

SYLLABUS FOR A COURSE ON “FREEDOM AND SECURITY”

This reading list is a template to help teachers design a syllabus for a course on “freedom and security” which utilizes *In Democracy’s Shadow: the Secret World of National Security* as the main text. It includes basic readings that provide some of the necessary background for understanding the references and arguments of the authors in the book, as well as more advanced readings appropriate for graduate-level study. As an inter-disciplinary course, it combines elements of philosophy, political theory, sociology, American history and political science. It also includes many primary source documents, providing students with a window into public policy making. Instructors can choose from among these readings in designing a syllabus.

The proposed course is framed around two broad debates that have been constants throughout American history: the first involves the rights of the citizen against the powers of the state, and the second concerns the nature, purpose and legitimacy of American expansionism. The first part of the course provides some brief historical context for these great ideological struggles while the conclusion revisits them in light of more recent structural changes in the American government, starting with the early Cold War era and arguably accelerating in the post-September 11 era.

The course concludes by discussing the state of democracy in America today. By that time students are equipped to evaluate the state of democracy in terms of the enduring debates introduced at the beginning of the course. Has state power triumphed over individual rights? How accountable is the government and how inclusive is the polity? Is American expansionism unchecked? Or alternatively, is expansionism necessary to protect against new types of dangers?

I. GREAT AMERICAN DEBATES

The first part of the course introduces the theories and histories behind two pairs of competing ideas in early American development. The first debate concerns the rights of the individual against the power of the state, which is often concisely personified in the rivalry between Jefferson and Hamilton. The course readings include classic court cases concerning freedom of speech and due process rights, seminal essays on individual liberty and selected government documents. These readings illustrate how the meanings of freedom and security were sensitive to context. The second debate deals with the nature of American expansionism, from Jefferson’s Louisiana Purchase, through the Monroe Doctrine and Theodore Roosevelt’s interventions. Critics of these policies included the nation’s most prominent intellectuals and writers.

The justifications used to defend the opposed positions in these two debates have changed over time, but the fundamental differences are still framed in terms of the limits of state power and the role of America in the world. Moreover, alliances have often formed across ideological divides, as for example the most vigilant defenders of civil liberties have sometimes been comfortable proponents of intervention.

A. Expansionism

The Federalist Papers, numbers 30, 31, 41 (on “common defense”), 51, 70

Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*, Chapters 12-13 for background on the constitutional convention and a discussion of the Federalist Papers. New York: Penguin, 2004.

George Washington, farewell address. <http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/farewell/transcript.html>

Theodore Roosevelt, “The Strenuous Life,” April 10, 1899.
<http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/trstrenlife.html>

Richard Barnett, “Jefferson’s Coup and Madison’s War” in *The Rockets’ Red Glare: When America Goes to War, the Presidents and the People*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.

Carnes Lord, “Machiavelli’s Realism” (pages 114-123) in Angelo Codevilla (ed.), *The Prince*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Gabriel Kolko, “World War One and the Emergence of the Left” in *Century of War: Politics, Conflict and Society since 1914*. New York: New Press, 1994.

Mark Twain, “To the Person Sitting in Darkness” (1901) in *Mark Twain’s Weapons of Satire: Anti-Imperialist Writings on the Philippine-American War*, edited by Jim Zwick. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992.

Robert L. Beisner, “The Anti-Imperialists and America” (pages 215 – 239) in *Twelve Against Empire: the Anti-Imperialists, 1898 – 1900*. New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

Gaddis Smith, Chapter 2, “The Historical Legacy,” (pages 21 – 40) in *The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine, 1945 – 1993*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1994.

John Maynard Keynes, “Economic Consequences of Peace,” Available at:
<http://historicaltextarchive.com/books.php?op=viewbook&bookid=12&cid=6>

B. Individual rights versus state power – Free Speech

W.E.B. DuBois, “Reconstruction and its Benefits” and “The Propaganda of History” in *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader*, edited by David Levering Lewis. New York: Holt and Company 1995.

