

# FACTS STILL COUNT

AN ANALYSIS OF  
DAVID HOROWITZ'S  
*ONE-PARTY CLASSROOM*



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The free exchange of ideas on a college or university campus is central to the learning process. Today, this freedom is being threatened by ideological agendas, like the so-called Academic Bill of Rights and intellectual diversity initiatives.

### Our mission:

Free Exchange on Campus is committed to advocating for the rights of students and faculty to hear and express a full range of ideas unencumbered by political or ideological interference.

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- People for the American Way Foundation / Young People For Progressive States Network
- Roosevelt Institution
- United States Student Association
- Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Nearly three years after our first report, *Facts Count*, debunked the accusations against faculty members and higher education in David Horowitz's 2006 book, *The Professors*, we find ourselves confronted with yet another round of attacks against higher education in his latest book, *One-Party Classroom*, which he co-authored with Jacob Laskin.

Our conclusion, after reading this new book and examining its arguments and their factual bases, is the same as it was in 2006: Facts still count, and Horowitz's arguments still sorely lack supporting evidence.

New policies that affect higher education should not be undertaken lightly, considering the millions of students and future leaders attending American colleges and universities, the communities relying on important research to solve our collective challenges, and the policymakers depending on institutions to add economic vitality and growth to their districts.

Unfortunately, instead of the rigorous examination upon which future policies and planning should be based, Horowitz's analysis in *One-Party Classroom* closely resembles the shoddy research and baseless conclusions in *The Professors*. Like previous works from Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom* attempts to indict all of higher education based on examples the authors have cherry-picked and then distorted beyond any semblance of reality.

This report examines the inaccuracies in *One-Party Classroom's* accusations, as well as the lack of evidence and faulty logic underlying its claims and conclusions. As in his previous works, Horowitz cites only a scant number of academics and courses, and then makes broad generalizations and indictments of higher education based on that unrepresentative sampling. In this book, Horowitz adds to his research problems by reviewing only course syllabi available online, faculty member profiles and reading lists—often incompletely and/or inaccurately—and failing to include any real measure of what occurs in a course. In particular, this report will examine:

### Conclusions and accusations based on incomplete and inaccurate course syllabi.

Horowitz repeatedly uses inaccurate copies of course descriptions, intentionally omits sections of course descriptions and simply misquotes course descriptions, when claiming that a course, department or faculty member's work is inappropriate for higher education. With a lack of accurate evidence, Horowitz's conclusions fail to hold water.

### Misrepresentations of classroom reading lists.

Repeatedly, Horowitz cites the reading list of a course as evidence that it is used to indoctrinate rather than educate—typically because his representation of the reading list contains only perspectives of which he disapproves. However, in a number of examples, Horowitz's account literally leaves out books and reading assignments that would disprove his claims.

### Misrepresentations of faculty members' credentials.

As in his previous attacks on higher education, one of Horowitz's chief complaints is that faculty members lack the credentials to teach their courses. Similar to his treatment of reading lists, Horowitz relies on, at best, incomplete information to make his claims. He repeatedly leaves out significant research or writing in the relevant field when making his accusations.

Facts still count, and our assessment of Horowitz's latest book finds it sorely lacking. Much like *The Professors*, the data in *One-Party Classroom* is cherry-picked, manipulated or grossly blown out of proportion to serve Horowitz's agenda—to smear and discredit higher education. To the extent *One-Party Classroom* provides evidence of any trend, it demonstrates only the consistency of Horowitz's biases against higher education.

## INTRODUCTION: IDEOLOGY, NOT METHODOLOGY

Extraordinary claims require extraordinary evidence, evidence derived using recognized and rational methods that can be replicated and verified. In *One-Party Classroom*, David Horowitz does not meet even minimal standards for sound research methodology (as outlined in our document, *The “Faculty Bias” Studies: Science or Propaganda*). He presents an unrepresentative sampling of institutions, departments and courses in higher education. Upon that shaky foundation, Horowitz then plugs in distorted and inaccurate data, and makes a series of logical leaps that would make any reader, much less an academic researcher, cringe.

In sum, not only do *facts count*, but what one does with those facts counts as well. *One-Party Classroom* fails by all measures—failing both by having gross inaccuracies and by having a methodology that does not hold water.

Throughout the introduction and body of *One-Party Classroom*, Horowitz repeatedly asserts that the courses he chooses to highlight should be taken as representative of higher education as a whole. Despite admitting that these courses constitute “merely the most obvious cases among others we could have chosen at these schools,”<sup>1</sup> Horowitz presents no appendix, illustrative Web site or supplementary text showing that these courses indicate a representative sample. Yet he asserts:

*[I]f we were to extrapolate from the materials examined here, taking into account the total number of institutions offering advanced degrees, the result would be as many as 10,000 [emphasis in original] college classes nationwide whose primary purpose is not to educate students but to train them in left-wing ideologies and political agendas. The students who pass through these courses annually are numbered in the millions.<sup>2</sup>*

This assertion is highly suspect when viewed from any number of logical or statistical perspectives. Among the serious flaws in Horowitz’s data set:

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1 David Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom: How Radical Professors at America’s Top Colleges Indoctrinate Students and Undermine Our Democracy* (New York: Crown Forum, 2009), 5.

2 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 6.

Horowitz surveys only 12 institutions out of more than 4,000 in the United States, roughly one-quarter of 1 percent of all American colleges and universities.

The 12 institutions that Horowitz does study can hardly be considered a representative sampling of higher education in the United States. Of the 12, none have a student population below 12,000 and all but two have a student population of over 20,000. Further, only fairly elite institutions are sampled—either one of a state’s flagship public universities,<sup>3</sup> elite private institutions,<sup>4</sup> or well-ranked state institutions.<sup>5</sup> None of the schools are community colleges, technical colleges, religious institutions or even smaller regional state institutions.

Horowitz picks and chooses the courses from a small and fairly narrow set of departments. He does not sample a single course from a business school, engineering school or agricultural school. Even from within what most schools label the school of letters and sciences (or similar), he entirely omits courses in economics, art history, astronomy, biology, chemistry, theater, classics, computer sciences, languages, mathematics, linguistics, philosophy, psychology and statistics.

Even in departments he does sample, Horowitz focuses his attention on only a few faculty members. While the University of Texas has 25 faculty members in communication studies, Horowitz only samples courses taught by Professor Dana Cloud. While the University of Arizona has 46 faculty members who are either in the political science department or affiliated with it, Horowitz only samples courses taught by Professor V. Spike Peterson.

Even the examples he does cite are rife with inaccuracies and distortions, as will be discussed later in this report.

The data set of *One-Party Classroom* aside, Horowitz still makes an enormous logical leap in asserting that the courses he surveys are examples of anything other than his personal dislikes. To make the case that his survey is somehow representative of higher education as a whole, Horowitz argues:

*To create an academic course requires the approval of the tenured leaders of an academic department who have been hired and then promoted by other senior faculty. For a department to survive and flourish, its curriculum must be recognized and approved by professional associations that are national in scope. Consequently, the fact that a course in how to organize a revolution is offered at one of the nation’s distinguished academic institutions speaks volumes about the contemporary university and what it has come to regard as an appropriate academic course of study.<sup>6</sup>*

3 University of Colorado, Penn State University, University of Texas, University of Arizona, Arizona State University, Temple University and the University of Missouri.

4 Duke University, Columbia University and the University of Southern California.

5 Miami University of Ohio and the University of California-Santa Cruz.

6 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 2.

In other words, because he disagrees with the content of roughly 150 courses, all of higher education also is suspect. Supposing this is true, it must also mean that because several people won claims against their doctors or lawyers for malpractice, all professionals sanctioned by the American Medical Association and American Bar Association are suspect.

Even if Horowitz's logic was sound and even if his survey was representative of higher education as a whole, his research method—to download course syllabi, and copy and paste faculty profiles from Web sites—is hardly a valid way to determine what occurs in a college classroom. Only a couple of the course profiles reference a student's statement, and none show data from student evaluations or a similar measure of how most students felt about a course. Further, as any college student or graduate can attest, what appears on a syllabus is at best a preview of the course content. While most of the required readings, major tests and papers, and even sometimes the broad topics of a lecture are listed, a couple of pages cannot give any real window into what happens in the hours of lecture and discussion, and hundreds of pages of reading, found in a college course.

Unfortunately, the problems with *One-Party Classroom* do not end with methodology. The "facts" cited by Horowitz consistently suffer from the same distortions and inaccuracies as they did in *The Professors*. Facts counted then, and they still count now.

## FACTUAL ERRORS: INCOMPLETE AND INACCURATE MATERIALS

In making his ideologically motivated arguments, David Horowitz reprises his dubious methodology of cherry-picking inflammatory quotations from course materials available online, while ignoring other parts of these materials if they are inconvenient to proving his thesis. This time, rather than simply misquoting or cherry-picking quotations from current information, he sometimes stretches nearly a decade back to find his source material.

The following are all examples that omit information disproving Horowitz's arguments. These are hardly innocuous mistakes. Horowitz then uses these examples to form conclusions and accusations that are built on blatantly misrepresented data, and thus have no basis in fact. In this way, much of *One-Party Classroom* is the equivalent of researching a dissertation in chemistry using a 19th-century alchemy textbook as source material—and then misquoting it.

### University of California Santa Cruz

#### Max Boykoff

Horowitz attacks former University of California at Santa Cruz graduate student Max Boykoff, claiming that in Boykoff's "Environmental Justice" course, "[u]ncritical promotion of radical ideology is thus the principal, even sole, aim of this course."<sup>7</sup> As proof of Boykoff's goal to indoctrinate students into a radical ideology perpetuating the existence of global warming, Horowitz quotes from the introduction to the syllabus, which explored how movements for environmental justice operated. He also critiques two books assigned for the course, *Environmentalism Unbound*, which, he claims, is anti-capitalist, and *Dead Heat: Globalization and Global Warming*, whose authors, he claims, "assume that the threat is not only inarguable but lethal, and that it is directed at the poor."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 259.

