## Politics 4459G/9757B: 'America' in Political Thought January – April 2015

Instructor: D. Long Room: 4112 Time: Wednesdays, 12:30 a.m. – 2:30 p.m.

Office hours: Mondays 2 - 3 pm; Wednesdays 10:30 am - noon.

IMPORTANT NOTICE RE PREREQUISITES/ANTIREQUISITES: You are responsible for ensuring that you have successfully completed all course prerequisites, and that you have not taken an antirequisite course. Lack of prerequisites may not be used as a basis for appeal. If you are found to be ineligible for a course, you may be removed from it at any time and you will receive no adjustment to your fees. This decision cannot be appealed. If you find that you do not have the course requisites, it is in your best interest to drop the course well before the end of the add/drop period. Your prompt attention to this matter will not only help protect your academic record, but will ensure that spaces become available for students who require the course in question for graduation.

Office of the Dean, Faculty of Social Science

Prerequisites for this course (UWO Calendar) are: Political Science 237E and one additional course in political theory, or permission of the instructor.

"Let us look to America, not in order to make a servile copy of the institutions that she has established, but to gain a clearer view of the polity that will be the best for us; let us look there less to find examples than instruction; let us borrow from her the principles, rather than the details, of her laws."

(Alexis de Tocqueville, 'Author's Preface' to *Democracy in America*, 12<sup>th</sup> edition, 1848)

"We've all gone to look for America ..."

(Paul Simon & Art Garfunkel on *The David Letterman Show, Fall 2009*)

This course provides participants with an opportunity to explore the very special place of 'America' in Western political thought, from John Locke's assertion (*Second Treatise of Government*, para.49) that **"in the beginning all the World was America"**, more specifically (para.48) "the in-land Parts of America, where [a person] had no hopes of Commerce with other Parts of the World", to the era of American Empire and superpower status, in which the United States of America has become, in President Clinton's phrase, the world's 'indispensible power', a major player wherever in the world major problems arise. Like Truman in *The Truman Show*, the United States was born special, and born in a bubble. Just as in Truman's case, every mood and every impulse of the U.S.A. has been examined under the proverbial microscope. The world has looked on with emotions ranging from awe to horror as the first and greatest of democratic capitalist republics has risen to unprecedented heights of economic and political achievement —

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and encountered growing pains such as no other polity or economy in recorded human history has ever faced. Like Truman, the U.S.A. has irrepressibly sought freedom, sometimes perhaps even freedom from the burdens of its own special position in the world. Throughout its dramatic lifetime, 'Americans' (as citizens of the U.S.A. have taken to calling themselves) have again and again gone, like Simon and Garfunkle, in search of the essence of America, and in search of confirmation that the grand experiment in democratic capitalism has indeed been a success and a blessing to the world. In this seminar, within the context of politics broadly understood, we shall go with a few of them, and report on what they have found.

To connect the subject matter of this course to political theory as you have so far encountered it, I have selected for possible examination several key themes or features of American politics. In investigating them, American scholars have encountered and sometimes built upon the works of great thinkers from outside the U.S.A. In the headnotes to this outline, Simon & Garfunkle (admittedly not great scholars, but you can't have everything ...) encounter, so to speak, Alexis de Tocqueville, French Aristocrat, author of one of the great classic of American Political theory – *Democracy in America* (Vol. 1 1835; Vol. 2 1840). Tocqueville was 'looking to' the U.S.A., while our folk-singing friends and their ilk are 'looking for' it, and perhaps also 'looking out' from it. In this course we shall study both why so many thinkers over the years have looked to the U.S.A. as/for something special, and how/whether Americans have looked out at the world as inhabitants of and participants in something unique.

# So ... We'll start with important works by and about Americans on three of the defining features of American politics: <u>democracy</u>, <u>liberalism</u>, and <u>capitalism</u>.

#### 1. Democracy: from Tocqueville to Wolin:

The great American political theorist and radical democrat, Sheldon S. Wolin, for 50 years a student of Tocqueville's thought, has spent his illustrious career at Berkeley and Princeton searching for democracy in America. He has found what he calls *Democracy Incorporated* (2008), and it is not a pleasant discovery. His detailed study of Tocqueville's political theory, *Tocqueville between Two Worlds* (2001), argues that "[Tocqueville's] *Democracy in America* represents the moment when democracy first came into focus as the central subject of a political theory" (p. 8). For Wolin, then, the study of 'America' and the study of democracy as a complete and viable form of government and political life are inextricably intertwined. Wolin, an intense and passionate writer, is perhaps the most important of all critical theorists of democracy in the U.S.A., and his interpretation of Tocqueville is powerful and provocative. In Tocqueville's anxiety about the possibility of a 'tyranny of the majority' in the democratic U.S.A. Wolin finds the seed of his own diagnosis: that 21<sup>st</sup> century America is threatened with a kind of 'inverted totalitarianism'.