Schenck v. United States (1919). 249 U.S. 47. Holmes’ opinion. Available at:
http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0249_0047_ZO.html

Michael J. Gaffney, Chapter 7, “Legal and Constitutional Issues,” (pages 197 – 218) in *Inside the Pentagon Papers*, edited by John Prados and Margaret Pratt Porter. University of Kansas Press, 2004.

Zechariah Chafee, *Free Speech in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

C. Individual rights in an Age of Terrorism

In Democracy's Shadow, Peter Raven-Hansen, "Security's Conquest of Law Enforcement"

Military Order on "Detention, Treatment, and Trial of Certain Non-Citizens in the War Against Terrorism" November 13, 2001.

Available at: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/news/2001/11/bush111301.html>

Memorandum from Alberto Gonzalez to President Bush, "Decision re: Application of the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War" January 25, 2002,

Available at: <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB127/02.01.25.pdf>

Assistant Attorney General Viet Dinh, "America After 9/11: Freedom Preserved or Freedom Lost," testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, November 18, 2003.

Available at: http://judiciary.senate.gov/testimony.cfm?id=998&wit_id=2877

U.S. Department of Justice, Report by the Office of the Inspector General, "The September 11 Detainees," June 2003. Available at: <http://www.usdoj.gov/oig/special/0306/index.htm>

Timothy Lynch, "Breaking the Vicious Cycle: Preserving Our Liberties While Fighting Terrorism" CATO Policy Analysis No. 443, June 26, 2002.

Available at: <http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-443es.html>

Hamdi v. Rumsfeld. Available at: <http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/03-6696.ZS.html>

Rasul v. Bush (2004). 321 F.3d. 1134. Stevens' opinion for the Court and Scalia's dissent.

Available at: <http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/03-334.ZS.html>

John Whitehead and Steven Aden, "Forfeiting 'Enduring Freedom' for 'Homeland Security': A Constitutional Analysis of the USA Patriot Act and the Justice Department's Anti-Terrorism Initiatives," *American University Law Review*, Vol. 51 (Oct. 2002): pages 1081-1133.

II. THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The end of World War Two led to the rise of nationalism, de-colonization, and democratization. Do the origins of the Cold War lie in these world events or elsewhere, for example within the interests of policy planners? This section of the course discusses how the Atomic bomb, the battle over Berlin, and post-war security arrangements not only refashioned America's role in the world but also restructured the American state in order to live out its new role. Nation building, foreign aid, security and global diplomacy all required new bureaucracies and rules which fundamentally altered the shape, size and powers of government.

A. General Introduction:

In Democracy's Shadow, Raskin and LeVan, "The National Security State and the Tragedy of Empire"

The 9/11 Commission Report, from Chapter 3, "Counter-terrorism evolves," pages 86 to 107.

William Appleman Williams, "Roosevelt and Stalin Confront the Dilemmas of Victory" (pages 204 – 228), *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*. New York: Delta Publishing 1972 (2nd Ed).

Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars.
http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=topics.home

B. The Atomic Age:

In Democracy's Shadow, Gar Alperovitz and Kai Bird, "The Centrality of the Atomic Bomb"

In Democracy's Shadow, Terrence Edward Paupp, "The Nuclear Crucible"

Henry Stimson, "The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Harper's* (Feb. 1947), reprinted in *Hiroshima's Shadow*, edited by Kai Bird and Lawrence Lifschultz. Stony Creek, CT: The Pamphleteer's Press, 1998.

C. National Interests and Foreign Aid:

Senator J. William Fulbright. Chapter 11, "A New Concept of Foreign Aid," (pages 223-241) in *The Arrogance of Power*. New York: Vintage Books.

