

1. What is the point of the discussion of conspiracies in *The Prince*, Chapter 19?
2. What is the point of the discussion of the Roman emperors in *The Prince*, Chapter 19?
3. Do princes have to avoid being hated by the people?
4. What are the implications of the advice in *The Prince*, Chapter 20 to arm one's subjects and not to build fortresses for princely rule?
5. Does the end of Chapter 21 make Machiavelli a forerunner of modern liberalism?
6. How is it possible for a minister "never to think of himself but always of the prince," given Machiavelli's view of human nature?
7. Compare the threefold typology of brains in *The Prince*, Chapter 22 to the distinctions between princes and peoples in the dedicatory letter and between the great and the people in Chapter 9.
8. What does Machiavelli's discussion of advisers imply for his own role as a teacher or adviser of princes?

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.	Speaker — Chris DeMuth , distinguished fellow, Hudson Institute Hertog HQ
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Friday, July 8, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. Italy and Fortune

- *The Prince*, Chs. 24–26
- *Discourses*, Book II, Ch. 29; Book III, Chs. 9, 31

Questions:

1. What is Machiavelli's teaching about virtue and fortune?
2. How should we understand the treatment of Moses in *The Prince*, Chapter 26?
3. Is the plea to liberate Italy in Chapter 26 the culmination or a contradiction of the overall argument of *The Prince*?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Machiavelli's Constitution and Ours

- *Discourses*, Book I, Chs. 2–6, 30, 34–35, 58

Questions:

1. What kind of political order or constitution does Machiavelli favor? On what grounds does he favor it?
2. How does it compare to that of the United States?

12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m. Weekly Group Lunch — **Hertog HQ**

WEEKS 2 & 3—TRADITIONS OF FREEDOM

This two-week unit will explore foundations of conservative political thought in the works of John Locke and Edmund Burke. Through close reading of these two thinkers, students will explore the tensions between right and duty, private life and the public good, and the claims of equality and the demands of excellence on which limited self-government depends.

Section 1 **LOCKE**

Peter Berkowitz, senior fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Section 2 **BURKE**

Alan Levine, professor, American University

Location: This track will take place at the Hertog offices:
1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 500.

JOHN LOCKE

Peter Berkowitz, senior fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Monday, June 27, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon **The State of Nature**

- John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, Chapters 1–4
- Genesis, Chaps. 1-3

Questions:

1. What is “the natural condition of mankind”?
2. What is the law of nature?
3. What does the state of nature teach about human nature?
4. What does the state of war teach about the state of nature and human nature?
5. What is property, how is it acquired, how is it preserved, and how does it benefit humanity?

Tuesday, June 28, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon **The Origins and Ends of Government**

- John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, Chapters 5–9

Questions:

1. What is paternal power, how is it justified, and how far does it extend?
2. How do commonwealths come into existence and by what principles are they

constituted?

3. What is prerogative and what are its limits?
4. How are commonwealths dissolved?

12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Speaker — Charles Murray , scholar, American Enterprise Institute Hertog HQ
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Wednesday, June 29, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Locke's Second Treatise Cont'd*

- John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, Chaps. 10-14, and Chap. 19, paragraphs 221-226

Questions:

See questions for previous assignments.

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.	Speaker — Steven Teles , professor, Johns Hopkins University Hertog HQ
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Thursday, June 30, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Religion and Toleration*

- John Locke, *Letter Concerning Toleration*

Questions:

1. What is “the business of true religion”?
2. How does Christianity teach toleration?
3. What is “the business of civil government”?
4. How far does the duty of toleration extend and what does it require?
5. Is Locke’s denial of toleration to Catholics and atheists consistent with his principles?
6. How is religious toleration connected to other forms of toleration?

12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Lunch and Speakers — Fred Kagan , scholar, American Enterprise Institute Kim Kagan , founder and president, Institute for the Study of War Hertog HQ
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Friday, July 1, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Education*

- John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, pages 7-112

Questions:

1. What, for Locke, is the primary goal of education?
2. Toward what virtues, or virtue, is Lockean education directed?
3. Why are tutors necessary?
4. Why does Locke stress the “love of reputation”?
5. In what sense is courage or fortitude “the guard and support of the other virtues”?

12:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. Weekly Group Lunch — **Hertog HQ**

6:05 p.m. – 10:00 p.m. Baseball Game — **Nationals Park**
Travel to this event will be by Metro.

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF EDMUND BURKE

Alan Levine, professor, American University

Edmund Burke is the West's first and arguably greatest conservative thinker. He is an anti-philosophic philosopher and an influential statesman skeptical of what states can do. This week's reading analyzes a selection of Burke's political and philosophical writings to understand the paradoxes of his thought in the context of both the Enlightenment in which Burke lived and today's varieties of liberalism and conservatism.

Our readings give special attention to Burke's analyses of the moral and political implications of the American and French Revolutions through which Burke lived. These revolutions are arguably the greatest political events of modern times, and Burke was the only thinker of the times to support the American Revolution but not the French. Why? Answering this question involves understanding Burke's critiques of Enlightenment rationalism and the political and philosophical grounds of the modern movements for democracy and liberalism. In shedding light on the exact nature of Burke's conservatism, we will also attempt to compare it to contemporaneous and current strands of conservatism and liberalism in order to meditate deeply on the nature of political ideology itself.

Books:

- Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful and Other Pre-Revolutionary Writings*, ed. David Womersley, Penguin (Readings with * can be found in this collection.)
- Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. Frank M. Turner. Part of the series *Rethinking the Western Tradition*, Yale University Press
- Other readings are available in your course packet. (Readings with ** can be found in this collection.)

Suggested Background: I encourage you to read some historical background if you are unfamiliar with the basic events in America from 1754–75 or with the American and French Revolutions. You might also like to watch the PBS documentary "[The War that Made America](#)," which is on the French-Indian War of 1754–63. This first global war created the conditions that are debated in Burke's speeches on America.

Monday, July 4, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon Introduction & Burke on the American Revolution

- Harvey Mansfield, "A Sketch of Burke's Life" in *Selected Letters*, 29–35**
- Burke, "An Essay Towards an Abridgement of English History" (1757)**
- Burke, "Speech on American Taxation," pp. 279–81, 298–333 (1774)*

Questions:

Essay on English History

1. What are the main periods that Burke sees in English history? What characterizes each? What are their particular good and bad features? How does Burke explain them?
2. How exactly does Burke explain English historical developments? How according to him did change happen? Does Burke have a “theory of history”?

Speech on American Taxation

3. Note that on p. 281, Burke announces that this speech will address two issues, one “narrow” and one “large”. We are skipping the “narrow” issue, which is a consideration of whether the Tea Tax, the last direct tax on the colonies, should be repealed. Instead we are focusing on Burke’s account of the “large and more complicated” question “comprehending the whole series of the parliamentary proceedings with regard to America, their cause, and their consequences” (281). With this focus, starting on p. 298, what are the four periods of policy toward the colonies that Burke identifies? Which does he like and which not? Why? In particular, how does Burke understand the morality of traditional British policy toward the colonies, i.e., before 1764 (see especially pp. 300–01)?
4. The main questions are: what policy toward the colonies does Burke recommend and on what grounds? What principle(s) does Burke appeal to? Which does he reject?
5. Assess Burke’s theory of empire. (330–31).

12:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

Straussian Picnic — Alan Levine, professor, American University

American University, 4400 Massachusetts Ave NW

(Note: This is a potluck – please confer with your fellow fellows about contributing to the picnic.)

Tuesday, July 5, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon Burke on the American Revolution

- Burke, “Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents,” pp. 203–10; 268–76 only (1770)*
- Burke, “Speech on Conciliation with American Colonies,” pp. 337–75 only (1775)*
- Burke, Letter to Sheriffs of Bristol on the Affairs of America” (1777)*

Questions:

Thoughts on the Present Discontents:

This is a terrific analysis of the British government of Burke’s time and what Burke considers to be legitimate and illegitimate government, but, alas, the essay is too long for our week. I recommend reading the whole thing, but am requiring only the beginning and end.

1. pp. 203–10: What according to Burke does and does not hold nations together? Consequently, what is the task of a statesman?
2. pp. 268–76: What does Burke mean by “connexion”? What exactly is he praising and why? What do you think of his idea?