### 2. Liberalism: i) from Locke to Hartz; ii) from Montesquieu to Pangle

In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century Professor **Louis Hartz** argued, in his controversial work The Liberal Tradition in America (1955), that the whole spectrum of political argument and action in the U.S.A. was liberal. The U.S.A. was a 'fragment', thrown off by the older, more ideologically complex polities of Europe. It possessed only a fragmentary portion of Europe's full left-to-right spectrum of contending political ideas. No true conservatism or socialism was to be found in America: only 'leftish' and 'rightish' modes of liberal thought. Yet only 50 years later, the recent death of Edward Kennedy is said to have removed from the Senate the last Senator willing openly to describe himself as a liberal. 'Liberal' is now, in the words of one Fox News commentator, a 'four-letter word' in American politics. How can this be? No other polity or society has had the relationship to liberalism that has existed – through marriage and apparent estrangement, now threatened with divorce – that exists in 'America'. To alter the metaphor: if liberalism, once the very life-blood of American politics, is now dead there, how might THAT remarkable development have come about? Have Locke and Montesquieu been rejected, or simply re-interpreted? We could, if you wish, look at **John Rawls's** *Political* Liberalism (1996) and/or Richard Rorty's Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity (1989) for clues ...

Professor Thomas Pangle, searching for a key to the true character of the U.S.A., found a "philosophy of liberalism" (Montesquieu's Philosophy of Liberalism) deeply indebted to Montesquieu's De L'Esprit des Loix. This liberalism was closely connected to what Montesquieu and his contemporaries (like the Scotsman David Hume and, a little later, the English utilitarian Jeremy Bentham) called the spirit of commerce. It was thought that individuals and states that engaged in trading relations were unlikely to engage in wars (another classic doctrine echoed in the speeches of President Clinton). 'Le doux commerce' would induce even the bitterest competitors to focus their energies on production and profit, not on mutual destruction. From George Washington to William Jefferson Clinton, American leaders have explored the hypothesis that the world's greatest commercial republic must by nature be a force for peace in the world – with mixed results.

# 3. Commerce to Capitalism: from Smith and Tocqueville to Friedman and Galbraith

Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* was, among other things, an on-the-spot study of the culture and politics of commerce in the early decades of American history. Where John Locke's iconic *Second Treatise of Government* had only speculated imaginatively about the effect of money and 'expanded possessions' on the denizens of civil society, Tocqueville watched the actual process of economic development in the U.S.A. (in part in the vicinity of Saginaw, Michigan), and he was partly impressed

but partly alarmed by what he saw. The spirit of commerce in America was not as 'doux' as Montesquieu and his colleagues might have imagined or wished.

We must not fail to investigate the author of the first moral justification of commercial society, a figure who has become the most widely referenced and recognized inspiration of American capitalism: the father of the 'invisible hand' metaphor, **Adam Smith**. Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* was published in the crucial and symbolic year of 1776. We'll take the time to get a clear idea of his key concepts, but also to assess his political (as distinct from economic) thought and his impact in America (see S. Fleischacker, "Adam Smith's reception among the American Founders, 1776-1790" [2002]). Smith is an important and under-studied liberal political thinker, and his influence on Americans' self-image has been huge – but in its popular form it may have been based on caricatures of some of his actual positions.

Flash forward to the 1960s ... and we find two titans clashing as to the nature and political context of American capitalism and its relationship to democracy, one of them actually a Canadian by birth. These two were/are Milton Friedman, author of Capitalism and Freedom (1962) and proponent of the position that free market individualist capitalism and democracy are synonyms, and John Kenneth Galbraith, born in Iona Station, just southwest of London, Ontario, one of the many Canadians (most of them comedians) thought by most Americans to be citizens of the U.S.A.. In American Capitalism: the theory of countervailing powers (1952), The New Industrial State (1967), and numerous other works, Galbraith argued for an interventionist interpretation of the role of government in a capitalist democracy (he was actually a Roosevelt advisor during the 'New Deal period), mitigating the harshest effects of corporate capitalism on individuals in the name of democracy. He and Friedman disagreed publicly, though always with decency and humour, about the basic facts of the power structure of American capitalism, politically and economically. And, of course, the financial meltdown of 2008 was seen by some as a repudiation of the free market philosophy of Friedman and an invitation to Keynesian / Galbraithian intervention.