Carol Lancaster, "Foreign Economic Aid" in *Foreign Policy in Focus*, Volume 5, No 42, December 2000. Available at: <http://foreignpolicy-infocus.org/>

Tom Barry, "The U.S. Isn't Stingy, It's Strategic," in *Foreign Policy in Focus*. Available at: <http://www.irc-online.org/content/commentary/2005/0501aid.php>

James Dobbins, Chapter 9, "Lessons Learned" in *America's Role in Nation Building: from Germany to Iraq* (pages 149 - 166). Santa Monica: RAND, 2003.

D. Germany, Europe and US:

In Democracy's Shadow, Norman Birnbaum, "The Cold War and the Fate of Democratic Culture"

Carolyn Eisenberg, "The Myth of the Berlin Blockade and the Early Cold War," in *Cold War Triumphalism and the Misuse of History After the Cold War*, edited by Ellen Schrecker and Maurice Isserman. New York: The New Press, 2004.

Foreign Affairs, special issue on Berlin Airlift (July/August 1998)

III. POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NATIONAL SECURITY

The National Security Act of 1947 created a national security infrastructure that facilitated the integration of military and domestic policy. The emergence of a "military industrial complex" promoted capitalist expansion and globalization as principal foreign policy objectives, and also created an economic sector dependent on permanent war. These national goals required changes to the structure of American government which remained largely intact until 9/11. The main alternative to these policies advocated throughout the 1970s and 80s was economic conversion, while the critique is now centered on the state's relationship to the economy in an era of

globalization. How are economic and national security objectives related? If they conflict, who decides which deserves priority?

A. The Military Industrial Complex

In Democracy's Shadow, Seymour Melman, "After Pentagon Capitalism"

Seymour Melman, *Pentagon Capitalism: the Political Economy of War*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.

NSC 68, April 14, 1950. Available at: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/nsc-68/nsc68-1.htm>

John Mintz, "The Secret's Out: Covert E-Systems Inc. Covets Commercial Sales," *Washington Post*, October 24, 1994, p. A1.

Steven Schwartz, *Atomic Audit: the Costs and Consequences of Nuclear Weapons Since 1940*. Excerpts available at: <http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/nucwcost/Introduction.htm>

B. American Global Capitalism

In Democracy's Shadow, Saul Landau, "The National Security State and the Global Economy: A Maquiladora Update"

"Notes on Foreign Economic Policy," memorandum by Max Millikan and Walt Rostow to Allen Dulles, 1954, reprinted in Christopher Simpson, *Universities and Empire*.

William Appleman Williams. "The Open Door Policy and the Onset of the Cold War" (pages 229 - 243) in *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*. New York: Delta Publishing 1972 (2nd Ed).

Lars Schoultz. Chapter 18, "Combating Communism with Economic Development" (pages 349 – 366) in *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Milton Friedman. "The Relation between Economic Freedom and Political Freedom," (pages 7 – 21) in *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Marcus Raskin. Chapter 4, "Capitalist Economics Fails Democracy" in *Liberalism: the Genius of American Ideals*. New York and Toronto: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.

IV. SECRECY AND DEMOCRACY

A government that relies on popular participation for legitimacy faces a dilemma if it decides that certain information should be withheld from the public. Does secrecy interfere with the public's ability to hold politicians accountable? Has it served its presumed goal of making America safer? When is secrecy justified? This section examines the origins of secrecy, the surprisingly arbitrary basis of authority for classification, and an alternative view of government based on a presumption of openness.

A. History of American Secrecy

In Democracy's Shadow, Anna Nelson, "The Seeds of Secrecy, then and Now"

Appendix A, "Secrecy: A Brief Account of the American Experience" in *Report of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Secrecy*, (Moynihan-Combest Commission), 1997. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/library/moynihan/index.html>

William Banks and Peter Raven-Hansen, Chapter 10, "The Statement and Account Clause as a Constitutional Limit on Black Budgets," (pages 100 – 105) in *National Security Law and the Power of the Purse*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Testimony of Professor Robert F. Turner, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence hearing on "Public Disclosure of the Intelligence Budget," February 1994. Available at: http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/1994_hr/turner.htm

Arthur Macy Cox. *The Myths of National Security: the Peril of Secret Government*. Chapter 2, "The Growth of the U.S. Secrecy System," (Pages 32 – 60). Boston: Beacon Press, 1975.