Conciliation with the Colonies:

3. What is “conciliation”? What are the several reasons why Burke thinks conciliation is the best policy? In arguing this, to which principles does he appeal and not appeal?
4. What does Burke say is the predominant temper and character of Americans? What are the seven reasons he cites that made Americans this way (350–56)?
5. Given the American character, what does Burke deem to be the four ways of dealing with the colonies (see especially 358)? Which does he prefer and not prefer and why?
6. Why does Burke discuss Ireland, Wales, Chester, and Durham (369–74)?
7. Does Burke favor representation for the colonists in the British Parliament? Why or why not?
8. Note: the end of the speech, which is not assigned, includes Burke’s “six fundamental propositions” on America and “three more resolutions corollary to these” (376–95). I will quickly state what these are in class.

Letter to Sheriffs of Bristol on the Affairs of America

9. Why is Burke so concerned with the partial suspension of habeas corpus law? Why according to him is the partial suspension so insidious?
10. What are Burke’s views on the following topics: prudence v. principle and the true end of legislation (426–28); liberty (430); equality (408 & 438); how and why the British Constitution is supposed to work; who Burke trusts; what makes government effective; and how to avoid corruption in a corrupt age?

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

The Gettysburg Address – Leon Kass, AEI

Hertog HQ (1875 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 500)

Wednesday, July 6, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon Burke and the French Revolution

- Price, “A Discourse on the Love of Our Country,” pp. 195–96 (1789)**
- Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, pp. 3–70 (1790)

Questions:

Reflections on the Revolution in France:

1. The *Reflections* is Burke’s masterpiece. You will see that Burke is writing (at least partially) in response to someone called Richard Price, and we read the last two pages of Price’s essay that so provoked Burke. What is it about his views that so outrages Burke?
2. The *Reflections* is quintessentially Burkean (and difficult for philosophers) in the way it moves between immediate questions of practice and deep theoretical reflections. This is not a text of systematic theoretical philosophy. Rather, much of the theorizing occurs to shed light on a practical point. As such, it comes often unexpectedly and without warning before flowing back into the practical analysis. Pay special attention to, and reflect on, the momentary by deep theoretical reflections.

Also, compare Burke’s form, method, and argument with Locke’s *Two Treatises* that you read last week. In what ways is Burke similar to Locke and in what ways different? Does it make sense to label Locke a liberal and Burke a conservative? Why of why not?

As you read, focus in particular on Burke's views of:

- liberty: British v. French, rational v. irrational, regulated v. unregulated;
- equality and inequality, natural and social;
- prudence;
- human nature, the state of nature, etc.;
- the nature and ends of government;
- the social contract;
- reason and its limits;
- the necessity of "little platoons" (p.40);
- the royal family;
- Chivalry and its benefits;
- religion;
- prejudice and superstition;
- philosophy, metaphysics, speculation, the problems of the new metaphysics;
- the new classes in France;
- the National Assembly;
- fanaticism;
- revolution: permissible? wise? What are its tendencies?

12:30 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.	Grad School Talk and Lunch with Alan Levine Hertog HQ (1875 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 500)
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Thursday, July 7, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon **Burke and the French Revolution**

- Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, pp. 70–168

Questions:

See previous day's questions.

2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.	Christopher DeMuth, Hudson Institute Hertog HQ (1875 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 500)
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Friday, July 8, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon ***Reflections* Cont'd; Burke on Slavery, Equality and Natural Law**

- Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, pp. 168–210
- Burke, "Sketch of the Negro Code" (1780/92)**
- Burke, Speech from Hastings Trial (1788)**

Questions:

See previous day's questions for *Reflections*.

Sketch of the Negro Code:

1. What is Burke's view of Africans? Are they fully human?
2. What does Burke think of slavery? What does he propose to do about it? Is his plan partial or comprehensive? What are its main features and why?
3. Insofar as Burke advocates change, is his proposal "conservative"?

Speech from Hastings Trial:

4. Who is Warren Hastings?
5. Why is Burke going after him? According to Burke, what did he do wrong?
6. Insofar as Burke criticizes existing practice, is his proposal "conservative"?

12:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m.	Weekly Group Lunch — Hertog HQ
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Saturday, July 9, 2016

11 a.m.	Summer Course Fellow Check-Out and Departure — George Washington University, 1900 F St NW
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WEEKS 4&5—AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

In this two-week course, students engage the ideas of modern liberal democracy, exploring how the American system has sought to balance the deepest themes of ancient political thought against the imperatives of individual freedom, security, and economic progress that are so central to modern liberal thought.

Section 1 AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT
Darren Staloff, professor, City College of New York

Section 2 LEFT AND RIGHT IN AMERICA
James W. Ceaser, professor, University of Virginia

Location: This track will take place at the Hertog offices:
1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 500.

AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Darren Staloff, professor, City College of New York

In the fourth week of the program, we engage the ideas of modern liberal democracy, exploring how the American system has sought to balance the deepest themes of ancient political thought against the imperatives of individual freedom, security, and economic progress that are so central to modern liberal thought. We examine the relation of nature, reason, rights, and citizenship in forming the core of the American political ethos, and we assess the institutional designs of government shaped by the Founders. We inquire into the legacy of the Founding through the slavery crisis and the statecraft of Abraham Lincoln. Finally, we examine the underlying forces of a democratic society through a work that poses some of the most penetrating and troubling questions about the future of America, democracy, and civilization.

Monday, July 11, 2016

9 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. Non-Liberal Republics

- Plutarch, “Lycurgus,” excerpts
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Ch. 2, pp. 27–44
- Edmund Burke, selections from *Reflections on the Revolution in France* and *Letters on a Regicide Peace*
- *The Federalist*, Nos. 1, 14, 38, excerpts

Questions:

1. Would you like to live in Lycurgus’s Sparta? In the colonial New England Puritan regime described by Tocqueville?
2. How do these systems differ from America’s form of liberal democracy?

10:30 a.m. to Noon Theoretical Underpinnings

- David Hume, “Of the Original Compact,” (excerpts 1–2, 7–8, 36–38, 46)
- John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, excerpts
- James Otis, “The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved”
- United States Declaration of Independence
- Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Henry Lee, May 8, 1825, excerpt
- Thomas Jefferson, Letter to John Cartwright, June 5, 1824, excerpt
- Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Roger Weightman, June 24, 1826, excerpt

Questions:

1. What was the basis of the colonists’ objections to the British government and rule prior to the Revolutionary War?
2. What do these authors mean when they refer to a state of nature and natural rights?
3. The ultimate ground or foundation to which the Declaration appeals is stated to be the Laws of Nature and Nature’s God; what were the possible alternative foundations, as mentioned in the letter to John Cartwright? What are the implications of making “nature” the main foundation?
4. What does the Declaration mean by a natural right to liberty? By the truth that “all men are created equal?”

4:00 p.m. – 6:00 p.m.	Reception and Speaker — Harvey Mansfield , professor, Harvard University Hertog HQ
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Tuesday, July 12, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. The Creation of the Constitution

- *The Federalist*, Nos. 10, 51
- Brutus, “Federal v. Consolidated Government,” excerpt
- Centinel, “Number 1,” excerpt
- *The Federalist*, No. 15, excerpts
- *The Federalist*, No. 23
- Herbert Storing, *What the Anti-Federalists Were For*, Ch. 3
- *The Federalist*, Nos. 47, 63, 70

Questions:

1. What type of citizen is necessary in the new republic? In what measure does the citizen need to possess virtue?
2. Why is the “extended republic” of the Constitution an innovation?
3. What were some of the main objections to the Constitution?
4. What were the Federalists’ chief arguments against the Articles of Confederation?
5. Why study the Anti-Federalists? Have the fears of the Anti-Federalists been borne out?
6. What are the purposes of the separation of powers? What particular qualities were sought from the senate and from the presidency?

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.	Tour — U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum
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Permanent Exhibition
Travel to this event will be by Metro.

6:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m. Dinner and Speaker — **Walter Reich**, professor, George Washington University
Hertog HQ

Wednesday, July 13, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. **Constitutionalism**

- Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Major John Cartwright, June 5, 1824, excerpt
- Thomas Jefferson, Letter to James Madison, September 6, 1789, excerpt
- Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Samuel Kercheval, July 12, 1816, excerpt
- *The Federalist*, No. 49
- Constitution of the United States, Article V

Questions:

1. What is a written constitution? How did it revolutionize the relationship between government and the people? For good or for ill?
2. Is it a wise idea to “sunset” the Constitution every generation? What reasons does Jefferson give in favor of re-doing the Constitution every generation, and why does Madison oppose the plan? Whose position do you favor?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. **The Slavery Crisis of the 1850s; Lincoln’s Statesmanship**

- Abraham Lincoln, Address to the Young Men’s Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1838, excerpts
- Stephen Douglas, Lincoln-Douglas Debates, excerpts
- Abraham Lincoln, Lincoln-Douglas Debates, excerpts
- Abraham Lincoln, Speech on the Dred Scott Decision, June 26, 1857, excerpt
- Abraham Lincoln, Speech at Chicago, Illinois, July 10, 1858, excerpt
- Alexander Stephens, “Corner Stone” Speech, March 21, 1861, excerpt

Questions:

1. What are the direct and indirect consequences of mob rule, and how are they related to “the perpetuation of our political institutions”? According to Lincoln, who has the harder task in perpetuating the institutions—the revolutionary generation or the current generation?
2. What were the different positions of Lincoln and Douglas on the crisis of the 1850s? Does Lincoln’s claim that the meaning of the Declaration of Independence was at the center of the crisis make sense?
3. What were the different views of Lincoln and Douglas on the Declaration of Independence?

Thursday, July 14, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. Lincoln as President

- Abraham Lincoln
 - Message to Congress, July 4, 1861, excerpt
 - Letter to Henry L. Pierce & Others, April 6, 1859
 - Letter to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862
 - Final Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863
 - Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863
 - Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865
 - Letter to Governor Michael Hahn, March 13, 1864

Questions:

1. According to Lincoln, why is secession unconstitutional? Why is the suspension of habeas corpus constitutional?
2. How does Lincoln understand the relation between Union and Emancipation?
3. Before his election, Lincoln often stated that he had no intention, and no constitutional authority, to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed. How, then, did he come to issue the Emancipation Proclamation and how did he justify it?
4. How does Lincoln understand equality and freedom, the key terms of the American creed? Is there a difference between holding equality as a “self-evident truth” and regarding it as a “proposition” to which we must be dedicated? What is the “new birth of freedom” and how does it relate to the original birth of the nation “conceived in liberty”?
5. Does the Second Inaugural read as a speech that you would have expected from the Abraham Lincoln of the 1850s? What “new” themes are found? What is Lincoln’s theology? What is the role of charity in political life?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Tocqueville

- Tocqueville’s Introduction, pp. 3–8, stop at the end of the first paragraph with “it can bestow”; pp.12–15, beginning with the final paragraph on p.12 (“Therefore it is not only to satisfy...”).
- The character of aristocracy, pp. 535–39, 234–35 (begin with “What do you ask of society”)
- The varieties of regimes under the modern condition of “democracy”
 - Mild despotism, pp. 661–65, 671 (begin with “I shall finish”), 676
 - Omnipotence (or tyranny) of the majority, pp. 235–50
 - Single-person (or party) despotism, pp. 52–53
 - Liberal democracy (no further reading)

Questions:

1. How does Tocqueville use the word “democracy”? Be careful; it has a slightly different meaning than our normal use today.
2. What are the purposes of “political science”? (p.7) What work is it supposed to do in the modern era?
3. What does Tocqueville mean by “aristocracy”? Is it just an inequality in wealth or income? How do aristocrats think and feel, and what do they value? Which “regime”—aristocracy or democracy—is preferable? Why?
4. What characterizes each type or kind of rule under the modern condition of democracy?

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m. Speaker — **Gen. (ret.) James Mattis**, former commander, U.S. Central Command
Hoover Institution, 1399 New York Ave, Ste. 500

Friday, July 15, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. Tocqueville

- Four maladies or dangerous tendencies of democracy and some antidotes
 - Egalitarianism (love of equality), pp. 479–82
 - “Individualism” (better defined as “privatism” or apathy), pp. 482–84, 486 (begin near bottom with “The Americans have combated individualism”), 492, 496–500
 - Materialism, pp. 506–8, 517–24
 - Fatalism, pp. 469–72, 425–26

Questions:

1. Define each malady and how it threatens liberty.
2. If these tendencies are as powerful as they sometimes seem, are the antidotes Tocqueville identifies strong enough to counteract them?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Tocqueville

- The effects of democracy on sentiments and manners, pp. 399–400, 500–03, 506–8, 510–14, 517–24
- The effects of democracy on the family and women, pp. 563–67 and 573–76
- The effects of democracy on thought (“intellectual movement”), pp. 403–10, 417–24, 425–28, 450–52

Questions:

1. What is the doctrine of self-interest rightly understood? What are its strengths? Its limitations?
2. What does Tocqueville mean by greatness?
3. Tocqueville compares a radically individualist (or androgynous) conception of sexual equality with what he believes is a better understanding the Americans have. What are the elements of the American understanding of relations between the sexes? What does Tocqueville mean when he speaks of “the superiority of [America’s] women”? Has the ideal that he describes and endorses been refuted or decisively overturned by contemporary feminism or can one still make a case for the desirability or possibility of sexual difference as the foundation of family and community?
4. How far is it possible to explain or deduce thought and ideas from the social state of equality? What are the limitations of this approach, sometimes called “the sociology of knowledge”?
5. *Democracy in America* continually compares democracy and aristocracy. Is there anything we learn about aristocracy that is helpful for guiding life in a democratic age? In what way(s), if any, can aspects of aristocracy be “fit” into democracy?

12:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. Weekly Group Lunch — **Hertog HQ**

LEFT & RIGHT IN AMERICA

James W. Ceaser, professor, University of Virginia

We continue our study of American politics in the fifth week by taking a close look at the two great rival partisan interpretations of liberal democracy in America. We trace the development of the left from the rise of progressivism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the implementation of FDR's New Deal in the second third of the twentieth century, its expansion in LBJ's Great Society programs, and President Barack Obama's ambitious domestic agenda designed to further expand government's reach and responsibilities. To understand the right, we concentrate on the emergence in post-World War II America of several strands of conservative thought—libertarianism, social conservatism, and neoconservatism—and then consider these various strands as they receive expression in the speeches of President Ronald Reagan and President George W. Bush.

Note: All readings can be found in your course reader.

Monday, July 18, 2016

7:30 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. Staff Ride — Gettysburg Battlefield

Thomas Donnelly, fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Gary Schmitt, fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Buses leave from 1875 Connecticut Avenue at 7:30 a.m.

All meals will be provided.

- Background information for assigned role

Questions:

1. What were the critical decisions your persona made before, during, and/or after the battle?
2. What factors and judgments led your persona to make the decisions he made?
3. Under the circumstances, did your persona make the right call?

Tuesday, July 19, 2016

10:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Roots of Left and Right: Reactions to the French Revolution

- René Descartes, Excerpt from *Discourse and Method* (1637)
- Edmund Burke, Short Excerpts
- Alexander Hamilton, Selection from *Federalist* #1 (1787)
- Thomas Jefferson, Some Statements in Favor of Re-writing the Constitution
- James Madison, Selection from *Federalist* #49 (1788)
- Joseph de Maistre, Selections
- Declaration of Independence (excerpt)
- Tocqueville, *Old Regime* (excerpt)
- Edmund Burke, Excerpt on Rights and on the Contract
- Lincoln, Letter to Henry Pierce, April 6, 1859

- Roger Scruton, “Why I Became a Conservative” (2003)

Questions:

1. Why might one want to build or reconstruct society on the basis of reason?
2. Why might one want to respect the organic growth of societies and the wisdom embodied in tradition?
3. How does constitutional government reconcile the claims of reason and tradition?
4. Is America’s founding (the revolution, the claim of rights in the Declaration, and the writing of the Constitution) more rationalist than traditionalist? If so, how is the support of these often considered more “conservative” today? Does the American founding represent another kind of conservatism than the European form?

12:30 p.m. – 1:30 p.m. Group Lunch — Hertog HQ

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m. Speaker — **Arthur Brooks**, president, American Enterprise Institute
AEI, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW

Wednesday, July 20, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon **Progressivism: General Themes and Conservative Responses**

- Condorcet, “Sketch for an Historical Picture of Progress” (1795) (excerpt)
- Woodrow Wilson, “What is Progress?”
- Lester Ward, Presidential Address to Sociological Society (1906)
- Woodrow Wilson, On the US Constitution
- Theodore Roosevelt, “Who Is a Progressive?” (1912)
- Franklin D. Roosevelt, Economic Bill of Rights (1944)
- Students for a Democratic Society, Port Huron Statement (1962)
- James W. Ceaser, “What Next for the Left?” (2016)
- Harvey Mansfield, “Our Parties: Part 1” (2015)

Questions:

1. What is the meaning of the idea that history progresses? Do you accept the proposition that things have gotten better? Does the record of the twentieth century provide evidence in favor of or against the idea?
2. What, in terms of American politics, is progressivism?
3. What is the progressive’s critique of the Founding? In what way was the Founding, especially the Constitution, inadequate?
4. In what ways does the Port Huron statement capture the spirit of liberalism? In what ways does it depart from it?
5. Compare and contrast progressivism with liberalism. How do both inform contemporary partisan debates?