<sup>8</sup> Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 259.

Boykoff never taught, and UCSC never held, the course Horowitz discusses. He did, in 2004 and 2005, teach a course titled “Ecological Forecast for Global Warming.” The course description for this course would have challenged Horowitz’s critique of Boykoff. For this course—a course that actually was taught—both the course description and reading list suggest anything but an “uncritical promotion of radical ideology.” Readings included “The Global Warming Fiasco,” in *Global Warming and other Eco-Myths: How the Environmental Movement Uses False Science to Scare Us to Death*, “Global Warming: Messy Models, Decent Data and Pointless Policy,” in *The True State of the Planet: Ten of the World’s Premier Environmental Researchers in a Major Challenge to the Environmental Movement*, and *Meltdown: The Predictable Distortion of Global Warming by Scientists, Politicians, and the Media*.<sup>9</sup> All three of these readings provide information on the debate over global warming and address the issue from a variety of scholarly perspectives.

In the time since Boykoff taught his misrepresented course, he has received his Ph.D., and has been a lecturer and research fellow at Oxford University for three years. He co-authored and edited a book called *Contentious Geographies: Environmental Knowledge, Meaning and Scale*, which focuses on human and environment relations in various contexts and settings, and he also has published numerous peer-reviewed articles.<sup>10</sup>

## University of California Santa Cruz

Bruce Larkin

Horowitz claims that Professor Larkin’s course, “The Politics of the War on Terrorism,” “denies that the terrorist attacks of September 11 were carried out by al-Qaeda.”<sup>11</sup> Horowitz’s claim, however, has no basis in fact. Not only does he cite an outdated version of the syllabus to make this assertion, but he misquotes it. The syllabus he quotes does NOT say “How did Bush and Cheney build the fiction that al-Qaeda was a participant in the 9/11 attacks.”<sup>12</sup>

Larkin has never denied al-Qaeda planned the attacks of Sept. 11. The actual syllabus reads, “How did Bush and Cheney build the fiction that *Iraq* [emphasis added] was a participant in the 9/11 attacks,”<sup>13</sup> raising a question about what, if any, connections existed between Iraq and al-Qaeda before the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Horowitz’s analysis of the course as a “left-wing case against U.S. policy”<sup>14</sup> further assumes that only left-leaning or anti-U.S. perspectives are taught. However, in the readings for the course, numerous perspectives on the war on terrorism, including the

9 Boykoff, “Ecological Forecast for Global Warming,” syllabus ENVS 80B.

10 <http://www.eci.ox.ac.uk/people/boykoffmax.php>

11 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 268.

12 See Appendix E.

13 <http://www.learnworld.com/COURSES/P72/P72.Syllabus.html>

14 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 268.

entire *9/11 Commission Report*, are presented. The full reading list was added for the final syllabus, as opposed to the “preliminary” syllabus from 2002 that Horowitz used as reference for his accusations.<sup>15</sup>

## The University of Texas at Austin

Mary Celeste Kearney

In order to prove his claims that Professor Kearney is indoctrinating her students, Horowitz is forced to search back for a course that is over nine years old. He ignores all of her current courses at UT Austin. His claims regarding this nearly decade-old course also are inaccurate. Horowitz argues that “after taking this course, students are expected not only to be familiar with but also to espouse feminist theories.”<sup>16</sup>

On the contrary, the syllabus says (and Horowitz conveniently omits) that “students are not required to watch screenings they find offensive, and should discuss such matters with the professor in advance so as to determine alternate screenings.” Students are encouraged to participate by “expressing their opinions and raising provocative questions about the course material. In turn, students are expected to be respectful of and open to others’ opinions and questions, thus facilitating rather than closing down critical debate. Students are encouraged to make suggestions on additional readings, screenings, musical texts, and research materials.” In no way are they ever required to “espouse” feminist theories if they do not share that view point.<sup>17</sup> Horowitz does note that Kearney’s syllabus encourages students to suggest further readings, but then editorializes that “they will recommend critiques of feminist politics at their peril.”<sup>18</sup> As usual, he offers no evidence from the classroom to substantiate this comment.

## University of Colorado

AnnJanette Rosga

As with his other attempts to smear faculty members, Horowitz omits important information from Professor Rosga’s syllabus that would contradict his assertions. He claims that Rosga’s “synopsis readily acknowledges that the course does not make “any pretense to comprehensiveness.”<sup>19</sup> This quote, however, is taken out of context. The syllabus actually reads,

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15 The syllabus quoted by Horowitz, reproduced here in Appendix E, notes, “This syllabus is ‘preliminary’ because we wish to take advantage of works which may be published in late Spring. If this course were taught today, the reading would consist of the following books and a reader or online materials providing the texts for discussion.”

16 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 120.

17 Mary C. Kearney, “Theories of Gender and Sexuality,” syllabus RTF 386C (fall 2000). See Appendix C.

18 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 121.

19 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 40.

*Depending on how one slices it, “feminist theory” can span decades (if not centuries), disciplines, genres, agendas, languages, cultures, geographies and topical foci. Possible organizational schemas for a graduate seminar on this material proliferate wildly. Rather than attempting a representative sampling or making **any pretense to comprehensiveness** [emphasis added], this course will focus primarily on feminist theories that are generally categorized as “poststructuralist,” and will endeavor to ensure that students acquire sufficient vocabulary and familiarity with key texts to understand and work with these theories. Among other things, this means that the course will prioritize a reckoning with the epistemological ramifications of poststructuralist feminist theory: how do writings that fall within this loosely bounded arena impact the kinds of questions we might ask in social research? What “moves” do they enable us to make in our study of social phenomena? What are the assumptions made by these theories and how might they affect what we think we know about the social world, how we “know” it, and what any of us think we’re up to when we set out to “study” it?<sup>20</sup>*

When Rosga states that the course does not make “any pretense to comprehensiveness,” she is referring to the fact that her course presents material on theories from the poststructuralist era and therefore is not indicative of the total history of feminist theory. Further, the epistemological questions that are posed by Rosga offer an examination of feminist theory that would provide students ample opportunity to make up their own minds about the applications of feminist principles. The course also provided the students with an opportunity to question one of the authors whose work was taught in the course (Donna Harraway), which gave them a convenient opportunity to debate on the text.

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<sup>20</sup> [http://sobek.colorado.edu/SOC/syllabi\\_files/SOCY%205036%20Rosga%20Spr05.htm](http://sobek.colorado.edu/SOC/syllabi_files/SOCY%205036%20Rosga%20Spr05.htm)

## FACTUAL ERRORS: GROSS MISREPRESENTATION OF READING LISTS

Many of the accusations that Horowitz makes about the few courses he surveys in *One-Party Classroom* stem from a complete misrepresentation of course reading lists. Repeatedly, in order to arrive at convenient conclusions, Horowitz adds and subtracts books from reading lists so that they fit his narrative of courses that only teach a liberal perspective. Whether intentional lies or yet more examples of research that is sloppy in the extreme, methodologically this flies in the face of all scientific principles, which Horowitz claims to be defending by attacking these courses.

### University of Southern California

Douglas Becker

When Horowitz attacks Professor Becker's course, "Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies," he focuses on three texts assigned for the course, claiming that these texts present only arguments from the left and "leftist propaganda." One of these three, *Beyond Appeasement: Interpreting Interwar Peace Movements in the World*, has not been taught in the course for years.<sup>21</sup> Another of the books he criticizes is written by the International Peace Academy, *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict*, and Horowitz contends that this book's call for a "more concerted regulatory effort" is a call for a global government. He misunderstands the book's concept of "global governance," which holds funding sources responsible for the actions of extremist groups (for example, in Sri Lanka, ending the Tamil Tigers' use of charity groups to raise funds for weapons).<sup>22</sup>

In addition to these errors, another four books and several more articles are assigned for the course that are ignored entirely in the analysis of *One-Party Classroom*.<sup>23</sup> Thomas Biersteker and Sue Eckert's book *Countering the Financing of Terrorism* focuses on the technical ways that states counter terrorist networks, and makes a case for connections between organized crime and terrorist groups, which hardly seems like indoctrination

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<sup>21</sup> See Appendix D.

<sup>22</sup> Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman, eds., *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003).

<sup>23</sup> <http://college.usc.edu/sir/pdf/310.pdf>

into “anti-war activism.”<sup>24</sup> The course also features *Children at War* by P.W. Singer, a book that deals with an actual cult of indoctrination. It exposes the tactics used by militias that kidnap and train children in order to bolster their ranks. The other texts required for the course offer perspectives on the peace movement from the left and the right.

## Columbia University

Paul Kockelman

Horowitz claims that Professor Kockelman’s course, “Labor and Exchange, Measurement and Value,” “is a course in Marxism as seen through the lens of Marx’s magnum opus, *Das Kapital*, one of only two texts assigned for the course.”<sup>25</sup> In fact, this course features seven required books, a course packet with additional reading, and another nine recommended books that the instructor directs students to during the lectures. The required texts are:

- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1990 [1951]) *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1969 [1940]) *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marx, Karl. (1967 [1867]) *Capital*, volume 1. New York: New World Paperback.
- Hobbes, Thomas. (1994 [1668]) *Leviathan*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Maine, Henry Sumner. (2002 [1866]) *Ancient Law*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Polanyi, Karl. (1957 [1944]) *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon Hill. (Key selections in course-packet.)

While these texts are far more varied than the two Horowitz presents as the only texts taught in Kockelman’s course, they are not all of the reading for the course. The professor also covers the following list of recommended readings in his lectures:

- Foley, Duncan K. (1986) *Understanding Capital: Marx’s Economic Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Fox, Robin. (1983 [1967]) *Kinship and Marriage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harvey, David. (1982) *The Limits to Capital*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hutchinson, Sharon E. (1996) *Nuer Dilemmas*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Medema, S. and W. Samuels. (2003) *History of Economic Thought: A Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Postone, Moishe. (1993) *Time, Labor, and Social Domination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ricardo, David. (1996 [1817]) *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Sahlins, Marshall. (1972) *Stone Age Economics*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter. (Key selections in course-packet.)
- Smith, Adam. (1976 [1776]) *The Wealth of Nations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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24 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 245.