B. Culture of Secrecy

Thomas Emerson, Chapter 7, "Internal Security: Loyalty Qualifications for Employment," (pages 205 – 246) in *Free Speech, Free Expression and the First Amendment*. New York: Random House, 1970.

Memorandum from the Attorney General to the Speaker of the House regarding leaks, October 15, 2002. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/othergov/dojleaks.html>

C. Alternatives to Secrecy

"Socializing Intelligence" in *Intelligence in the Modern World: John Dewey's Philosophy*.

Prepared statements of witnesses at hearing of the House Committee on Government Reform, "Too Many Secrets: Overclassification as a Barrier to Information Sharing," August 24, 2004. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/congress/2004/index.html>

Kate Doyle, "The End of Secrecy: US National Security and the New Openness Movement" in *National Insecurity: US Intelligence after the Cold War*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000.

V. WAR POWERS

These readings ask who has the authority to make war and considers whether the locus of this power has shifted over the decades. It also explores why declarations of war are rare but government acts of war such as covert actions are surprisingly common. Has it become easier for the "king" to persuade the people to pay for war? How do limited wars, proxy wars, and technologies which insulate those who wage war from harm change the fundamental question of who has the authority to make war?

A. Limits on War Powers

In Democracy's Shadow, Raskin and LeVan, "The National Security State, War and Congress"

Youngstown Sheet and Tube v. Sawyer (343 U.S. 579). Available at: http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/search/display.html?terms=Youngstown&url=/supct/html/histories/USSC_CR_0343_0579_ZS.html

War Powers Report, blue ribbon panel report by the Constitution Project (forthcoming 2005)

Harold Hongju Koh, “Why the President Almost Always Wins in Foreign Affairs” (two chapters, pages 116 – 149) in *The National Security Constitution: Sharing Power after the Iran-Contra Affair*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

B. Iran-Contra Affair

Theodore Draper, *A Very Thin Line: The Iran-Contra Affairs*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1991. Chapter 1, “Contexts” (pages 1-26) and Chapter 25, “People with their Own Agenda,” (pages 558-579).

Central Intelligence Agency, “Scope of CIA Activities under the Nicaragua Finding,” September 19, 1983. Oliver North, “U.S. Political/Military Strategy for Nicaragua” (Plan to Overthrow the Sandinista Government), ca. July 15, 1985. Both memos appear in Part One of *The Iran-Contra Scandal: the Declassified History*, edited by Peter Kornbluh and Malcolm Byrne. New York: The New Press, 1993.

C. The Gulf of Tonkin

Robert McNamara, *In Retrospect: the Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*. New York: Random House, 1995. Chapter 5, “The Tonkin Gulf Resolution” pages 127-143.

Daniel Ellsberg, Chapter 1, “The Tonkin Gulf: August 1964” (pages 7 – 20) in *Secrets: A Memoir on Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers*. New York: Viking, 2002.

D. Terrorism and War Powers

In Democracy's Shadow, Peter Weiss, “Weapons of Mass Destruction and Human Rights”

Thom Shanker and Eric Schmitt, “Threats and Responses: the Defense Secretary,” *New York Times*, March 19, 2003, page A1.

Memorandum from Deputy Assistant Attorney General to the Deputy Counsel to the President, “The President’s Constitutional Authority to Conduct Military Operations Against Terrorists,” September 25, 2001. Available at:

<http://www.fas.org/irp/agency/doj/olc092501.html>

S. J. Res. 23, “Authorizing Use of Force against those Responsible for the Recent Attacks on the United States.” Sept. 14, 2001.