Thursday, July 21, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Conservatism: Different Variants

- Alexis de Tocqueville, “What Kind of Despotism”
- Friedrich Hayek, *Road to Serfdom*, (Chapters 1, 2, 3)
- Milton Friedman, “Capitalism and Freedom” (excerpt)
- Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind* (Chapter 1)
- Friedrich Hayek “Why I Am Not a Conservative” (1960)
- Murray Rothbard, “What is Libertarianism?”
- Robert P. George, “Five Pillars”
- Peter Berkowitz, “Constitutional Conservatism” (2012)

Questions:

1. Is conservatism one thing or many? What are its different components?
2. If it is one thing, what is its core principle? If many, what is their common denominator?

5:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.

Careers in Washington Reception —
Max Eden (PSP '10), fellow, Manhattan Institute
Kate Havard (PSP '10), research analyst, Foundation for Defense of Democracies
Reagan Thompson (WK '16), Policy and Communications Advisor, US House of Representatives
Hertog HQ

Friday, July 22, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon

Conservatism: Foreign Affairs & Reactions to Trump & Populism

- Irving Kristol, “The Neoconservative Persuasion” (2003)
- Ronald Reagan, Address to Members of the British Parliament (1982)
- George W. Bush, National Endowment for Democracy Speech (2003)
- George W. Bush, Second Inaugural (2005)
- Pat Buchanan, “Trump's Foreign Policy America First” (2016)
- Ivan Eland, “Crazy Candidate has Sensible Foreign Policy Views” (2016)
- Robert Kagan, “Allure of Normalcy” (2014)
- William Galston, “How Trump Killed Reaganism” (2016)
- Bobby Jindal, “I'm Voting for Trump” (2016)
- Bret Stephens, “Hillary: The Conservative Hope” (2016)

Questions:

1. What distinguishes neoconservatism from the forms of conservatism that preceded it and the left-liberalism its founders rejected?

2. Can President Reagan's commitment to limited government be reconciled with the importance he attached to moral questions?
3. Does George W. Bush's vision of America's role in the world reflect a development of, or a departure from, the conservative tradition in America?
4. What do you think conservatism's future holds? Has the political landscape changed so fundamentally that conservatism itself will have to change in order to remain viable?

12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m. Weekly Group Lunch — **Hertog HQ**

Saturday, July 23, 2016

11 a.m. Summer Course Fellow Check-Out and Departure —
George Washington University, 1900 F St NW

WEEKS 4&5—LITERATURE AND POLITICS

Week 1 **SHAKESPEARE'S ROME**
Paul Cantor, professor, University of Virginia

Week 2 **LINCOLN AS STATESMAN AND LITERARY ARTIST**
Diana Schaub, professor, Loyola University

Location: This class will take place at George Washington University's Elliott School:
1957 E Street NW, Room 111.

SHAKESPEARE'S ROME Paul Cantor, professor, University of Virginia

We will study Shakespeare as a serious political thinker, who displays familiarity with Plato and Aristotle, and detailed knowledge of Machiavelli's *Discourses*. Shakespeare's Roman plays are a sustained effort to understand what he and his contemporaries regarded as the most successful political community in antiquity and perhaps in all of human history. The Renaissance was an attempt to revive classical antiquity; Shakespeare's Roman plays are one of the supreme achievements of the Renaissance in the way that they bring alive the ancient city on the stage.

We will study the plays, not in the order in which they were written, but in historical order. *Coriolanus* portrays the early days of the Roman Republic, indeed the founding of the Republic, if one recognizes the tribunate as the distinctively republican institution in Rome. *Julius Caesar* portrays the last days of the Roman Republic, specifically the moment when Caesar tries to create a form of one-man rule in the city, while the conspirators try to restore the republican order. The issue of Republic vs. Empire stands at the heart of *Julius Caesar*. *Antony and Cleopatra* portrays the early days of the Roman Empire, the emergence of Octavius as the sole ruler of Rome (he went on to become Augustus Caesar, the first official Roman Emperor).

The way Shakespeare arranged his three Roman plays suggests that he was centrally concerned with the contrast between the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire. The Roman plays thus offer an opportunity to study the phenomenon Plato and Aristotle referred to as the regime (*politeia*)—the way a particular form of government shapes a particular way of life. From classical antiquity down to the eighteenth century and such thinkers as Montesquieu and the American Founding Fathers, Rome has been one of the perennial themes of political theory. Shakespeare's Roman plays are his contribution to the longstanding debate about Rome, and also occupy a very important place in his comprehensive understanding of the human condition. The plays are evidence of the crucial importance of politics in Shakespeare's view of human nature, as well as of his sense of the limits of politics.

Books:

- William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, Signet Classic
- William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Signet Classic

- William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Signet Classic

Monday, July 11, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Coriolanus*

- *Coriolanus*, Acts I–V

Questions:

1. How does Shakespeare characterize the two parties in Republican Rome, the patricians and the plebeians? The two parties are opposed in their interests, but how do they manage to communicate and to some extent work together?
2. What in Coriolanus's character causes him to fail in his bid to become consul?
3. What is the understanding of immortality in republican Rome, and how does it affect the character of the Romans?
4. How are the women in *Coriolanus* portrayed? In particular, what is Volumnia's role in the play? What is the relation of the family to the city of Rome?
5. How would you compare the Volsces with the Romans? Why is Coriolanus able to achieve rule among them, when he was not able to do so among the Romans? How would you compare Aufidius with Coriolanus?
6. Why does Coriolanus eventually abandon his effort to conquer Rome?
7. What do the Romans learn from the story of Coriolanus? What do the patricians in particular learn? What do the plebeians in particular learn? How will these lessons affect the future of Rome as a republic?

4:00 p.m. – 6:00 p.m.	Reception and Speaker — Harvey Mansfield , professor, Harvard University Hertog HQ
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Tuesday, July 12, 2016

9:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. *Coriolanus*

- *Coriolanus* (continued)

Questions:

See questions for previous assignment

10:30 a.m. to Noon *Julius Caesar*

- *Julius Caesar*, Acts I–V

Questions:

1. Compare the opening scene of *Julius Caesar* with that of *Coriolanus*. What does this comparison tell us about the changes that have occurred in the republican regime? How

- do the plebeians of *Julius Caesar* differ from those of *Coriolanus*? How has the role of the tribunes changed?
2. In Shakespeare's portrayal, what are the strengths and weaknesses of Julius Caesar? How has he gotten to the point where he is on the verge of achieving one-man rule in Rome?
 3. Why does the conspiracy form against Julius Caesar? Who are its leaders, and what does each contribute to the enterprise?
 4. Why does the conspiracy fail? What are some of the conspirators' specific mistakes, and why do they make them? Could the Republic have been saved?
 5. What is Antony's role in the play? Can you compare him to any character in *Coriolanus*? Why does he succeed in defeating the conspirators? What implications does his reaction to Caesar's death have for his future in *Antony and Cleopatra*?
 6. How would you compare Brutus's funeral oration with Antony's?
 7. How has the status of women changed since the days of *Coriolanus*?
 8. How has religion in Rome changed since the days of *Coriolanus*? What does the presence of soothsayers in the play suggest?
 9. Cassius is a professed Epicurean; Brutus is a professed Stoic; Cicero is the only "name" philosopher to appear in any of Shakespeare's plays. What does the presence of philosophy in the Rome of *Julius Caesar* suggest?
 10. What is the attitude toward suicide in the closing scenes of the play? Has the Roman attitude toward military victory changed?