25 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 73.

Horowitz claims that Kockelman has the “dubious propriety of uncritically teaching Marxist economics.”<sup>26</sup> However, it is clear from analyzing the complete reading lists that Kockelman offers a variety of perspectives throughout his course.

## University of Southern California

Anthony Kemp

Horowitz says of Professor Kemp's course, “Theories of History, Ideology, and Politics”:

*This is not a course in literature. The title of the course suggests it would be better situated in any one of several other departments—history, sociology, political science. Its real focus, however, is not any of those fields but, more simply, left-wing propaganda. The course centers on the radical claim that society is a façade for sinister class interests.*<sup>27</sup>

Horowitz starts from the simplistic assumption that all English classes should be limited to reading literature. This is simply not how English is taught. Specifically, for this class, Horowitz ignores the well-established perspective that examines the intersection of history, sociology, and political science known as New Historicism,<sup>28</sup> which uses nonliterary documents to better understand the historical context for works of Western literature.

Consequently, Horowitz oversimplifies the organizational basis of the course, which, according to the syllabus, is not the “radical claim that society is a façade for sinister class interests,” but is instead the idea that “[t]he modern is distinguished by the conjunction of three unprecedented modes of thought: the historicist, the ideological, and the utopian-political.” These are examined as a literary topic because “[t]he conjunction of these three can be said to constitute the master-narrative of the modern.”<sup>29</sup>

Horowitz also claims that,

*The subject of ideology has been addressed by many writers from many angles, but this course chooses only one—Karl Marx—to provide its organizing concept. Thus the official course description states: “Ideological thought posits that the conscious and semi-conscious idea-systems of a society are manifestations of false-consciousness, a covering, concealing, mystifying, containing screen for the reality of social relations, that is, for privileged, exploitative interests of material and economic power.”*<sup>30</sup>

26 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 73.

27 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 234.

28 [http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/glossary/New\\_historicism.html](http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/glossary/New_historicism.html)

29 <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/engl/pdf/Summer2008.pdf>

30 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 234.

The course does not choose only one ideological angle—in fact, Marx is only one of many different theorists to make their way into the syllabus. Kemp includes thinkers as varied as Rousseau, Freud and Nietzsche:

Rousseau, [Discourse on the Origins of Inequality](#)

Schama, [Citizens](#)

Marx, [The German Ideology](#)

Engels, [Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of German Philosophy](#)

Nietzsche, [The Genealogy of Morals](#); [Twilight of the Idols/The Antichrist](#); "Truth and Falsity in an Ultramoral Sense"

Freud, [Civilization and Its Discontents](#); [Dora](#); [Totem and Taboo](#)

Levi Strauss, [The Savage Mind](#)

Althusser, [Lenin and Philosophy](#)

Lacan, [Ecrits](#)

Foucault, [Discipline and Punish](#)

Nicholson, ed., [The Second Wave](#)

Debord, [The Society of the Spectacle](#)

Said, [Orientalism](#)

Weil, [Oppression and Liberty](#)

Horowitz's excerpt from the course description is misleading and misrepresentative; while quoted language is in the course description, it is given as background on ONE mode of thought explored in the class: ideology. He fails to quote from the other two topics discussed in this class: historicism and the utopian-political. The diversity of subjects examined in this course goes unstated.<sup>31</sup>

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31 <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/eng/pdf/Summer2008.pdf>

## FACTUAL ERRORS: FALSELY STATING PROFESSORS' CREDENTIALS

In order to discredit courses and professors profiled in *One-Party Classroom*, Horowitz claims that some of the instructors are unqualified to teach the subject areas covered in their courses. Again, Horowitz's research is either extremely sloppy or intentionally misleading. In the cases below, it is obvious that the instructors, through their dissertations, research and published materials, are well qualified to teach their selected subject matters. In some cases, Horowitz claims the instructor has no training with the material at hand, while his or her experience in the subject is, in fact, extensive.

### University of Missouri at Columbia

Sam Bullington

Regarding the qualifications of Professor Bullington to teach an introductory course on "Women's and Gender Studies," Horowitz writes,

*This time the mantra about the social construction of gender and race comes from a professor of Geography. What is his academic expertise on such a topic? What professional knowledge does he have regarding this subject other than the narrow ideological formulas espoused in every other course in the program?*<sup>32</sup>

It is noteworthy that before Horowitz's angry rant in the passage containing the quote above, the targeted professor, Sam Bullington, is described as "Assistant Professor, Geography and Women's and Gender Studies"<sup>33</sup> [emphasis added]. Bullington's "academic expertise" and "professional knowledge" of women's and gender studies is readily apparent, as he is a professor in that discipline, received his Ph.D. in that discipline, and has been published on six different occasions in that discipline.<sup>34</sup> He is very well qualified to teach a course on "Women's and Gender Studies." Horowitz's claim that Bullington is only a geography professor is easily refuted, even within Horowitz's own text.

<sup>32</sup> Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 214.

<sup>33</sup> Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 213.

<sup>34</sup> <http://wgst.missouri.edu/bullingtons.html>

## University of Missouri at Columbia

Srirupa Prasad

Horowitz's criticism of Professor Prasad and her course, "Women's and Gender Studies/Nursing 4600," begins, "A reasonable expectation for a course on women's health is that it be taught by an instructor with an expertise in the subject of medicine or public health. But Professor Prasad is a professor of sociology."<sup>35</sup> He notes that her current research is related to medicine and public health, but quickly dismisses it as emanating "from her impression that western nongovernmental organizations are not providing medical help to Indian women in a manner she considers politically correct."<sup>36</sup>

Yet, this professor's research focuses on exactly the type of study Horowitz calls for: how India and nongovernmental organizations are working to cure tuberculosis.<sup>37</sup>

Horowitz also fails to note that before working for the University of Missouri, Prasad worked for the University of Wisconsin in its Department of Medical History and Bioethics, and has four publications on issues in public health.<sup>38</sup> This position and research would give her just the expertise in medicine or public health that Horowitz claims the instructor of the course ought to have. By ignoring facts and proceeding with faulty evidence, Horowitz argues that Prasad should be removed from the course and replaced with someone more like herself—an expert on the issue.

## University of Texas at Austin

Katherine Arens

Horowitz claims that, "The problems with this course begin with the professor and the curriculum. The course deals with complex historical, sociological, and psychological issues, and yet it is taught by a professor, Katherine Arens, who is trained in Germanic Studies."<sup>39</sup> Horowitz implies that languages or humanistic studies cannot overlap with real-world issues, despite the fact that the study of the humanities is largely the history of social, political and cultural human activities. According to her faculty profile, some of Arens' research interests within German studies are "intellectual and history (18th-20th centuries, Germany and Austria), literary and cultural theory, history of science and history of the philosophy of science (19th and 20th centuries), history of psychology, history and theory of the humanities, women's and gender studies"—all topics that would qualify her to teach a women's studies course addressing "complex historical, sociological, and psychological issues."

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35 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 214.

36 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 214.

37 [http://sociology.missouri.edu/New%20Website%20WWW/Faculty%20and%20Staff/Srirupa\\_Prasad.html](http://sociology.missouri.edu/New%20Website%20WWW/Faculty%20and%20Staff/Srirupa_Prasad.html)

38 [http://sociology.missouri.edu/New%20Website%20WWW/Faculty%20and%20Staff/Srirupa\\_Prasad.html](http://sociology.missouri.edu/New%20Website%20WWW/Faculty%20and%20Staff/Srirupa_Prasad.html)

39 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 118.

Arens also has published peer-reviewed books and articles about culture, history and society, such as *Empire in Decline: Fritz Mauthner's Critique of Wilhelminian Germany*, "When Comparative Literature Becomes Cultural Studies: Teaching Cultures through Genre," and "Globalizing Information: Accountability and Disciplinarity."<sup>40</sup>

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40 <http://www.utexas.edu/cola/depts/germanic/faculty/profiles/Arens/Katherine/>

## WHAT *ONE-PARTY CLASSROOM* DOES SHOW

Although *One-Party Classroom* tells us next to nothing about the state of higher education in America, it does seem indicative of one thing—Horowitz’s biases. Rather than dispassionately reviewing higher education as a whole or even a discrete aspect of it, Horowitz singles out the same departments, faculty members and topics over and over. In fact, *Inside Higher Education* noted in its review of the book that many of the arguments—right down to the wording Horowitz uses—are retreads that have been featured in his previous books and articles.<sup>41</sup>

Much like in *The Professors*, Horowitz repeatedly criticizes faculty members for merely investigating ideas he disagrees with. For example, he criticizes the course “Feminist Research and Criticism” at the University of Missouri for examining feminist research methods. Specifically, he points to the section of the syllabus stating:

*This course is centrally concerned with how feminists in the social sciences produce knowledge, what we do with that knowledge, and if the process is any different because we are feminists. We will examine feminist critiques of social science research methodologies, questions of feminist epistemology, and how feminists struggle with those questions in our work. We will be reading exemplars from anthropology, history, political science, psychology and sociology.*<sup>42</sup>

While Horowitz may not agree with any of these perspectives or critiques, it is tough to see how simply investigating and reading about them constitutes indoctrination.

Similarly, Horowitz’s critique of “Rhetoric and Ideology” at the University of Texas is entirely grounded in his dislike of the subject being discussed. He objects to the course objectives, which state:<sup>43</sup>

*This course will explore Marxist contributions to rhetorical theory and criticism, with particular emphasis on a survey of the concepts of ideology and hegemony.*

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41 Scott Jaschik, “David Horowitz v. Women’s Studies,” *Inside Higher Ed*, February 25, 2009. Available at <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2009/02/25/horowitz>.

42 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 212.

43 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 128.