Available at: <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?c107:2:./temp/~c107o1PpQ1::>

VI. REFORMS AND ACCOUNTABILITY

The waves of intelligence reforms in the 1970s, the 1980s sought to address abuses of authority, such as illegal domestic spying or covert subversion of foreign policy. Reforms since the 1990s have focused more on how to prevent intelligence failures such as the fall of the Soviet Union and the 9/11 attacks. Are the sources of reform proposals (Congress, independent commissions, and the bureaucracy) limited by shared assumptions and constraints? How does the logic of incremental reform differ from a broader approach? Do the courts offer an effective check against national security bureaucracy? Is the CIA a “rogue elephant” or an arm of the president?

Joseph Rauh and James Turner, “Anatomy of a Public Interest Case Against the CIA,” *Hamline Journal of Public Law and Policy*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (fall 1990): 306-363.

The 9/11 Commission Report, from Chapter 13, “How to do it?” pages 407-419

Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the US Intelligence Community, Chapter 14, “Accountability and Oversight.” Available at: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/int018.html>

Roger Hilsman, “After the Cold War: the Need for Intelligence Reform,” in *National Insecurity: US Intelligence after the Cold War*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000.

Church Committee Report

Marcus Raskin, “Nixon Before the Storm: Supreme Survivor and Master Politician” and “Nixon’s Watergate” in *Notes on the Old System*. New York: McKay, 1974.

Bush Moves to limit disclosures to Congress, memorandum dated October 5, 2001. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/bush/gwb100501.html>

Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, House Judiciary Committee, “CISPES and FBI Counterterrorism Investigations,” Hearings held June 13 and September 16, 1988.

VI. MULTILATERALISM AND UNILATERALISM

Does America in fact have a “special” role in the world? Is American unilateralism a justifiable response to collective dilemmas of collective security? The League of Nations sought to resolve international disputes peacefully. The United Nations continued this hope and provided a forum where voices from the “Third World” could be heard. Both organizations rested on the premise that international law offered a framework for achieving the common interests of peace and prosperity. Is a rule of law grounded in international law compatible with American national interests?

A. League of Nations, UN, and NATO

President Woodrow Wilson’s 14 Points, 1918.

Available at: <http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/facts/democrac/51.htm>

Richard Barnet, “The Fight for the League of Nations” in *The Rockets’ Red Glare: When America Goes to War, the Presidents and the People*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.

Quincy Wright, "The Outlawry of War and the Law of War," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (July 1953), pp. 365 – 376.

Tariq Ali, "NATO's Balkan Crusade" (pages 345 – 359) in *Masters of the Universe? NATO's Balkan Crusade*. Edited by Tariq Ali. London and New York: Verso, 2000.

James Goldgeier, "NATO: Expansion: Anatomy of a Decision." *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 21 (Winter 1998), pages 85-102.

Marcus Raskin, "The UN and its Unfulfilled Ideals" in *Visions and Revisions: Reflections on Culture and Democracy at the End of the Century*. New York: Olive Branch, 1995.

B. The Nature of American Unilateralism

White House. *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*. December 1999. Preface through page 14. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/man/docs/nssr-1299.pdf>

"Governing the Globe" by Michael Walzer in *Arguing About War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces, and Resources for a New Century, Project for the New American Century, September 2000. (See Sections I and II.) Available at: <http://www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf>

C. The Iraq War and Multilateralism

In Democracy's Shadow, Richard Falk, "The Iraq War and the Future of International Law"

President Bush's speech to the United Nations General Assembly, September 12, 2002. Available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020912-1.html>

Arthur Schlesinger, *War and the American Presidency*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2004. Chapter 1.

Tony Judt, "Its Own Worst Enemy," (review of *The Paradox of American Power* by Joseph Nye) *New York Review of Books*, August 15, 2002, pages 10-17.

VIII. THREATS AND THREAT DEFINITION

What is a threat? Who decides what is dangerous to the nation? If government is organized to identify and respond to threats, does it generate them as well? The term "national security" was virtually unknown in policy parlance until 1947 and its history is intertwined with the creation of Cold War institutions. These readings explore the sociology of threats – both real and imagined.