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.	Tour — U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Permanent Exhibition Travel to this event will be by Metro.
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6:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.	Dinner and Speaker — Walter Reich , professor, George Washington University Hertog HQ
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Wednesday, July 13, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Julius Caesar*

- *Julius Caesar* (continued)

Questions:

See questions for previous assignment

Thursday, July 14, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon *Antony and Cleopatra*

- *Antony and Cleopatra*, Acts I–V

Questions:

1. How have the political circumstances changed now that the Roman Empire is coming into being? How do these changes affect the lives of the characters in the play?
2. What do you make of Pompey's rhetoric and actions in Act Two, scenes six and seven? How and why have the terms of politics altered for him?
3. In Act III, scene 1, we see Ventidius, a Roman commander on the frontier of the empire. What does this scene reveal about how politics has changed in Imperial Rome? What are the implications of this scene for the future of Rome?
4. How has the status of women changed in the Empire?
5. How has religion changed in the Empire?
6. How has Rome become Egyptianized in *Antony and Cleopatra*? What does this development tell us about Imperial Rome?
7. Antony expresses a wish to live "a private man in Athens" (Act III, scene 12). If all that matters to him and Cleopatra is their private love affair, why don't they simply abdicate and disappear into the teeming masses of the empire?
8. What is Enobarbus's dilemma, and how is it representative of the changed conditions of the Empire?
9. How has the notion of nobility changed in the world of *Antony and Cleopatra*?
10. For the first time in the Roman plays, we hear talk of an afterlife in *Antony and Cleopatra*. What is the significance of this development?

2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.	Speaker — Gen. (ret.) James Mattis , former commander, U.S. Central Command Hoover Institution, 1399 New York Ave, Ste. 500
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Friday, July 15, 2016

9:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. ***Antony and Cleopatra***

- *Antony and Cleopatra* (continued)

Questions:

See questions for previous assignment

10:30 a.m. to Noon ***Open Forum on the Plays***

12:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m.	Weekly Group Lunch — Hertog HQ
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LINCOLN AS STATESMAN AND LITERARY ARTIST

Diana Schaub, professor, Loyola University Maryland

Abraham Lincoln is often credited with having saved or re-founded the American Union by giving it a “new birth of freedom.” He is also often recognized as the creator of a new form of public speech. In this course, we will seek to understand Lincoln’s statecraft in conjunction with his literary craft. We will follow Lincoln’s political career as seen through his speeches, letters, and proclamations. Throughout the course, we will be inquiring into the nature of political debate and argument, the role of passion and reason in public speech, and the legacy of the Founding (with particular reference to the issue of slavery).

Books:

- *Lincoln: Speeches and Writings 1832–1858*, ed. Don E. Fehrenbacher (Library of America)
- *Lincoln: Speeches and Writings 1859–1865*, ed. Don E. Fehrenbacher (Library of America)

Monday, July 18, 2016

7:30 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. Staff Ride — **Gettysburg Battlefield**

Thomas Donnelly, fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Gary Schmitt, fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Buses leave from 1875 Connecticut Avenue at 7:30 a.m.

All meals will be provided.

- Background information for assigned role

Questions:

1. What were the critical decisions your persona made before, during, and/or after the battle?
2. What factors and judgments led your persona to make the decisions he made?
3. Under the circumstances, did your persona make the right call?

Tuesday, July 19, 2016

10:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. **Young Lincoln**

- To the People of Sangamo County, March 9, 1832
- Address to the Young Men’s Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1838
- Address to the Washington Temperance Society of Springfield, Illinois, February 22, 1842

Questions:

1. What is your impression of the 23-year-old Lincoln? What is the nature of his “peculiar ambition”? Why is education “the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in”? What is his attitude toward change in laws? Is he a conservative or a progressive?
2. According to Lincoln, who has the harder task—the revolutionary generation or the current generation? What are the direct and indirect consequences of mob rule, and how are they related to “the perpetuation of our political institutions”? Does Lincoln’s solution—a political religion of reverence for the laws—allow for the possibility of civil disobedience, or is disobedience always uncivil? What is the link between mob law and the threat posed by those who belong to “the family of the lion, or the tribe of the eagle”? Is Lincoln such an individual? What does Lincoln mean by “passion” and “reason”? What is “reverence”?
3. What sort of reformers does Lincoln praise and what sort does he criticize? If you were to apply what Lincoln says about the temperance movement to the abolition movement, what lessons would you draw? What does this speech reveal about Lincoln’s understanding of human nature?

12:30 p.m. – 1:30 p.m.	Group Lunch — Rm 111 GWU
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2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.	Speaker — Arthur Brooks, president, American Enterprise Institute AEI, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW
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Wednesday, July 20, 2016

9:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. Lincoln contra Douglas

- Fragment on Slavery, 1854
- Speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act at Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854

Questions:

1. What is Lincoln’s view of slavery? Is he a bigot? In thinking about these questions, pay close attention to two passages in which Lincoln speaks of the role played by universal feelings in political life.
2. What does this speech reveal about the relation between public opinion and statesmanship?

10:30 a.m. to Noon Lincoln contra Douglas

- Speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act (continued)
- To Joshua F. Speed, August 24, 1855
- Speech on the Dred Scott Decision at Springfield, Illinois, June 26, 1857
- “House Divided” Speech at Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858

Questions:

1. What are the “lullaby” arguments offered in behalf of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and how does Lincoln dispense with them? What about “the one great argument” (Stephen Douglas’s doctrine of popular sovereignty)? What are the elements of Lincoln’s critique of Douglas?
2. Given what Lincoln said about reverence for the Constitution and the law, is he contradicting his own principles in criticizing the Dred Scott decision? What is his view of judicial precedent? What is Lincoln’s interpretation of the Declaration of Independence? Why is there so much talk of racial amalgamation in this speech?
3. Why can’t the nation remain “permanently half slave and half free”? Wouldn’t the restoration of the Missouri Compromise (which Lincoln desires) leave the nation a house divided? According to Lincoln, what will be the end result of adopting a policy of quarantine (preventing slavery from spreading into the territories)? Why? What result will follow from the alternative policy of allowing slavery to spread?

Thursday, July 21, 2016

9:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. Lincoln contra Douglas

- To Henry L. Pierce and Others, April 6, 1859
- Fragment on the Constitution and the Union, January 1861 (handout)
- Address at Cooper Institute, New York City, February 27, 1860

Questions:

1. How does Lincoln establish that the Framers agreed with the Republican rather than the Democratic view of the powers of the federal government respecting slavery in the territories?
2. What is Lincoln’s message to the Southerners? Are the Republicans a sectional party? Are they conservative, as Lincoln claims?
3. What is Lincoln’s message to the Republicans?

10:30 a.m. to Noon Lincoln as President

- Farewell Address at Springfield, Illinois, February 11, 1861
- First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861
- Message to Congress in Special Session, July 4, 1861
- To Orville H. Browning, September 22, 1861
- To Erastus Corning and Others, June 12, 1863
- Proclamation Revoking General Hunter’s Emancipation Order, May 19, 1862
- Appeal to Border-State Representatives for Compensated Emancipation, Washington, D.C., July 12, 1862
- To Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862
- Annual Message to Congress, December 1, 1862
- Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862
- Final Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863
- To Albert G. Hodges. April 12, 1864

Questions

1. Why is secession unconstitutional? Why is the suspension of habeas corpus constitutional?
2. Before his election, Lincoln often stated that he had no intention, and no constitutional authority, to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed. How, then, did he come to issue the Emancipation Proclamation and how did he justify it?

5:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.	Careers in Washington Reception — Max Eden (PSP '10) , fellow, Manhattan Institute Kate Havard (PSP '10) , research analyst, Foundation for Defense of Democracies Reagan Thompson (WK '16) , Policy and Communications Advisor, US House of Representatives Hertog HQ
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Friday, July 22, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon Lincoln as President

- Address at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1863
- Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, December 8, 1863
- To Michael Hahn, March 13, 1864
- To Allen N. Ford, August 11, 1846
- Handbill Replying to Charges of Infidelity, July 31, 1846
- Proclamation of a National Fast Day, August 12, 1861
- Order for Sabbath Observance, November 15, 1862
- Meditation on the Divine Will, c. early September 1862
- Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865
- To Thurlow Weed, March 15, 1865

Questions:

1. What is meant by the “new birth of freedom”? Does it refer to the emancipated slaves? If so, what is Lincoln’s vision of their place within the polity? How does the new birth of freedom relate to the argument of the Lyceum Address about the requirements for the perpetuation of our republic? (You might think too about the ballots and bullets passage of the Special Message to Congress.)
2. What interpretation of the Civil War does Lincoln present and why? What is Lincoln’s theology? What is the role of charity in political life?

12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Weekly Group Lunch — Hertog HQ
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HERTOG 2016 SUMMER COURSES AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM

Yuval Levin, editor, *National Affairs*

This intensive two-week seminar is run in conjunction with *National Affairs* magazine. It aims to educate advanced undergraduate students about the intersection of theory and practice in our national politics, and particularly in our key economic debates.