*We will contrast rhetorical notions of human discursive agency with classical, structuralist, and poststructuralist Marxist and Marxist-influenced discourse theories. We will also discuss what the concept of ideology, as a mode of rhetorical influence, contributes to rhetorical theory and criticism.*<sup>44</sup>

What Horowitz disapproves of is not the manner in which the course studies Marxist rhetoric and ideology, but rather the fact that it is studied at all.

In yet another example, Horowitz criticizes—predictably—a course titled “Feminist Theories” at the University of Texas for studying feminist theories. He points out that “the focus of this course is ‘the richness and diversity of the feminist and gender theories guiding the work of feminist and gender scholars at the University of Texas at Austin.’”<sup>45</sup> While Horowitz may not view these theories as valid, they certainly exist and have influenced a great deal of academic thought.

In addition to identifying the subjects Horowitz finds distasteful, *One-Party Classroom* also reveals Horowitz’s biases in the departments he highlights. As was the case in *The Professors*, Horowitz predominantly attacks women’s studies, various ethnic studies, sociology and related departments in the humanities and social sciences. In this book, those departments make up over half of the courses surveyed.<sup>46</sup>

Moreover, when one looks more closely at the content of the courses Horowitz chooses to attack, an even more striking pattern appears. Horowitz primarily criticizes courses for studying the concept that minority status matters or is worthy of study. Significantly, 71 percent of the courses he attacks study some minority group<sup>47</sup> or the notion that minority status matters. Further, 35.7 percent of those courses relate to gender differences, 26 percent relate to racial and ethnic differences, and 7.1 percent deal with a combination of those.<sup>48</sup>

Horowitz’s *One-Party Classroom* may not show us much about higher education, but it is quite telling of Horowitz’s goals in attacking the free exchange of ideas.

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44 <http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~dcloud/ideology.pdf>

45 Horowitz, *One-Party Classroom*, 118.

46 See Appendix A. Thirty-eight courses were within women’s studies or a similar department, 23 were within a race or ethnic studies department, and 19 were within a sociology department out of a total of 154.

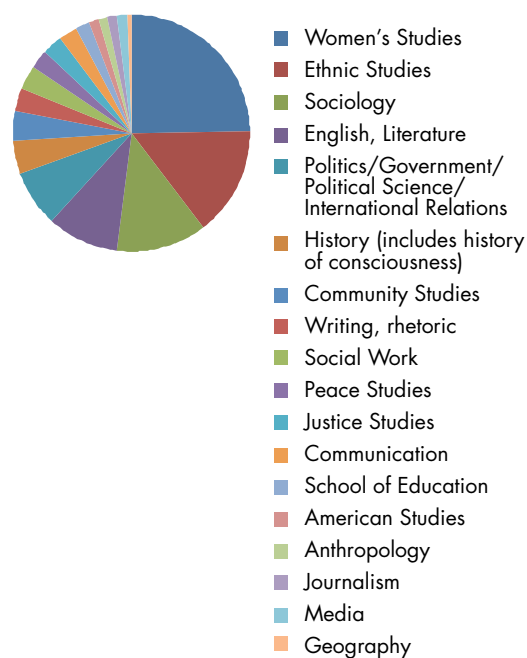
47 For this section, the minority statuses we’re discussing are racial, gender based, gender-identity based or ethnicity based.

48 See Appendix A. Forty courses were criticized for asserting that race or ethnic difference matters or is relevant to study, 55 for asserting that gender difference matters or is relevant to study, and 11 for asserting a combination of those two.

## APPENDIX A

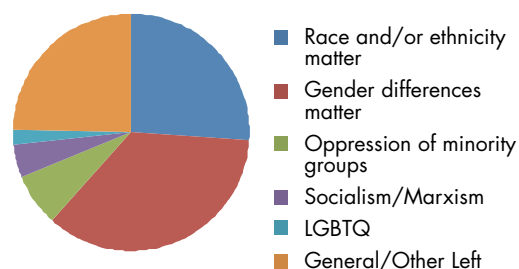
### Departments Attacked in One-Party Classroom

Department	# of attacks	% of attacks
Women's Studies	38	24.7%
Ethnic Studies	23	14.9%
Sociology	19	12.3%
English, literature	15	9.7%
Politics/Government/Political Science/International Relations	12	7.8%
History (includes history of consciousness)	7	4.5%
Community Studies	6	3.9%
Writing, rhetoric	5	3.2%
Social Work	5	3.2%
Peace Studies	4	2.6%
Justice Studies	4	2.6%
Communication	4	2.6%
School of Education	3	1.9%
American Studies	2	1.3%
Anthropology	2	1.3%
Journalism	2	1.3%
Media	2	1.3%
Geography	1	0.6%
Total	154	



### Subject Matter Attacked in One Party Classroom

Subject	# of attacks	% of attacks
Race and/or ethnicity matter	40	26.0%
Gender differences matter	55	35.7%
Oppression of minority groups	11	7.1%
Socialism/Marxism	7	4.5%
LGBTQ	3	1.9%
General/Other Left	38	24.7%
Total	154	



## APPENDIX B

CMMU 110: Environmental Justice

Syllabus: Summer Session I

June 26th – July 27th, 2006

Boykoff

### CMMU 110: ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

**Instructor:** Max Boykoff  
Environmental Studies  
489 Natural Sciences II  
mboykoff@ucsc.edu  
office hours: Mondays 11 – 1 PM and by appt.

**Days/Time:** M/W 2 PM – 5:30 PM

**Location:** Earth & Marine Sciences B210

**Course website:** <http://people.ucsc.edu/~mboykoff/CMMU110.htm>

### COURSE DESCRIPTION

A course examining **Environmental Justice (EJ)** prompts us to ask many critical questions: How do multilevel environmental problems differentially impact communities? How do global political, social and economic processes connect to local environmental conflicts and people's livelihood struggles? How do legal systems and policies shape these ongoing interactions? How do rights-based movements of distributive justice relate to various environmental problems? How have environmental justice (EJ) movements worked to combat asymmetrical power relations as well as social, economic and political inequality? Have environmental justice movements actually dealt appropriately with issues of race, class, culture and gender inequalities?

This class critically examines the politics of environmental problems, and focuses on the historic and current roles that economic systems, science, discourse, race, gender, and development play in shaping human interactions with the environment. This class then critical explores how these interactions impact human communities in different ways, as well as what can be done to mitigate differential impacts through movements of environmental justice (EJ).

In particular, this course takes on and explores in-depth contentious issues such as population growth and resource use, the framing of environmental 'risks' and impacts due to global climate change, consumer-based social movements surrounding alternative trade and development, the implications of food biotechnology, and differential impacts through toxic waste disposal and facility siting. The goals of this class are to challenge your thinking about environmental problems, develop new frameworks for critical analysis, and discuss practical and conceptual alternatives in the form of environmental justice movements.

The readings in this class will trace the early historical roots and conceptualizations of 'environmental justice' as a mechanism for change, but also its more current engagements with culture, equity, and power. The readings are intensive (and the time is short) so it will be particularly important to keep pace.

The class sessions will consist of two main components:

- I. **A general introduction:** situating EJ's roots in context with environmental policy and law, and a review of the historical and current issues within the field of environmental justice.
- II. **Thematic investigations and EJ case-studies:** Focusing on population and environment, food, free and fair trade, toxic waste disposal, labor rights, climate change, and the nature/culture divide with particular attention paid to race, class and gender

The class structure will vary between lectures, reading discussions, roundtable discussions, and films.

Course reading materials\*:

- Rechtschaffen, C. and Gauna, E. (2002) *Environmental Justice: Law, Policy and Regulation*. Carolina Academic Press: Durham, North Carolina, U.S.A.
- Bullard, R. (ed.) (2005) *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, California, U.S.A.
- Athanasiou, T. and Baer, P. (2002). *Dead Heat: Global Justice and Global Warming*. Seven Stories Press: New York, New York, U.S.A..
- Pastor, M., Bullard, R., Boyce, J., Fothergill, A. Morello-Frosch, R., and B. Wright (2006) *In the Wake of the Storm: Environment, Disaster, and Race After Katrina*. Russell Sage Foundation: New York

\* The first three books are at The Literary Guillotine (204 Locust St.; 457.1195; MON-SAT 10-6 PM)

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Throughout the course, I encourage you to meet each book, article, lecture and film with a critical eye. The reading and writing schedule will be rigorous so it is important that you keep up with the readings so that everyone may meaningfully participate in the class discussions. All readings are required to be completed *before* the class for which they are assigned. Again, the reading schedule is intensive so it is important to focus energy on keeping up with the readings to start off well. Other responsibilities include attendance in all class sessions and handing in completed assignments on time.

Each class session will build upon previous sessions. Consequently, if you accumulate more than two unexcused absences during the quarter, you will not be able to pass the course. I will deduct 50% of points for each class meeting that an assignment is late. Please note below that **NO *final individual papers* will be accepted late** – our last session is the strict deadline). Also, plagiarism is not tolerated, and will result in not passing the course, as well as university action.

## GRADING

Attendance (2 points per session)	10 pts
Participation (2 points per session)	10 pts
Comment Sheets (2 @ 10 pts each)	20 pts
Team Project (10 pts – proposal; 15 points – presentation)	25 pts
Individual Research Paper (10 pts – proposal; 25 pts – final draft)	35 pts

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**Total: 100 points**

## COMMENT SHEETS (ON THE READINGS)

An important requirement will be that you come to the class session in the two noted weeks with the completed and typewritten assignment. **You must bring a hard copy of the assignment to class. Emailed assignments will not be accepted.**

Your completed responses to this assignment must be typewritten and double-spaced, using 12 pt Times New Roman font with 1" margins. Also, they will need to be 500-700 words total. This means that the written assignments must be clearly written and concise. However, the points raised in the comment sheets must be clearly elaborated.