A. General Background

In Democracy's Shadow, Steinbruner and Lewis, "The Nuclear Legacy of the Cold War"

White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, pages 13 – 16, "Prevent Our Enemies from Threatening Us, Our Allies, and Our Friends."

Available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.pdf>

White House, *A National Security Strategy for A New Century*, pages 14 – 21 on “Responding to Threats.” Available at: <http://www.fas.org/man/docs/nssr-1299.pdf>

Marcus Raskin, “The Violence Colony: Authority and the Social Contract,” in *Being and Doing*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

B. Terrorism

The 9/11 Commission Report, Chapter 2, “The Foundation of the New Terrorism,” pages 47-70.

Dan Eggen and Sari Horwitz, “As January 20 Nears, Terror Warnings Drop: Faulty Intelligence, Dated Information Led to Cautions.” *The Washington Post*, January 18, page A1.

Briefing Memorandum on Terrorism for the Secretary of State, 1976.

Available at: http://wid.ap.org/documents/nixonterror/1976briefing_memo.pdf

C. Iraq as a Threat

National Security Directive 54, “Responding to Iraqi Aggression in the Gulf,” January 15, 1991.

Available at: <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB39/>

President Bush’s speech to the United Nations General Assembly, September 23, 2003.

Available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030923-4.html>

White House Fact Sheet, “A Decade of Deception and Defiance.” Available at:

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020912.html>

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, “WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications.”

Available at: <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/events/index.cfm?fa=eventDetail&id=663>

D. Missile Threats

Richard Neustadt and Graham Allison, The Afterword to *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*, by Robert Kennedy (Pages 101 - 145). New York: W.W. Norton, 1999.

Memorandum by Theodore Sorensen, “Summary of Facts and Premises, Possible Courses of Action” October 17, 1962. See also CIA National Intelligence Estimate, “Major Consequences of Certain U.S. Courses of Action” in *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962*, (pages 124-125 and 144-153), edited by Laurence Chang and Peter Kornbluh.

Excerpts from the DCI National Intelligence Estimate, President’s Summary. *Commission to Assess the Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States*. July 15, 1998. Available at:

http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/press/companion/defendingamerica/appendix_c.htm

Frances FitzGerlad, Chapter 4, “Space Defense Enthusiasts” (pages 114 – 146) in *Way Out There in the Blue: Reagan, Star Wars, and the End of the Cold War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000.

XIX. CIVIL SOCIETY

The editors of *In Democracy's Shadow* suggest that state hegemony over the public sphere is growing. Many political theorists have claimed that an autonomous civil society is necessary for democratic stability. Tocqueville claimed that this autonomy – and this stability – was buttressed by a constitution and a culture that protect extreme viewpoints. Contemporary democratic theorists have refashioned his ideas about civil society as “social capital.” This week examines how movements as diverse as McCarthyism, liberation theology, populist anti-government militias, civil defense in the 1960's and contemporary preparation for attacks all impacted state-society relations.

A. Civil Society and the State

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

- “Administrative Power” in chapter on “Social Conditions in America”
- “Political and Civil Associations” and “Freedom of the Press”

Anne Norton, “Closing the American Mind” (pages 57-73) in *Leo Strauss and the Politics of American Empire*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004.

B. Alternative Views of Civil Society

Herman Kahn, *Thinking about the Unthinkable*, Chapter 3, “Thinking about Civil Defense.” New York: Horizon Press, 1962.

Richard Hofstadter, “The Paranoid Style in American Politics” (pages 3 – 40) in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1965.

Morris P. Fiorina, “Extreme Voices: A Dark Side of Civic Engagement,” in *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, Skocpol and Fiorina eds. (1999)

Alice Walker, “Nobody Was Supposed to Survive: the MOVE Massacre” in *Living by the Word*, San Diego and New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988.