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### 4. Exceptionalism, Isolationism, Imperialism:

The remainder of the term will be spent on investigating another cluster of '-isms', these ones more closely related to America's current image and 'presence' in a globalized world. The first of these is "exceptionalism". This term expresses the idea that, largely because of the unique circumstances and principles embodied by America from birth, the USA is an exceptional – no, THE exceptional polity. In Washingtonian times this may well have expressed an American desire to wash their hands of the wasteful, exhausting and seemingly pointless wars that pre-occupied Europe for centuries up to and beyond 1783. It later served to express boundless American confidence in their polity's /economy's capacity for world leadership and problemsolving. The distinguished American sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset, one of the leading experts in the field of American – Canadian comparisons, published his American exceptionalism in 1997. Its sub-title, "a double-edged sword", nicely captures the controversial and problematic status of this conception. Whatever interpretation one makes of American "exceptionalism", however, there can be no doubt that this idea, most commonly traced back to Tocqueville's observations about the extraordinary character of early American life, has had an enormous influence on American political attitudes, and especially on attitudes toward foreign policy and America's role in international politics. Reflection on the implications of the doctrine of Exceptionalism seems a plausible 'soil' for the generation of distinct ideas about how an exceptional nation ought to inter-act with others, and indeed about whether it should so inter-act at all. Exceptionalism, then, is the seed-bed of the last cluster of '-isms' we shall study in this course: isolationism and internationalism / imperialism.

In his interesting book As Others See Us: the causes and consequences of foreign perceptions of America (2006) Professor Stephen Brooks of Windsor argues that the 'cognitive isolationism' of Americans is rooted in "the three 'I's': ignorance, insularity and indifference". It "lives on" in the minds of many Americans (and, as you might imagine, at some pretty zany web sites!), some of them influential, despite Brooks's conviction that "Today it is apparent that isolationism is not an option." (p. 17). In his new (2010) volume on The irony of Manifest destiny: the tragedy of America's foreign policy, William Pfaff traces what he sees as a tragic movement from "American isolationism to utopian interventionism". Certainly today's debates over American foreign policy seem to comprise arguments for multilateralism on one hand and unilateralism on the other, not differences over the feasibility of isolationism. But electorally it is generally agreed that isolationist rhetoric, appealing to isolationist sentiment, is very powerful. Conservative candidate / pundit Pat Buchanan sought to rally right wing opinion in 1999 around the idea that America is "a republic, not an empire". He hoped this view would 'take back' control of America's foreign policy. This has not happened.

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So we come, finally, to the most familiar and perhaps predictable element in this course – the vexed subject of **American imperialism / internationalism**. Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri's controversial work *Empire* (2000) is only partly a study of the American Empire in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: it is also an ambitious theoretical work attempting to place the generic conception of "Empire' in a radically new context. **Jeffrey Legro's** *Rethinking the World: great power strategies and international order* (2005) has a chapter on "the ebb and flow of American internationalism". Earl F. Fry's new book (2010) *Lament for America: decline of the superpower, plan for renewal*, consistently adopts the idea of America's 'super power status', which enable it to avoid confronting the question of whether the U.S.A.'s role globally is in fact 'internationalist' or 'imperialist'. If no one vocabulary has succeeded in capturing the 'reality' of America's image or role on today's rapidly changing global political and economic environment, that fact is perhaps the surest confirmation of the validity of the **exceptionalist** approach – America can still say to the world what the ghost of Christmas yet to come said to Scrooge: "You've never seen the likes of me before!"

### 5. The politics of Fundamentalism:

Fundamentalism in religion is uniquely American. The term originated with a book published (at their own expense) by two wealthy brothers in the American west who were alarmed by the influx of (oh, no!) Catholics, with their obscure and complex beliefs, into America. The interpretive thesis I suggest is something new: it is that America has produced the first powerful, 'mainstream' fundamentalist political discourse: that fundamentalist thinking has 'leaked; into politics, with extraordinary- and sometimes frightening – results.