They are to consist of elements of the following:

- commentary on key points in the readings, a portion of a reading, patterns or theme(s) between readings that you found important, problematic, insightful etc.
- commentary on agreements or disagreements that you may have with portions, keys, assertions or themes in the readings

- reflections on something surprising, new or counterintuitive that you learned from the readings

In short, think about what you are reading and in these comment sheets write clearly about your views.

Preparing comments will help in a number of ways. Of note, while challenging and enhancing your engagement with the material, it also provides a series of working papers from which you can draw for your team project and final paper. It is to your benefit to select a theme in the course early to then explore through each of these comment sheets.

## TEAM PROJECT

This team project is designed to build skills in collaboration and work as scholar-activists. This project is also set up so that you can creatively and uniquely apply theoretical and academic tools to 'real world' environments. There is no shortage of contentious and important environmental issues here in the San Francisco/Monterey Bay Areas that engage with environmental justice.

On Wednesday in Week 2, you will form working groups of 2-3 participants along similar/overlapping areas of interest. Then these teams are to develop a project that examines a specific contemporary problem, identifying key actors and connected issues involved, issues of power struggles as well as excavation of oppositions that intermingle explicitly or implicitly with the controversial issue.

Simply, take something that interests you and run with it! Many issues discussed in class are open questions, and this is an opportunity to dig into them in more detail. To begin through problem identification, teams will work to identify key actors in the issue and connect it to other themes in the course and beyond. From this problem identification, you will collaboratively critique and analyze competing viewpoints and struggles over meaning and action. This critical analysis will then be an opportunity to discuss points of resistance as well as potential ways for forward.

On Monday of Week 4, teams will need to complete and submit a group project proposal. The proposals must consist of a 300-400 word description of the case-study the group plans to examine, the key actors, issues, power struggles etc. involved.

The presentations will take place in the final session in Week 5. They can and should be multi-media (slides, video/audio aids, etc.). The presentation times will range from 20-30 minutes with some time at the end for questions/discussion.

## INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH PAPER

This assignment is designed for you to draw critically and creatively from the class readings, lectures, films, and general discussions, and produce a final research paper. This paper must be 2500-3000 words, and should center on your unique analytical perspective on a particular theme, connection(s) or contradiction(s) across themes discussed in this course. It will be due at the beginning of our final session on Wednesday, July 26. Since this is the last session, **NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED**. Please think and plan carefully to adhere to this strict requirement.

Beforehand (on Wednesday in week 3) an individual paper proposal will be completed. This proposal must consist of a 300-400 word abstract, a tentative outline, and a tentative bibliography of relevant readings. I also welcome case studies, issues and themes that were not covered in class lectures, discussions and readings. However, such pursuits should be discussed with me ahead of time and be clearly outlined in the proposal.

Explored through the lens of environmental justice (discussed in readings, lectures and discussions), you will have the opportunity to further pursue areas, themes and issues of interest that you find exciting and worthwhile. Here, committed engagement with the course material primarily through comments sheets and class participation during the quarter will strengthen analyses and enhance the quality of critical investigation in a chosen issue.

## IMPORTANT DEADLINES

- **Weeks 2 & 4:** Comment sheets are due at the beginning of Wednesday's class. (10 points each)
- **Week 2:** Form groups for team projects in Wednesday's session
- **Week 3:** Individual research paper proposal due at the beginning of Wednesday's class. The proposals must consist of a 300-400 word abstract, a tentative outline, and a bibliography of relevant readings. (10 points)
- **Week 4:** Team Project proposals due at the beginning of Monday's class. The proposals must consist of a 400-500 word description of the case-study the group plans to examine, the key actors, issues, power struggles etc. involved. (10 points)
- **Week 5:** Team Project Presentations in Wednesday's class (15 points)
- **Week 5:** Final versions of the individual research paper are due at the beginning of Wednesday's class. (25 points) **NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED**

## CLASS LECTURE AND READING SCHEDULE

Component I: Introduction to Environmental Justice Frameworks

### WEEK 1

#### **June 26: Introduction to Course and Environmental Justice – What is going on?**

Discussion of syllabus and course outline – Introduction to the course themes

#### **June 28: Situating the Field – History & Roots**

##### **Readings:**

- Rechtschaffen, Clifford and Gauna, Eileen (2002) *Environmental Justice*. Carolina Academic Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 3-51)
- Bullard, R. (ed.) (2005) *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Forward, Preface, and Introduction (pp. ix-xviii and pp. 1-18)

### WEEK 2

#### **July 3: Evidence – Where does inequality arise?**

##### **Readings:**

- Rechtschaffen, Clifford and Gauna, Eileen (2002) *Environmental Justice*. Carolina Academic Press. Chapter 3 (pp. 55-83)
- Bullard, R. (ed.) (2005) *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Chapter 1 (pp. 18-42)

#### **July 5: With Sustainability for All? – Issues of Distributive Justice**

**Guest speakers:** Katherine Schoellenbach and Dena Spatz, University of California-Santa Cruz

- **comment sheet #1 due at the beginning of class**
- **form groups for team projects (in class)**

##### **Readings:**

- Rechtschaffen, Clifford and Gauna, Eileen (2002) *Environmental Justice*. Carolina Academic Press. Chapter 4 (pp. 87-132)
- Bullard, R. (ed.) (2005) *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Chapters 2 & 3 (pp. 43-84)

Component II: Environmental Justice Themes & Case-Studies

### WEEK 3

#### **July 10: Population**

##### **Readings:**

- Bullard, R. (ed.) (2005) *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Chapters 7, 10 & 11 (pp. 145-167 & pp. 209-238)

### **July 12: Toxics & Pollution**

**Guest speaker:** Manuel Pastor, Professor and Chair of Latina American and Latino Studies dept., University of California-Santa Cruz

- **individual research paper proposal due at the beginning of class**

#### **Readings:**

- Bullard, R. (ed.) (2005) *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Chapters 4, 5 & 6 (pp. 85-141)

### **WEEK 4**

#### **July 17: Disasters & Labor – In Defense of Whom/What? Mother Earth? Mother Profit?**

- **team project proposals due at the beginning of class**

#### **Readings:**

- Bullard, R. (ed.) (2005) *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Chapters 8 & 9 (pp. 168-206)
- Pastor, M., Bullard, R., Boyce, J., Fothergill, A. Morello-Frosch, R., and B. Wright (2006) *In the Wake of the Storm: Environment, Disaster, and Race After Katrina*. Russell Sage Foundation: New York **DOWNLOAD THIS READING AT:** [www.russellsage.org/news/katrinabulletin2](http://www.russellsage.org/news/katrinabulletin2)

#### **July 19: Food – Genetic Engineering; Alternative Food Networks; Fair Trade**

**Guest speaker:** Katie Monsen, Environmental Studies Dept., University of California-Santa Cruz

- **comment sheet #2 due at the beginning of class**

#### **Readings:**

- Bullard, R. (ed.) (2005) *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Chapter 13 (pp. 255-278)

### **WEEK 5**

#### **July 24: Climate Change & Equity**

#### **Readings:**

- Athanasiou, Tom and Baer, Paul (2002). *Dead Heat: Global Justice and Global Warming*. Seven Stories Press.
- Bullard, R. (ed.) (2005) *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*. Sierra Club Books: San Francisco, California, U.S.A. Chapters 12 & 14 (pp. 239-254 & pp. 279-297)

**July 26:** Team project presentations, and a final wrap-up discussion

- **final versions of the individual research paper due (early submission are accepted: no late papers)**

## CMMU 110: ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

**Instructor:**

Max Boykoff

Environmental Studies

489 Natural Sciences II

[mboykoff@ucsc.edu](mailto:mboykoff@ucsc.edu)

office hours: Monday 10 AM – noon

and by appt

**Teaching Assistant:**

Alden Griffith

Environmental Studies

433 Interdisciplinary Sciences Building

[alden@ucsc.edu](mailto:alden@ucsc.edu)

office hours: Tuesday 12:15 – 1:15 PM,

Wednesday 10 – 11 AM and by appt.

**Days/Time:** T/H 10-11:45 AM**Location:** Oakes 105**Website:** <http://people.ucsc.edu/~mboykoff/ENVS80b.htm>

## COURSE DESCRIPTION

The class sessions will consist of four main components:

- I. **General introduction to the functioning of the climate system:** cycles and processes, the greenhouse effect, greenhouse gases, historical climate patterns, climate change models
- II. **Climate changing activities:** land use, forestry, industry, transportation, household-energy use
- III. **Climate change impacts:** plants, animals, ecosystems, water, agriculture/food, human health
- IV. **Climate change policy and the public:** international environmental agreements, FCCC/Kyoto Protocol, domestic policy, political economics, activism, U.S. mass media

The class structure will vary between lectures, discussions and films. During this quarter we will supplement this format with invited speakers on various topics as well as case studies examined in the course. In general, throughout the course, we encourage you to meet each book, article, lecture and film with a critical eye.

**Course reading materials:**

1. Houghton, J. (2004) *Global Warming: The Complete Briefing* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK (3rd edition).
2. Leggett, J. (2001) *The Carbon War*. Routledge: New York, New York, U.S.
3. Speth, J.G. (2004) *Red Sky at Morning*. Yale University Press: New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.

4. Gelbspan, R. (2004) *Boiling Point*. Perseus Books: New York, New York, U.S.
5. Selected Articles on Electronic Reserves (ERES): eres.ucsc.edu (**PASSWORD: climatechange**):
  - Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Third Assessment Reports – Summaries of Policymakers (SPM):
    - Watson, R. T. & D. J. Verardo (2000) SPM: Land Use, Land-Use Change, and Forestry. Geneva, Switzerland: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)
    - McCarthy, J. J. et al. (2001) SPM: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Geneva: IPCC
  - Christy, J.R. (2003) 'The Global Warming Fiasco', in *Global Warming and other Eco-Myths: How the Environmental Movement Uses False Science to Scare Us to Death*, Bailey, R. (ed.) Competitive Enterprise Institute/Prima Publishing: Roseville, California, U.S.
  - Balling Jr., R.C. (1995) 'Global Warming: Messy Models, Decent Data and Pointless Policy', in *The True State of the Planet: Ten of the World's Premier Environmental Researchers in a Major Challenge to the Environmental Movement*, Bailey, R. (ed.) Competitive Enterprise Institute/Free Press: New York, New York, U.S.
  - Michaels, Patrick J. (2004) *Meltdown: The Predictable Distortion of Global Warming by Scientists, Politicians, and the Media*. Cato Institute: Washington, D.C., U.S.; pp. 195-206.
  - Hawkin, P., Lovins, A. & Lovins, L.H. (1999) *Natural Capitalism: Creating the Next Industrial Revolution*, Little, Brown & Co.: Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.; pp. 234-259.