In Democracy's Shadow, Marcus Raskin, “Out of the Shadows” (See especially the section about the meeting of American governors)

Ruth Rosen, Chapter 7, “The Politics of Paranoia,” (pages 227 – 260) in *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*. New York: Viking 2000.

X. KNOWLEDGE AND POWER

The birth of the Cold War coincided with major developments in the social sciences and humanities, as well as new techniques that allowed elites to gauge – and in turn shape – public opinion. These technologies ranged from television, radio and polling, to covert propaganda efforts aimed at reducing Communism's “allure.” What is the relationship between those who hold political power and those who pursue knowledge presumably for the greater good of society? What is the purpose of the university? Should the integrity of academic inquiry be insulated from the government's policy objectives?

A. The National Security State and the University

In Democracy's Shadow, Dwyer and Dwyer, "Courtrooms and College Campuses: Inside the National Security State"

Loch Johnson, "The CIA in the Groves of Academe," in *America's Secret Power* (1989)

Warner Schilling, "Scientists, Foreign Policy, and Politics" *APSR* Vol. 65, No. 2, (June 1962): 287-300. Reprinted in *American National Security*, Edited by Morton Berkowitz and P.B. Bock.

Irene Gendzier, "Play it Again Sam: the Practice and Apology of Development" in *Universities and Empire*, edited by Christopher Simpson.

Academic Freedom and National Security in a Time of Crisis, A report by the American Association of University Professors, November/December 2003.

Available at: <http://www.aaup.org/statements/REPORTS/Post9-11.pdf>

Marcus Raskin and Herbert Bernstein, "Towards a Reconstructive Political Science" in *New Ways of Knowing: the Sciences, Society, and Reconstructive Knowledge*, Raskin and Bernstein, eds. (1987)

Thomas Emerson, Chapter 16, "Academic Freedom" (pages 593 - 626) in *Free Speech, Free Expression and the First Amendment*. New York: Random House, 1970.

Martin Carnoy, "Education as Internal Colonialism: Educational Reform and Social Control in the United States, 1830 - 1970" in *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. New York: Longman, 1974.

Rebecca Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: the Transformation of Stanford*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Lisa Anderson, *Pursuing Truth, Exercising Power: Social Science and Public Policy in the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

B. Politics versus Science

Franz Boas, "Scientists as Spies", *The Nation*, December 20, 1919 (reprinted in *Universities and Empire*)

Bruce Cummings, "Boundary Displacement: Area Studies and International Studies During and After the Cold War," in Chris Simpson, *Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in the Social Sciences During the Cold War* (1998)

Marcus Raskin, "The Megadeath Intellectuals" *New York Review of Books* Vol. 1, No. 6, November 14, 1963.

Statement by the Atomic Energy Commission in the Matter of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, June 29, 1954. Available at: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/abomb/opp06.htm>

House Government Reform Committee, minority website on “Politics and Science” at: http://www.democrats.reform.house.gov/features/politics_and_science/index.htm

C. Information and Propaganda

David Barstow and Robin Stein, “Under Bush, a New Age of Prepackaged News,” *New York Times*, March 13, 2005, page A1.

Saul Padover, *Jefferson*. Connecticut: Konecky & Konecky, 1942 (1980). See pages 195-218 and 227-230 on the Frenau affair.

Christopher Simpson, *Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare, 1945 – 1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

XI. “NEW” DEMOCRATIZATION

The most recent “wave” of democratization ushered in optimism about the ability of political institutions to resolve problems, the organizing of elections to increase political participation (and political legitimacy), and the effects of democracy on international stability. However, the world has seen hope as well as horrors since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 in countries as diverse as Iraq, Haiti, the United States, and Rwanda. Is democracy “the last great idea” and if so, is there an appropriate role for the United States in the world?

A. Universal Theory

Francis Fukuyama, Chapter 5, “An Idea for a Universal History” (pages 55 – 70) in *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: the Free Press, 1992.

Isaiah Berlin, “The Decline of Utopian Ideas in the West,” in *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

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XII. RECONSTRUCTING DEMOCRACY

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