Location: This class will take place at George Washington University's Elliott School:
1957 E Street NW, Room 211.

WEEK 1

Sunday, July 24, 2016

3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. Summer Course Fellow Arrival and Check-in —
George Washington University, 1900 F St NW

Monday, July 25, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Introduction

Readings:

- Publius, *Federalist* No. 1
- James Manzi, "Keeping America's Edge," *National Affairs* (Winter 2010)

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Daniel DiSalvo on Public Policy as a Profession

Tuesday, July 26, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Aristotle and Locke on Economics

Readings:

- Aristotle, *Politics*, Book I, Chs. 8–10
- John Locke, *Second Treatise of Civil Government*, Chs. 2, 5

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Daniel DiSalvo on Public-Sector Unions

Readings:

- Daniel DiSalvo, "The New Spoils System," *The American Interest* (February 2015)

- Terry Moe, “Teachers Unions and American Education Reform: The Power of Vested Interests,” 2014
- Richard Kahlenberg, “Bipartisan, But Unfounded: The Assault on the Teachers’ Unions,” *American Educator* (Winter 2011–12)
- Dmitri Mehlhorn, Jake Rosenfeld, and Andrew Strom, “Should progressives support public-sector unions?,” *On Labor*, July 2014

5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Dinner & Speaker: Adam White on Justice Antonin Scalia
Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500

Wednesday, July 27, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Adam Smith on Life in a Free Society

Readings:

- Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*
 - Part I, Section I, Chs. 1–4
 - Part I, Section III, Chs. 1–2
 - Part II, Section II, Chs. 1–3
- Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*
 - Introduction
 - Book I, Chs. 1–3
 - Book IV, Chs. 2 and end of chapter 9 (pp. 686–88)

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Scott Winship on Measurement and Policy

Readings:

- Scott Winship, “Bogeyman Economics,” *National Affairs* (Winter 2012)
- Scott Winship, “Wage Trends: Men’s Rising Earnings,” *National Review*, June 28, 2013
- Scott Winship, “Does America Have Less Economic Mobility? Part 1,” e21, April 2015

5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. Pizza & Film Screening: Matthew Continetti on *Arguing the World*
Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500

Thursday, July 28, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. The Progressives and the Welfare State

Readings:

- Thomas Paine, “Agrarian Justice,” 1797
- Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, Ch. 1, “Bourgeois and Proletariat”
- Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life*, Chs. 2–3
- Theodore Roosevelt, “The New Nationalism,” August 31, 1910

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Scott Winship on Inequality and the Middle Class

Readings:

- Scott Winship, “Overstating the Cost of Inequality,” *National Affairs* (Spring 2013)
- Scott Winship, “Have 91% of Gains During the Recovery Gone to the Top?,” *Forbes*, January 27, 2015
- Scott Winship, “Did Inequality Rob Middle-Class Households Of \$18,000?,” *Forbes*, January 13, 2015
- Scott Winship, “Middle Class Wages Are Stagnant! (Because Retirees Have No Earnings),” e21, May 20, 2014

5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.	Dinner & Film Speaker: Yuval Levin on <i>The Fractured Republic</i> Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500
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Friday, July 29, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Responses to the Welfare State

Readings:

- Friedrich Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, Chs. 2 and 17
- Irving Kristol, “When Virtue Loses All Her Loveliness,” *The Public Interest* (Fall 1970)

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. James C. Capretta on Budgets and Fiscal Policy

Readings:

- Yuval Levin, “Beyond the Welfare State,” *National Affairs* (Spring 2011)
- James C. Capretta, “Reforming the Budget Process,” *National Affairs* (Fall 2014)

WEEK 2

Monday, August 1, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. How Government Works, Why Government Fails

Readings:

- Peter Schuck, *Why Government Fails So Often*, Ch. 1
- Steve Teles, “Kludgeocracy in America,” *National Affairs* (Fall 2013)
- John J. Dilulio, Jr., “Facing Up To Big Government,” *National Affairs* (Spring 2012)

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Ross Douthat on Journalism, Politics, and Policy

Tuesday, August 2, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Health Care and Entitlements

Readings:

- Donald Marron, “America in the Red,” *National Affairs* (Spring 2010)
- Kaiser Family Foundation, “Summary of the Affordable Care Act,” April 2013
- Antos, Capretta, et al., “Improving Health and Health Care,” pp. 1–26.

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Aaron Nielson on Regulation

Readings:

- *Free Enterprise Fund v. Public Company Accounting Oversight Board*, 561 U.S. 477 (2010). Focus on: 3138 to 3149, 3151 to 3161, 3164 to 3177, 3184

Wednesday, August 3, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Tax Policy

Readings:

- Bruce Bartlett, *The Benefit and the Burden*, Ch. 1
- Robert Stein, “Taxes and the Family,” *National Affairs* (Winter 2010)
- Congressional Research Service, “Overview of the Federal Tax System,” November 2014

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Aaron Nielson on Regulation

Readings:

- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. 1, Part 2, Ch. 8: On the Spirit of the Lawyer in the United States and How it Serves as a Counterweight to Democracy

Thursday, August 4, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Higher Education and Liberal Education

Readings:

- Andrew Kelly, “Higher-Education Reform To Make College and Career Training More Effective and Affordable,” in *Room to Grow*
- Leo Strauss, “What Is Liberal Education?,” in *Introduction to Political Philosophy*

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Michael McShane on K-12 Education

Readings:

- Michael McShane, “Education and Opportunity,” AEI’s Values and Capitalism Series

Friday, August 5, 2016

9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Michael McShane on Choice in Education

Readings:

- Michael McShane, “Education and Opportunity,” AEI’s Values and Capitalism Series

1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. Welfare and Economic Mobility – and Concluding Discussion

Readings:

- Jared Bernstein and Scott Winship, “Policy Options for Improving Economic Opportunity and Mobility,” June 2015
- Ron Haskins, “Getting Ahead in America,” *National Affairs* (Fall 2009)

6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.	Closing Reception and Dinner — Darlington House (1620 20th Street NW) Students leave from 1959 E Street at 5:30 p.m.
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Saturday, August 6, 2016

11 a.m.	Summer Course Fellow Check-Out and Departure — George Washington University, 1900 F St NW
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HERTOG 2016 SUMMER COURSES THE MODERN CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT: From Theory to Practice

Matthew Continetti, editor in chief, *Washington Free Beacon*

The story of American politics in the twentieth century cannot be told without reference to the conservative movement. This collection of journalists, policy experts, activists, and politicians, and the journals and institutions around which they congregated, had a decisive impact on the Republican Party and on the country that is still being felt today. Indeed, so successful was modern American conservatism in reorienting the intellectual and political direction of the country that its opponents, including President Obama, have sought to emulate its tactics if not its goals.

Whence did this movement arise? How did the ideas and arguments put forth in obscure magazines come to shape the worldview and policy of American presidents and congressional leaders? Who were the principal intellectual figures of the conservative movement, and how did they seek to influence American elites?

Through a close reading of essays, opinion pieces, and political speeches, we will trace how the principles of conservative leaders have been translated into concrete reality. We will recall the biographies and histories of important conservative figures and publications such as William F. Buckley Jr.'s *National Review*, Irving Kristol's *Public Interest*, Norman Podhoretz's *Commentary*, and Robert Bartley's *Wall Street Journal*. We will hear from speakers who participated in the rush of events that made American conservatism one of the most important political movements in US history. And we will reflect on what the story of that movement might teach us about the status and prospects of conservative thought and practice today.

Location: This track will take place at the Hertog offices:
1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 500.

Resources

To learn more about the figures covered in this course, we encourage you to visit ContemporaryThinkers.org, a website devoted to the ideas and influence of pioneering intellectuals of the 20th and 21st centuries.

Sponsored by the Hertog Foundation, ContemporaryThinkers.org includes sites devoted to Irving Kristol, Edward C. Banfield, Nathan Glazer, James Q. Wilson, and many others.