**Houghton (2004), Leggett (1999) Speth (2004) and Gelbspan (2004) are available at *The Literary Guillotine* (204 Locust St.; 457.1195; OPEN MON-SAT 10-6 PM)**

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

### Overview

This course is a broad overview of the impacts of human activities on the global climate system. Topics include how the climate system functions, how changing climate affects ecosystems and biodiversity, how human activities (e.g. agriculture, industry, transportation) contribute to climate change and how climate change science is translated into policy action as well as public understanding and citizen action.

This course has been designated with a **T7** general education code. This is meant to “expose students to introductory-level themes of broad social or intellectual relevance” and can thereby serve as your topical Natural Science *or* Social Science general education requirement *but not both*. Please see the UCSC General Course Catalog 2004-2005 for a description of the General Education Codes.

It is important that you keep up with the readings so that everyone may meaningfully participate in the class discussions. All readings are required to be completed *before* the class for which they are assigned. Other responsibilities include attendance in all class sessions and handing in completed assignments on time.

Note: We will deduct 50% of points for each class meeting that an assignment is late. Also, plagiarism is not tolerated, and will result in not passing the course, as well as university action. All work in this course must be your original work (not previous papers from another class).

#### Grading

Written Assignments (three times during the quarter @ 10 pts each)	30 pts
First Examination	35 pts
Second Examination	35 pts
	<hr/>
	Total: 100 points

#### Important Dates

- **Written assignments:** Due at the beginning of class on October 6th, October 25th, November 17th - **10 points each**
- **First Examination:** October 27th - **35 points**
- **Second Examination:** December 6th, 7:30-10:30 PM, Oakes College room 105 - **35 points**

#### Attendance, Class Participation and Written Assignments/Comment Sheets

You are expected to attend all sessions and to engage critically with the readings and the issues that are discussed. Each class session will build upon previous sessions. Your participation is valued and will demonstrate your preparation for the class discussions.

An important requirement will be that you come to the class session in the three noted weeks with the completed assignment. **You must bring a hard copy of the assignment to class. Emailed assignments will not be accepted.**

Your completed responses to this assignment must be typewritten and **no more than four double-spaced pages total**, using 12 pt Times New Roman or Californian FB font with 1" margins. This means that the written assignments must be clearly written and concise.

**The assignments will be posted to the class website (<http://people.ucsc.edu/~mboykoff/ENVS80b.htm>) one week before they are due.**

The assignments consist of two parts:

1. **responses** to particular questions: 1-2 double-spaced pages
2. **comments** on previous course material: 1-2 double-spaced pages

In the **first part** of the assignment, the questions will be designed to make you think about the class material and will prepare you for the types of written essay questions that you will see on the midterm and final exams. In order to answer these questions, we expect that you will refer to past readings and lectures as well as additional sources. **At least two in-text/end-of-text citations** must be included in each assignment (only one may be web-based).

**IMPORTANT: In-text citations are markers for the more complete reference at the end of the text. They are not the same thing.** Please see the instructor if this is unclear.

There are a number of acceptable ways to cite references. Here are few examples of **in-text citations**:

- *in-text citations of paraphrased material*:

In the crucible of news production, as elsewhere, disciplinary practices make individuals both the object of discipline and the instruments of its exercise (Foucault 1979).

- *in-text citations of quoted material*:

According to Sharon Dunwoody and Hans Peter Peters, the typical journalist in the U.S. is “even less likely to have majored in science or math than is the average US resident” (Dunwoody & Peters 1992; p. 208). Here are some examples of **end-of-text citations**:

- *a book*:

Hardy, J. T. (2003) *Climate Change: Causes, Effects, and Solutions* Wiley & Sons Ltd: London, UK

- *a book chapter in an edited volume*:

Christy, J.R. (2003) The Global Warming Fiasco, in *Global Warming and other Eco-Myths: How the Environmental Movement Uses False Science to Scare Us to Death*, Bailey, R. (ed.) Competitive Enterprise Institute/Prima Publishing: Roseville, California, U.S.

- *an article*:

Loik, M.E. & J. Harte (1996) High-temperature Tolerance of *Artemisia Tridentata* and *Potentilla Gracilis* Under a Climate Change Manipulation *Oecologia* 108: 224-231.

- *a worldwide web citation*:

Griffith, A. ‘Everything One Needs to Know about the History of Owens River Valley Snowfences (and More)’ (Date Accessed: September 20th, 2005; Date Posted: August, 2005) [www.owenssnowfences.com](http://www.owenssnowfences.com)

- *a report*:

Watson, R. T. & D. J. Verardo (2000) Summary for Policymakers: Land Use, Land-Use Change, and Forestry. Geneva, Switzerland: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)

More examples of in-text and end-of-text citations can be found in the required readings for this class. See the instructor or teaching assistant in office hours if you need help constructing proper citations. You will be expected to cite properly and this will be part of the assignment evaluation.

In the **second part** of the assignment, the comments must also be written concisely, while the points raised in the comment sheets must be elaborated clearly. These are to consist of elements of the following:

- Commentary on key points in the readings, a portion of a reading, patterns or theme(s) between readings that you found important, problematic, insightful etc.
- Commentary on agreements or disagreements that you may have with portions, keys, assertions or themes in the readings
- Reflections on something surprising, new or counterintuitive that you learned from the readings

Basically, this second part is an open space (within the page limits) to comment on the material that you are engaging with critically. In short, think about what you are reading and write clearly about your views.

#### Exams

The examinations will both be closed-book and no-note exams. Dates and times for the examinations are final so see the instructor or the TA immediately if you anticipate any kind of conflict or problem. The final exam will be cumulative in the sense that it builds from concepts and foundations discussed in the first portion of the course.

The content for these examinations will come from the lectures as well as the required readings. Unfortunately, in lecture we will not be able to discuss many important and worthwhile facets of the readings so it will be your responsibility to engage both critically and mindfully with these readings outside of the class sessions.

To help in this endeavor, you may wish to ask yourselves the following questions:

- What are the main points or themes in the reading?
- What is the author's central thesis?
- How is this work similar to or different from other course material, your own ideas, or other information you have come across in the past?
- Where are possible weaknesses in the author's arguments?
- Where could s/he have explained assertions more deeply/clearly?
- Do you agree with the author's central assertions, theories, and/or ideas? If so, why? If not, why not?

Writing out answers to these questions will only help you as you prepare for the examinations as well as the class discussions.

## CLASS LECTURE AND READING SCHEDULE

Date	Topic	Readings/Assignments (to be completed before class)
<b>Component I: Introduction to the Climate System</b>		
September 22	Introduction to the course: A Top Ten	--
September 27	Climate and Weather: Cycles and Processes <i>Film: Turning Up the Heat (1996)</i>	Houghton – Chapter 1 Gelbspan – snapshot #3 (pp. 63-66) Speth – prologue & Chapter 1
September 29	Greenhouse Gases and the Greenhouse Effect – The Basics (What is it? Why is it happening?)	Houghton – Chapters 2 & 3 Gelbspan – Chapter 1 <i>Written Assignment #1 posted to class website</i>
October 4	Historical Climate Patterns <i>Film (excerpt): Frontline/NOVA – What's Up with the Weather? (2000)</i>	Houghton – Chapter 4 Gelbspan – Chapter 2; snapshot #1 (pp.19-22) Speth – part of Chapter 3 pp. 43-55
October 6	Uncertainty and Climate Science Communities – from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change to climate change 'skeptics' <i>Film (excerpt): NOW with Bill Moyers – The Climate Debate (2004)</i>	Houghton – pp. 216-225 Christy (2003) (on ERes) Balling Jr. (1995) (on ERes) Gelbspan – Chapter 3 <b>Written Assignment #1 due in class</b>
October 11	Climate Models and Modeling <i>Guest speaker: Lara Kueppers, postdoctoral researcher, Department of Earth Sciences, UCSC</i>	Houghton – Chapter 5 & pp. 133-134 Leggett – prologue & Chapter 1
<b>Component II: Climate Changing Activities</b>		
October 13	Land Use and Land-Use Change and Forestry: Sources and Feedbacks <i>Guest speaker: Alex Gershenson, doctoral candidate, Environmental Studies, UCSC</i>	Watson & Verardo (2000) (on ERes) Leggett – Chapter 2 Speth – Chapter 2
October 18	Energy: Carbon-Based Industry & Society (and Climate Science Communities revisited) <i>Film (excerpts): Oil on Ice (2004) and an Atlantic-Richfield video</i>	Houghton – pp. 115-124 & pp. 135-142 Leggett – Chapter 3 Michaels (2004) (on ERes) Speth – part of Chapter 6 pp. 119-131 <i>Written Assignment #2 posted to website</i>
October 20	Energy: Carbon-Based Society, part II: The Role of the Media <i>Film: Turning Down the Heat – The New Energy Revolution (1999)</i>	Gelbspan – Chapter 4 Leggett – Chapters 4 & 5 Speth – part of Chapter 6 pp. 131-139
October 25	Energy Alternatives <i>Guest lecture: Ignacio Fernandez, doctoral student, Environmental Studies, UCSC</i>	Houghton – Chapter 11 Speth – Chapter 8 Hawkin, Lovins & Lovins (1999) (on ERes) <b>Written Assignment #2 due in class</b>