<u>A Hypothetical Timetable of Meetings</u> (we'll draw up the real one after I meet with each of you to establish your interests and define your projects for the term):

- **1. Jan. 7th**: **Student Info / Outlines**: discussion of course goals and themes.
- 2. Jan. 14<sup>th</sup> & 3. Sep. 21st:

**Tocqueville and Wolin**: 'America' and democracy / American democracy – 'Inverted Totalitarianism'?

- 4. Jan. 28th: Locke and Montesquieu on liberalism and commerce (excerpts)
- 5. Feb. 4<sup>th</sup>: Hartz: Locke-ian liberalism in America is that all there is?
- 6. Feb. 11th: Pangle's Montesquieu 'le doux commerce' and the American Republic Feb. 18th: STUDY WEEK
- 7. Feb. 25<sup>th</sup>: The greatness of Adam Smith: justice, the 'invisible hand', the 'impartial spectator' and the politics of moderation
- 8. Mar. 4th: Adam Smith's influence on 'America'. From Madison to Milton Friedman
- 9. Mar.  $11^{\text{th:}}$  The Friedman / Galbraith debate the power structure of American capitalism

- 10. Mar. 18th: Lipset and the 'two-edged sword' of exceptionalism
- 11. Mar. 25th: The new fundamentalist politics: is the 'religious right' absolutely right?
- 12. Apr. 1st: 'Empire' and 'America'
- 13. Apr. 8<sup>th</sup>: "Round Table" discussion of essay projects

All of the above would make interesting and useful presentation topics. But please note: The seminar will only succeed if each seminar member works 1) with the source material, 2) with the other members, and 3) with me to pursue lines of investigation which really interest her/him. I will act as a resource person. One-to-one interviews with each seminar member will be used to establish the member's background and areas of interest. Only after I have talked (one-to-one) with each of you will the actual schedule of presentations for the term be finalized. I want the final timetable to reflect primarily your interests, not mine.

### Finally: Where do our grades come from?

**Summary**: Each seminar member will write a short **commentary** on a **single self-selected reading** at the start of term, make one **seminar presentation** during the term, act as **commentator** on another student's presentation, and hand in a **major paper** at the end of (or in the course of) the term.

#### Your final grade will be arrived at as follows:

1. <u>Commentary</u>: a short (8 - 10 page) commentary on a single source text, chosen from among a list identified at the start of the term, to be submitted by <u>Wednesday</u>, <u>February 4th 2015</u>
In the past this has proved a very valuable way to 1) get you focussed and engaged with the course, 2) help you pick out themes and authors for presentations and major papers, and 3) give me an early idea of your writing styles, interests and abilities. We'll discuss some of the texts you have chosen in subsequent seminars.

Value: 20%.

Note: I call this the 'thin book' assignment. I want to see how well you write and analyze texts on a small scale, with not too much at stake, before you do a major paper. Here are my top picks for a 'thin book' you might discuss this year:

**Wolin's** *Democracy Incorporated.* Don't be fooled – it has a lot of thought behind it. An exciting read. **But not very thin**.

**E. H. Fry's** *Lament for America*. Yes – the title IS an echo of George Grant's *Lament for a Nation*. Fry, *of Brigham Young University, has a serious on-going interest* in Canadian-American comparisons.

**Stephen Brooks's** As Others See Us: the causes and consequences of foreign perceptions of America. Interesting opinion samples and empirical research on Americans' self-images as well others' views of Americans.

And for something completely different but entirely within the scope of this course: Jean Baudrillard, *America* (1998). Words and pictures from a major postmodern theorist. 'Theoria', as S. Wolin says, refers to a journey. Tocqueville made one to America once. Now Baudrillard makes his ...

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Other candidates for the 'thin book' assignment will be willingly considered – so long as you have NOT written about them before!

Late penalties for this assignment: late commentaries will lose 3% per working day. Weekends will be counted as just one day. So the penalty is 15% per working week. After two weeks I reserve the right to refuse to accept a late commentary. Documented evidence of the need for a special accommodation on medical or compassionate grounds must be submitted to the Academic Counsellors of your home Faculty if you want to have late penalties waived.