Sunday, July 24, 2016

3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. Summer Course Fellow Arrival and Check-in —
George Washington University, 1900 F St NW

Monday, July 25, 2016

9:00 am to Noon **The Crisis of Liberalism**

Readings:

- William A. Rusher, "The Early Fifties," from *The Rise of the Right* (1993)
- Lee Edwards, "Had Enough?" from *The Conservative Revolution* (1999)

Noon to 1:15 pm **Lunch Break**

1:30 to 3:00 pm **Origins of the Conservative Movement**

Readings:

- Lee Edwards, "Standing Athwart History: The Political Thought of William F. Buckley Jr.," First Principles Series Report #29, The Heritage Foundation, May 2010
- William F. Buckley, "Introduction," from *Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?* (1970)
- William F. Buckley, "Statement of Principles," *National Review*, November 19, 1955

Tuesday, July 26, 2016

9:00 am to Noon **The Challenge of Communism**

Readings:

- George Nash, "Years of Preparation," from *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945* (1996)
- James Burnham, "The Struggle for the World," from *Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?* (1970)

Noon to 1:15 pm **Lunch Break**

1:30 to 3:00 pm **The Challenge of Communism, Cont'd**

Readings:

- Norman Podhoretz, Excerpt from *Breaking Ranks* (1979)
- Irving Kristol, "Civil Liberties, 1952: A Study in Confusion," *Commentary*, March 1952
- Nathan Glazer, "American Values and American Foreign Policy," *Commentary*, July 1976

5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.	Dinner & Speaker: Adam White on The Legacy of Justice Antonin Scalia Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500
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Wednesday, July 27, 2016

9:00 am to Noon **The Challenge of the Welfare State**

Readings:

- George Nash, “Can the Vital Center Hold?” from *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945* (1996)
- Milton Friedman, “Capitalism and Freedom: A Concluding Note,” *Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?*

Noon to 1:15 pm

Lunch Break

1:30 to 3:00 pm

The Challenge of the Welfare State, Cont’d

Readings:

- Robert Bartley, “Irving Kristol and Friends,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 3, 1972
- Irving Kristol, “The Shaking of the Foundations,” from *On the Democratic Idea in America* (1972)
- Edward C. Banfield, “A Critical View of the Urban Crisis,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1973

5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

Pizza & Film Screening: Matthew Continetti on *Arguing the World*
Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500

Thursday, July 28, 2016

9:00 am to Noon

The Challenge of the Counter-Culture

Readings:

- Ross Douthat, “Resistance,” from *Bad Religion* (2012)
- Richard John Neuhaus, “A New Order of Religious Freedom,” *The Essential Neoconservative Reader*
- Gertrude Himmelfarb, “A Demoralized Society—The British American Experience,” *Public Interest*, Fall 1994

Noon to 1:15 pm

Lunch Break

1:30 to 3:00 pm

Christian Conservatism

Readings:

- Introduction, “The End of Democracy: A Symposium,” *First Things*, November 1996
- Response by Midge Decter, *First Things*, January 1997
- Response by Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Commentary*, February 1997

5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.

Dinner & Film Speaker: Yuval Levin on *The Fractured Republic*
Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500

Friday, July 29, 2016

9:00 am to Noon

Conservatism in the Present Moment

Readings:

- Irving Kristol, "American Conservatism, 1945-1995," *Public Interest*, Fall 1995
- George Nash, "The Uneasy Future of American Conservatism," from *The Future of Conservatism* (2007)
- Sam Tanenhaus, "Conservatism Is Dead," *The New Republic*, February 2009
- David Frum, "The Great Republican Revolt," *The Atlantic*, January/February 2016

Noon p.m. to 1:15 p.m.

Lunch & Speaker: William Kristol, editor, *Weekly Standard*
Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500

1:30 to 3:00 pm

Closing Conversation

Saturday, July 30, 2016

11 a.m.

Summer Course Fellow Check-Out and Departure —
George Washington University, 1900 F St NW

HERTOG 2016 SUMMER COURSES LANDMARK SUPREME COURT CASES: Scalia and the Last Half-Century of Constitutional Law

Adam J. White, fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

The seminar will focus on five landmark Supreme Court cases from the past 50 years with a view to exploring how politics and law interact, the different approaches to constitutional judgment and rhetoric, and the impact of the Court's decisions on American lives. We will find the late Justice Antonin Scalia at the center of this discussion throughout the week, as we consider how his focus on constitutional "originalism" and the Constitution's structural checks and balances, both rooted in his view of the courts' properly limited role in republican government, profoundly changed the way in which Americans view the Constitution and constitutional law.

Location: This class will take place at George Washington University's Elliott School:
1957 E Street NW, Room 212.

Resources: To learn more about other important figures in constitutional law, we encourage you to visit ContemporaryThinkers.org, a website covering the ideas and influence of pioneering intellectuals of the 20th and 21st centuries.

Sponsored by the Hertog Foundation, ContemporaryThinkers.org includes sites devoted to Walter Berns, Martin Diamond, Herbert Storing, and many others.

Sunday, July 24, 2016

3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. Summer Course Fellow Arrival and Check-in —
George Washington University, 1900 F St NW

Monday, July 25, 2016

9:00 am to Noon ***Griswold: The Return of Judge-Made Liberties***

Readings:

- *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965)
- Holmes's Dissent in *Lochner* (1905)
- Alexander Bickel, "The Heavenly City of the Twentieth-Century Justices," in *The Supreme Court and the Idea of Progress* (1970)

Noon to 1:15 pm **Lunch Break**

1:30 to 3:00 pm

Guest Speaker: Randy Barnett, professor, Georgetown University Law Center

Tuesday, July 26, 2016

9:00 am to Noon

***Heller*: The Triumph of Justice Scalia's Originalist Jurisprudence**

Readings:

- *D.C. v. Heller* (2008)
- Antonin Scalia, "Originalism: The Lesser Evil," *University of Cincinnati Law Review* 57:849 (1988)
- J. Harvie Wilkinson, "Originalism: Activism Masquerading as Restraint," in *Cosmic Constitutionalism Theory* (2012)

Noon to 1:15 pm

Lunch Break

1:30 to 3:00 pm

Guest Speaker: Alan Gura, partner, Gura & Possesky

5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.

**Dinner & Speaker: Adam White on Justice Antonin Scalia
Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500**

Wednesday, July 27, 2016

9:00 am to Noon

***Noel Canning*: Tradition versus originalism**

Readings:

- Office of Legal Counsel Opinion on Recess Appointments, January 6, 2012
- *NLRB v. Noel Canning* (2014)
- Thomas Merrill, "Bork vs. Burke," *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 19:2 (1995)

Noon to 1:15 pm

Lunch Break

1:30 to 3:00 pm

Guest Speaker: James Burnham, associate, JonesDay

5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

**Pizza & Film Screening: Matthew Continetti on *Arguing the World*
Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500**

Thursday, July 28, 2016

9:00 am to Noon

***Morrison*: Taking structure seriously**

Readings:

- *Morrison v. Olson* (1988)
- Adam White, "The American Constitutionalist," *Weekly Standard*, February 29, 2016

- *Federalist 51* (1788)

Noon to 1:15 pm

Lunch Break

1:30 to 3:00 pm

Guest Speaker: Christopher J. Scalia, writer and public relations professional

5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.

Dinner & Film Speaker: Yuval Levin on *The Fractured Republic*
Hertog HQ — 1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Ste. 500

Friday, July 29, 2016

9:00 am to Noon

Smith: Rights and Republicanism

Readings:

- *Employment Division v. Smith* (1990)
- Michael McConnell, "Taking Religious Freedom Seriously," *First Things*, May 1990
- Yuval Levin, "The Perils of Religious Liberty," *First Things*, February 2016
- Antonin Scalia, "Teaching About The Law," *Christian Legal Society Quarterly*, Fall 1987

Noon to 1:15 pm

Lunch Break

1:30 to 3:00 pm

Guest Speaker: Marc DeGirolami, professor, St. John's University

Saturday, July 30, 2016

11 a.m.

Summer Course Fellow Check-Out and Departure —
George Washington University, 1900 F St NW

HERTOG 2016 SUMMER COURSES GRAND STRATEGY

Aaron Friedberg, professor, Princeton University

This course will provide an introduction to the concept of grand strategy and an overview of how US grand strategy has evolved since the founding of the republic. Particular attention will be paid to the role of ideology in determining how successive generations of American leaders have defined objectives, perceived threats, and formulated plans to reshape the world.

Location: This track will take place at the Hertog offices:
1875 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 500.