October 27      **MIDTERM EXAM --**

### **Component III: Climate Change Impacts**

November 1	Introduction to Various Impacts, Mitigation and Adaptation <i>Film: One Degree Factor (2005)</i>	Houghton – pp. 143-145 & pp. 187-190 Gelbspan – snapshot #2 (pp. 33-36) Leggett – Chapter 6 Speth – part of Chapter 3 pp. 55-72
November 3	Biodiversity and Ecosystems <i>Guest speaker: Alden Griffith, doctoral student, Environmental Studies, UCSC</i>	Houghton – pp. 170-176 McCarthy et. al (2001) – pp. 1-8 (on ERes) Leggett – Chapter 7
November 8	Extreme Events <i>Film: The Sizzling Planet (2000)</i>	Houghton – pp. 179-184 Gelbspan – snapshot #4 (pp. 87-92) Leggett – Chapters 8 & 9
November 10	Water – Freshwater and Marine Systems <i>Guest speaker: Dr. Michael Loik, professor, Environmental Studies, UCSC</i>	Houghton – pp. 145-164 Gelbspan – snapshot #7 (pp.171-174) Leggett – Chapter 10 <i>Written Assignment #3 posted to website</i>
November 15	Human Health <i>Film: Rising Waters (2000)</i>	Houghton – pp. 176-178 McCarthy et. al (2001) – pp.12-17 (on ERes) Gelbspan – Chapter 5; snapshot #5 (pp. 119-126)
November 17	Agriculture/Food <i>Guest speaker: Holly Alpert, doctoral student, Environmental Studies, UCSC</i>	Houghton – pp. 164-169 McCarthy et. al (2001) – pp. 9-12 (on ERes) Leggett – Chapter 11 Gelbspan – snapshot #6 (pp. 147-151) <b>Written Assignment #3 due in class</b>

### **Component IV: Climate Change Policy and the Public**

November 22	International Environmental Agreements and Policy I: FCCC/Kyoto Protocol	Houghton – pp. 225-231 Gelbspan – Chapter 6 Speth – Chapters 4 & 7
November 24	<b><i>Holiday - Thanksgiving ---</i></b>	
November 29	International Environmental Agreements and Policy II: FCCC/Kyoto Protocol	Houghton – Chapter 10 Gelbspan – Chapter 7 Speth – Chapter 5
December 1	Domestic Policy and Grassroots Social Movements; Review <i>Guest Speaker: City of Santa Cruz Mayor Mike Rotkin</i>	Leggett – epilogue Gelbspan – Chapter 8 Speth – afterward; resources for citizen action
December 6	<b><i>FINAL EXAM 7:30 – 10:30 PM!; Oakes 105 (same room)</i></b>	

## APPENDIX C

RTF 359s / WGS 324 - WOMEN AND MEDIA CULTURE

FALL 2007

RTF unique #: 08405

Professor: Mary Celeste Kearney

WGS unique #: 49805

Office: CMA 6.140 / Telephone: 512-475-8648

Class time: T/Th 11 am – 12:15 pm

Email: [mkearney@mail.utexas.edu](mailto:mkearney@mail.utexas.edu)

Class location: CMA 3.116

Office hours: Th 2:30 - 4:45 pm & by appointment

Screening time: T 5-7:30 pm

Teaching Assistant: Anne Petersen

Screening location: CMA 3.116

Email: [annehelenpetersen@gmail.com](mailto:annehelenpetersen@gmail.com)

### COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course introduces students to the critical analysis of women and media culture. Focusing specifically on mass media texts produced in the United States, students will explore the dominant strategies used by the commercial magazine, film, and broadcasting industries to represent women and women's issues, as well as to attract women consumers. Since contemporary media texts often contain both reactionary and progressive representations simultaneously, one of our objectives will be to determine the effects of traditional and feminist ideologies of gender on portrayals of, and consumer appeals, to women. In addition, we will examine how women participate in media culture via their roles as consumers and audiences, as well as fans of particular cultural texts. Although we will examine media texts primarily produced and distributed by the commercial media and entertainment industries, we will also explore how women have developed alternative media economies by creating their own cultural texts and practices. In order to understand and critique the ideologies and discursive strategies that structure women's media representation, reception, and production, we will utilize a variety of theoretical perspectives, including feminist and gender theory, critical race theory, lesbian/gay/queer studies, literary criticism, film theory, television criticism, cultural studies, and communication studies. In order to ensure that our analyses of women and media culture are not essentialist, we will take an intersectional approach to identity, keeping in mind the interdependencies of sex, gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and age.

This course satisfies the College of Communication's Substantial Writing Component requirement, as well as its Communication and Culture requirement. It is cross-listed with Women's and Gender Studies.

## COURSE GOALS

After successfully completing this course, students will have the ability to:

- understand both traditional and feminist ideologies of sex and gender;
- recognize the dominant representational and discursive strategies used by the commercial media in the portrayal of women, as well as in specific appeals made to women consumers;
- understand how women consume media texts and how consumers' particular identities produce different readings and uses of such texts;
- comprehend women's reasons and strategies for producing alternative cultural forms; and
- apply various theories of gender and media in critical analyses of women-oriented media texts, women media consumers, and women's alternative media production.

## COURSE MATERIALS

- 1) Reading Packet. Available for purchase at Paradigm, and on reserve in the PCL.
- 2) October issue of *Cosmopolitan* magazine.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

<b>Requirements:</b>	<b>Percent of Final Grade:</b>
Class/screening attendance	10%
Class participation	20%
Response Essays (best 5 out of 6)	25%
Mid-term Paper	20%
Final Paper/Project	25%

## COURSE GUIDELINES

**Class/screening attendance:** Attendance is required for all class meetings and screenings, and roll will be taken at the beginning of each. Please be respectful of your fellow students and the Professor by arriving on time. If you plan on being absent from or excessively late to a class meeting or screening, you should notify the Professor in advance. To be excused for absences, students must provide documentation of an illness, family emergency, or religious holy day. Two (2) unexcused absences are allowed; subsequent unexcused absences will lower your grade for both attendance and participation. Students are not required to watch material they find offensive, and should discuss such matters with the Professor beforehand so as to determine alternative viewing material.

**Class participation:** It is expected that students will have completed the assigned readings, screenings, and Response Essays prior to the beginning of class. It is helpful to take notes on the readings, screenings, and lectures, as well as to formulate questions that can contribute to class discussion. You should bring your reading materials as well as class and screening notes to class to facilitate your class participation. As this is an upper-division course, students are expected to engage fully with the course material and to participate actively in class discussions. You are encouraged to express your

own opinions assertively and to raise questions during class discussions, as well as to make suggestions on additional readings and screenings. In turn, you are expected to be respectful of and open to others' opinions and suggestions. Pop quizzes on the course material may be administered periodically.

**Response essays:** Following various course topics (e.g., women's film spectatorship), students are required to submit a two-page, typewritten essay in which they respond to the course readings and screenings on that topic. These essays should demonstrate that you understand the main points of the readings and are able to relate them to class lectures, discussions, and screenings, as well as to your personal experience. Please do not merely summarize the readings and screenings; your task is to critically analyze the topic at hand. The final grade for response essays will be based on your top five (5) grades, which means that you can either drop your lowest grade out of a total of six (6) essays, or skip writing one (1) essay as your schedule demands. Response essays are due at the beginning of class and must be submitted directly to the Professor or Teaching Assistant, unless other arrangements have been made beforehand.

Due dates: 9/18, 9/27, 10/9, 11/6, 11/13, 11/29.

**Papers:** Two (2) major papers are required for this course. You cannot receive a passing grade for the course without completing both papers. Paper assignments will be handed out in class at least two weeks prior to the deadline. Papers are due at the beginning of class and must be submitted directly to the Professor, unless other arrangements have been made beforehand. These papers must be accompanied by all Response Essays written and graded up to that point in the semester. Late mid-term papers will be excused only in the case of a documented illness or family emergency. Unexcused late mid-term papers will be marked down one letter grade for each week of tardiness. No papers or projects will be accepted after 11:00 am on Thursday, December 6, 2007.

**Incompletes:** Students are not permitted to take an Incomplete in this class except in the case of a documented health or family emergency discussed with the Professor. If you feel you are falling behind in your work, it is your responsibility to meet with the Professor and formulate a plan of action well in advance of the end of the semester so that you can complete the course successfully.

**Assistance with writing:** You are strongly encouraged to meet with the Professor and/or Teaching Assistant prior to writing your papers, in order to obtain further clarification of the writing assignments and to discuss possible topics, reference materials, and/or writing difficulties.

In addition, you are encouraged to use the Undergraduate Writing Center, which is located in FAC 211. The UWC offers individualized assistance at no charge to students who want to improve their writing skills. Students may visit on a drop-in or appointment basis. Call 471-6222 for hours and/or an appointment. For more information, visit their website at <http://www.uwc.fac.utexas.edu>.

Students also may utilize UT's Learning Center to get assistance with their studying and writing. The Learning Center is located in the Jester Center, Room A332. For hours and/or an appointment, call 471-3614. For more information, visit their website at <http://www.utexas.edu/student/utlc>.

**Students with disabilities:** Students with physical or learning disabilities should provide the Professor with a letter requesting reasonable academic accommodation, and work directly with the Professor to determine what accommodations are needed. This letter can be obtained from Services for Students with Disabilities, located in the Student Services Building 4.104. This office can be reached at 471-6259.

The University of Texas at Austin provides upon request appropriate academic accommodations for qualified students with disabilities. For more information, contact the Office of the Dean of Students at 471-6259, 471-4641 TTY.

**Scholastic dishonesty:** The University defines academic dishonesty as cheating, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, falsifying academic records, and any act designed to avoid participating honestly in the learning process. Scholastic dishonesty also includes, but is not limited to, providing false or misleading information to receive a postponement or an extension on a test, quiz, or other assignment, and submission of essentially the same written assignment for two courses without prior permission of the instructor. By accepting this syllabus, you have agreed to these guidelines and must adhere to them. Scholastic dishonesty damages both the student's learning experience and readiness for the future demands of a work-career.