- 2. <u>Instructor's assessment of seminar presentation</u> (including preparation and distribution **in advance** of a package of readings and an outline of topics/problems for discussion, as well as actual delivery of presentation): <u>Value: 20%</u>
- 3. <u>Instructor's assessment of performance as commentator:</u> as a commentator you play three roles in the week leading up to the presentation on which you are to comment: 1) you are the 'model student' who reads carefully and completely everything the presenter asks us all to read and consider; 2) you are the presenter's primary supporter and critic, offering criticisms and appreciation appropriate to the quality of the work done; and 3) you are the presenter's link to the other students, helping them to 'get' what the presenter is 'getting at'. You do NOT have to hand in written comments to me, though you may if you wish to. You DO have to communicate with and really work to help the presenter, and make the class session a better one in any way that you can that has the presenter's support.

  Value: 10%
- 4. <u>Major term paper</u> due at last class of term (April 8<sup>th</sup> 2015) or before that at your convenience: <u>Value: 40%</u>

<u>Late penalties</u>: I have to hand your final grades in to the Department one week after the last meeting of the course. To do this, **I really MUST have all essays in my hands by Thursday April 8<sup>th</sup>**. Late essays will be penalized at the rate of 3% per working day (i.e. week-ends are one working day). If you cannot submit your essay by 4 p.m. on Monday April 12th, you will need to provide **documented evidence to the Academic Counsellors of your home Faculty** that you qualify for an Academic Accommodation on medical or compassionate grounds. **You must also notify me at the earliest possible moment that your essay will be late.** 

5. Instructor's assessment of member's **seminar participation**: Value: 10%

Notice that 60% of your grade will be determined on the basis of your written assignments, while the other 40% will be based on various aspects of your participation in actual classroom sessions. A seminar is only worthy of the name if the whole group shows a commitment to it. I expect all members to attend, to do their best to prepare each week, and to contribute consistently to constructive, rational and mutually supportive critical discussion. A seminar is not a "zero-sum" game. The grades you earn are not earned at the expense of other students. Be generous and supportive with one another – you will only gain by it.

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### N.B.: UWO Policy re. late assignments etc.

UWO recently introduced a strict new policy on 'academic accommodation".

It is very detailed. A full description can be seen at the Academic Counsellors' Web Site given in the Appendix attached to this course outline.

"Academic Accommodation" means (among other things) "extension of deadlines, waver of attendance requirements ..., arranging Special exams or incompletes ... or granting late withdrawals without academic penalty".

For any assignment worth less than 10% of your final grade in the course: contact your instructor (me) *immediately* if the need arises for an academic accommodation on either medical or compassionate grounds. All requests to me for accommodations must be in writing, giving specific and documented grounds for the special arrangement. Medical documentation must show that the student was unable for medical reasons to complete the assignment(s) in question on time and in full. Make-up tests, extensions of deadlines etc. will only be arranged when these steps are followed and these standards are met.

For any assignment worth 10% or more of your final grade in the course: you must take your documentation (in the case of medical grounds a UWO "Student Medical Certificate", obtained online or from Academic Counselling and filled in by a doctor at the time of your initial consultation) not to me but to the Academic Counsellors of your home Faculty. They will decide on your eligibility for an accommodation, and then get in touch with me about specific steps to be taken.

# APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

### Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

#### **Essay course requirements**

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

### **Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")**

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

# <u>Security and Confidentiality of Student Work</u> (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* (http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/)

"Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, <u>leaving student work unattended</u> in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

#### **Duplication of work**

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

#### **Grade adjustments**

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

#### **Academic Offences**

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholoff.pdf ."

#### **Submission of Course Requirements**

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS <u>MUST</u> BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

#### THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <a href="http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/">http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/</a>

Students registered in Social Science should refer to <a href="http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/">http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/</a>
<a href="http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/havingproblems.asp">http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/havingproblems.asp</a> for information on Medical Policy, Term
<a href="Tests">Tests</a>, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

# **Plagiarism**

"Plagiarism: Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

<u>Plagiarism Checking:</u> "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com ( <a href="http://www.turnitin.com">http://www.turnitin.com</a> )."

<u>Multiple-choice tests/exams</u>: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. <a href="http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/">http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/</a>

#### **PLAGIARISM\***

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

# A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

# B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History
August 13, 1991

**Accessibility at Western:** Please contact <u>poliscie@uwo.ca</u> if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.

#### **SUPPORT SERVICES**

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western <a href="http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/">http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/</a> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.