Sunday, July 31, 2016

3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. Summer Course Fellow Arrival and Check-in —
George Washington University, 1900 F St NW

Monday, August 1, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon **The Founders and the Grand Strategy of the Early Republic**

- Hal Brands, *What Good Is Grand Strategy?*, pp. 1–16
- Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation*, pp. 71–129
- Publius, Federalist No. 8

2:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. Guest Speaker: **Jennifer Bryson, Center for Islam and Religious Freedom**
GWU, Room 212

Tuesday, August 2, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon **Woodrow Wilson and the Grand Strategy of Liberal Internationalism**

- Colin Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders*, pp. 44–81
- Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 29–55
- Woodrow Wilson, “Fourteen Points” January 8, 1918
(http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp)

2:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. Guest Speaker: **Dan Blumenthal, AEI**
GWU, Room 212

Wednesday, August 3, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon The Cold War and the Grand Strategy of Containment

- Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders*, pp. 82–113
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory*, 163–91
- “NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security,” April 14, 1950 in Thomas H. Etzold and John Lewis Gaddis, eds. *Containment: Documents on American Policy and Strategy, 1945–1950*, pp. 385–93

Thursday, August 4, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon The End of the Cold War and the “Global War on Terrorism”

- Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders*, pp. 114–46
- Brands, *What Good Is Grand Strategy?*, pp. 144–89
- Anthony Lake, “From Containment to Enlargement,” September 21, 1993 [Excerpted in Alvin Z. Rubenstein, ed., *The Clinton Foreign Policy Reader*, pp. 20–27]
- George W. Bush, *National Security Strategy of the United States*, September 2002, pp. i–iii

5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Pizza and Careers in National Security — **Gabe Scheinmann & Cherise Britt, Hamilton Society**
Hertog HQ

Friday, August 5, 2016

9:00 a.m. to Noon The Rise of Revisionist Authoritarian Powers and the Future of American Grand Strategy

- Azar Gat, *Victorious and Vulnerable: Why Democracy Won in the 20th Century and How It Is Still Imperiled*, pp. 1–13, 59–85
- Aaron L. Friedberg, “Hegemony with Chinese Characteristics,” *The National Interest* (July/August 2011), pp. 18–27
- Walter Russell Mead, “The Return of Geopolitics,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2014), pp. 69–79
- Robert Kagan, “Superpowers Don’t Get to Retire,” *The New Republic*, May 20, 2014 (<https://newrepublic.com/article/117859/superpowers-dont-get-retire>)
- Barry R. Posen, “A New U.S. Grand Strategy,” *Boston Review*, July 1, 2014 (<http://www.bostonreview.net/us/barry-r-posen-restraint-grand-strategy-united-states>)

6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.	Closing Reception and Dinner — Darlington House (1620 20th Street NW) Students leave from 1959 E Street at 5:30 p.m.
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Saturday, August 6, 2016

11 a.m.	Summer Course Fellow Check-Out and Departure — George Washington University, 1900 F St NW
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HERTOG 2016 SUMMER COURSES THE IRANIAN CHALLENGE

Instructor: Michael Doran, senior fellow, Hudson Institute

Nothing in American foreign policy is more controversial than President Obama's efforts to contain Iran's nuclear program. In April 2015, after a marathon negotiating session in Lausanne, Switzerland, the debate entered a new phase when the United States and its negotiating partners (the so-called P5+1) and Iran announced a breakthrough. The Obama administration and its supporters claim that the agreement will severely restrict the Iranian nuclear program for at least a decade. In their more optimistic moments, they go even further, arguing that the deal will lead to an historic reconciliation between the United States and the Islamic Republic. Meanwhile, the framework's detractors depict it as an abject capitulation that has weakened the United States and its regional allies.

Whether you side with the Obama administration or its critics, the deal is colored by your understanding of the Iranian threat. One school of thought argues that the Islamic Republic is essentially a defensive power whose days are numbered. In these, its twilight years, it can easily be contained. If the United States and its ally, Israel, will simply avoid rash military action, so the thinking goes, then they will certainly prevail over Iran in the long run. Alternatively, a second school of thought sees Iran as an offensive power. Harboring hegemonic regional ambitions hell-bent on acquiring a nuclear weapon, Iran poses a serious danger to regional order, not to mention American primacy. Countries threatened by the Iranian nuclear program, so this school claims, will inevitably acquire their own arsenals. The Persian Gulf, which contains two-thirds of global oil reserves, will become the focal point of a multi-sided nuclear standoff.

After a brief survey of the historical background, this seminar will investigate the Iran debate in depth and will conclude, on the last day and a half, with a war game.

Location: This class will take place at George Washington University's Elliott School:
1957 E Street NW, Room 212.

Sunday, July 31, 2016

3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. Summer Course Fellow Arrival and Check-in —
George Washington University, 1900 F St NW

Monday, August 1, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. **The 1953 Coup: An Historical Analogy**

- Michael Axworthy, *A History of Iran: Empire of the Mind*, Ch. 7
- James Risen, "Secrets of History: The C.I.A. in Iran," *New York Times*, April 16, 2000
- Daniel Yergin, *The Prize*, Ch. 23

- Michael Axworthy, *A History of Iran: Empire of the Mind*, Chs. 8–9, Epilogue

Questions:

1. Was the United States wise to topple Prime Minister Mosaddeq?
2. What was the alternative?
3. What is the proper role of the United States in the Persian Gulf?
4. Discuss: “Toppling Mosaddeq caused more problems than it solved.”

2:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. Guest Speaker: Jennifer Bryson, Center for Islam and Religious Freedom GWU, Room 212
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Tuesday, August 2, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. The Dilemma Defined

- Eric S. Edelman, Andrew F. Krepinevich, and Evan Braden Montgomery, “The Dangers of a Nuclear Iran,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2011
- Leslie H. Gelb, “Bomb Scare,” review of *Unthinkable*, by Kenneth M. Pollack, *The New York Times*, September 5, 2013
- George Will, “Containing Iran is the Least Awful Choice,” *The Washington Post*, December 6, 2013

Questions:

1. How would you distinguish the nature of the Iranian nuclear threat?
2. What distinguishes a national interest from a *vital* national interest?
3. Is Iran an implacable enemy of the United States?
4. Evaluate: “There is no need for the United States to be inordinately concerned about the nuclear program of the Islamic Republic of Iran.”

2:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. Guest Speaker: Dan Blumenthal, AEI GWU, Room 212
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Wednesday, August 3, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. The Nuclear Deal and Regional Implications

- Fred Wehrey, et al, Ch. 2, “An Altered Strategic Landscape: The Shifting Regional Balance of Power,” *The Iraq Effect: The Middle East After the Iraq War*
- Michael Doran, “Obama’s Secret Iran Strategy,” *Mosaic Magazine*, February 2, 2015
- Max Boot and Michael Doran, “Remember the Carter Doctrine,” *The Weekly Standard*, April 9, 2015
- Jeffrey Goldberg, “The Obama Doctrine,” *The Atlantic*, April 2016

Questions:

1. What is the purpose of Iran’s nuclear program?
2. What was the best deal that the United States could have realistically expected to get from Iran?

3. Discuss: "A bad deal is better than no deal."
4. Does Iran seek "regional hegemony"?
5. Discuss: "Iran may not a perfect partner of the United States, but it is the least worst one."

Thursday, August 4, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. **The ISIS Dilemma**

- Charles Lister, "Profiling the Islamic State," Brookings Institution, November 2014
- William McCants
 - "How ISIL Out-Terrorized Bin Laden," *Politico*, August 19, 2015
 - "Inside the ISIS Blueprint for Winning," *The Daily Beast*, September 29, 2015
 - "How the Islamic State Declared War on the World," *Foreign Policy*, November 16, 2015
- Michael Mandelbaum, *Mission Failure*, Ch. 5

Questions:

1. Describe ISIS' strategy and goals.
2. How is ISIS pursuing its goals, and how does that differ from the terrorism strategy employed by al-Qaeda?
3. What role is Iran playing in the conflict with ISIS? Describe its strategy and goals.
4. How does Iranian involvement in Iraq complicate the US response to the ISIS threat?
5. How compatible are Iranian and American interests in the Middle East?

5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.	Guest Speakers — Careers in National Security Gabe Scheinmann , director, The Alexander Hamilton Society Cherise Britt , The Alexander Hamilton Society Hertog HQ
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Friday, August 5, 2016

9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. **War Game**

During the last hour of class on Thursday you will be presented with a scenario depicting the United States in a nuclear crisis with Iran. The class will divide into two groups—hawks and doves. Both groups will be called upon to defend their positions before the President in a model National Security Council meeting on Friday.

6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.	Closing Reception and Dinner — Darlington House (1620 20th Street NW) Students leave from 1959 E Street at 5:30 p.m.
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Saturday, August 6, 2016

11 a.m.	Summer Course Fellow Check-Out and Departure — George Washington University, 1900 F St NW
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