Students who violate University rules on scholastic dishonesty are subject to disciplinary penalties, including the possibility of failure in the course and/or dismissal from the University. For more information on scholastic dishonesty, please visit the Student Judicial Services website at <http://www.utexas.edu/depts/dos/sjs>.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### **SECTION 1 - FOUNDATIONS**

- |             |           |                                                                                                                          |
|-------------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>8/30</b> | <b>Th</b> | <b>Introduction to the Course/Class Introductions</b><br>NO READINGS                                                     |
| <b>9/4</b>  | <b>T</b>  | <b>Studying Media Culture</b><br>Read: Kellner – “Cultural Studies, Multiculturalism, and Media Culture”<br>NO SCREENING |
| <b>9/6</b>  | <b>Th</b> | <b>Ideology and Hegemony</b><br>Read: Lull – “Hegemony”                                                                  |

- 9/11 T **Feminist Political History and Ideologies**  
Read: Fudge – “Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Feminism”  
View: *Cinderella*
- 9/13 Th **Feminist Media Criticism**  
Read: Van Zoonen – “Feminist Perspectives on the Media”
- 9/18 T **Gender as Social Performance**  
**ESSAY #1 DUE**  
Read: West and Zimmerman – “Doing Gender”  
View: *Off the Straight & Narrow: Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Television*

## SECTION 2 – WHAT WOMEN? IDENTITY, DIVERSITY, HYBRIDITY

- 9/20 Th **Considering Sexuality alongside Sex and Gender**  
Read: Ciasullo – “Making Her (In)visible”
- 9/25 T **Considering Race and Ethnicity alongside Sex and Gender**  
Read: Davy – “Outing Whiteness: A Feminist/Lesbian Project”  
View: *And Still I Rise, Slaying the Dragon, Hollywood Harems*
- 9/27 Th **Considering Race and Ethnicity (continued)**  
**ESSAY #2 DUE**  
Read: Guzmán & Valdivia – “Brain, Brow, and Booty”
- 10/2 T **Considering Class alongside Sex and Gender**  
Read: Ehrenreich - “The Silenced Majority”  
hooks – “Seeing and Making Culture: Representing the Poor”  
View: *Ways of Seeing* (part 4), *Killing Us Softly 3*

## SECTION 3 – WOMEN AND MAGAZINES

- 10/4 Th **Women’s Periodicals: History, Genres, Discourses**  
Read: Zuckerman – “Women’s Magazines, 1946-95”
- 10/9 T **Content Analyses of Women’s Magazines**  
**ESSAY #3 DUE**  
Read: Van Zoonen – “Media Texts and Gender”  
Bring to class: October issue of *Cosmopolitan*  
NO SCREENING
- 10/11 Th **Semiotic Analyses of Women’s Magazines**  
Read: Van Zoonen – “Media Texts and Gender” (cont.)  
Bring to class: October issue of *Cosmopolitan*
- 10/16 T **Women’s Magazines and Their Readers**  
Read: Gauntlett – “Women’s Magazines and Female Identities Today”  
View: *Grrlyshow*

10/18 Th **Alternative Women's Magazines**  
Read: Steiner - "The History and Structure of Women's Alternative Media"  
Steinem - "Sex, Lies and Advertising"

#### SECTION 4 – WOMEN AND FILM

- 10/23 T **Positive Images: Early Feminist Film Criticism**  
**\*\* MID-TERM PAPER DUE \*\***  
Read: Walters – "From Images of Women to Woman as Image"  
View: *Pretty Woman*
- 10/25 Th **Feminist Psychoanalytic Film Theory**  
Read: Walters – "Visual Pressures"
- 10/30 T **The Male Gaze and Female Representation**  
Read: Walters – "Visual Pressures" (cont.)  
View: *Real Women Have Curves*
- 11/1 Th **"Chick Flicks": Rethinking Hollywood's Appeal to Women**  
Read: Tasker – "Female Friendship"
- 11/6 T **Reconsidering Female Spectatorship and Spectators**  
**ESSAY #4 DUE**  
Read: Walters – "You Looking at Me?"  
View: *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter, Performing the Border*
- 11/8 Th **Feminist Documentaries**  
Read: Juhasz - "'They Said We Were Trying to Show Reality...'"
- 11/13 T **Feminist Filmmaking: Mainstream or Independent?**  
**ESSAY #5 DUE**  
Read: Citron – "Women's Film Production"  
View: *Meet Corliss Archer, The Guiding Light, Today*

#### SECTION 5 – WOMEN, RADIO, AND TELEVISION

- 11/15 Th Early Broadcasting for Women  
**FINAL PAPER PROPOSAL DUE**  
Read: Spigel – "Women's Work"
- 11/20 T **Soap Operas and Women's Viewing Pleasures**  
Read: Hayward – "Consuming Pleasures"  
View: *Donna Reed, The Mary Tyler Moore Show, Cagney and Lacey*
- 11/22 Th **NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY**

- 11/27 T **Liberal Feminism Hits Prime-Time Television**  
 Read: Dow – “Prime-Time Feminism”  
 View: *Ally McBeal*, *Sex and the City*  
View on your own: contemporary show TBD by class
- 11/29 Th **(Post?)Feminism, Women, and Contemporary Prime-Time TV**  
**ESSAY #6 DUE**  
 Read: Moseley and Read – “Having It *Ally*”
- 12/4 T **Women’s Television Production**  
 Read: Ouellette – “Will the Revolution Be Televised?”  
 View in class: *Deep Dish TV* (“Women of the First Nations”), *Dyke TV*
- 12/6 Th **Class-Wrap-up and Evaluations**  
**\*\* FINAL PAPER/PROJECT DUE \*\***

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RTF 386C – THEORIES OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY

FALL 2000

Course unique #: 07590

Seminar time: Tuesdays 9am-12pm

Seminar location: CMA 3.128

Screening time: Mondays 5-7:30 pm

Screening location: CMA 3.116

Professor Mary C. Kearney

Office: CMA 6.140

Telephone: 512-475-8648

Email: [mkearney@mail.utexas.edu](mailto:mkearney@mail.utexas.edu)

Office hours: TTh 12:30-1:30 pm,

W 4–5 pm, & by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This seminar is intended to provide students with a broad survey of theories that are most relevant to and useful for critical analyses of gender and sexuality in visual culture, particularly with regard to cinematic representation, spectatorship, and authorship. Although we will begin with second-wave feminist explorations of gender and the cultural representation of women, our particular concern will be contemporary post-structuralist theories which move our understanding of gender and sexuality beyond the normative binaries of male/female, masculine/feminine, and heterosexual/homosexual. This seminar requires close reading and discussion of theoretically rigorous and critically sophisticated texts and thus requires the active participation of committed students.

COURSE GOALS

After successfully completing this course, students will have the ability to:

- comprehend and critique theories of gender and sexuality;

- comprehend and critique the use of theories of gender and sexuality in critical analyses of the visual media;
- apply theories of gender and sexuality in critical analyses of the visual media.

#### REQUIRED TEXTS

- Reading packet of selected articles (R) available at Longhorn Copies.
- *Feminist Film Theory* (FFT) – Sue Thornham, ed.
- *Issues in Feminist Film Theory* (IFFC) – Patricia Erens, ed.
- *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* – Chris Weedon
- *Screening the Male* (STM) – Steven Cohan and Ina Rae Clark, eds.

Course books are available at the University Co-op and are on reserve in the Perry-Castenada Library.

#### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

<b>Requirements:</b>	<b>Percent of Final Grade:</b>
Class/screening attendance	10%
Class participation	10%
Presentation of class readings	10%
Journals	20%
Mid-term paper (5-7 pages)	10%
Final paper presentation	10%
Final paper (15-20 pages)	30%

**Class/screening attendance and participation:** Students are expected to attend all class meetings and screenings. Please be aware that the screenings are paid for by your incidental fees. Students are not required to watch films or videos they find offensive, and should discuss such matters with the Professor. Students are expected to complete the assigned readings prior to the beginning of class (refer to the Course Schedule below). As many of the class texts are theoretically and critically sophisticated, you should allot enough time for thorough reading, and are encouraged to outline the texts and to make note of questions for class. Students are expected to participate fully in class by expressing opinions assertively and raising provocative questions, as well as making suggestions on additional readings and research materials. In turn, students are expected to be respectful of and open to others' opinions and questions.

**Presentations:** As this course is conducted as a seminar, each student is required to lead class discussion on a class reading at least once. Such presentations should include a concise summary of and stimulating questions about topics addressed in the reading, as well as the sharing of any additional materials that might be helpful in clarifying that week's discussion topic (e.g., handouts, film clips, etc.). In addition to leading weekly class discussions, students are required to present their Final Paper topic to the class at the end of the semester.

**Journals:** Students are asked to keep a class journal of weekly essays (two pages maximum) in which they reflect on class readings, screenings, and discussions. These essays should demonstrate that you understand the main points of the readings and are able to relate them to other course material. Journals will be collected twice during the course of the semester: October 31 and December 5, 2000. No journals will be accepted after December 5, 2000.

**Papers:** There are two assigned papers for this class, and both must be completed in order to successfully pass the course. Graduate-level writing and critical analysis are expected. Late papers will be excused only in the event of a documented medical or family emergency. Unexcused late mid-term papers will be marked down one letter grade for each week of tardiness. No papers will be accepted after 12 pm on December 15, 2000.

The Mid-Term Paper will entail a critical analysis of gender in a film, video, or media installation of your choice, preferably one shown at the Cinematexas International Short Film + Video Festival, October 18-22, 2000. Guidelines for this paper will be handed out in class at least one week prior to the paper deadline. The Final Paper will entail a critical analysis of gender and sexuality in a film or video of your choice. Students must obtain approval on their paper topic from the Professor at least week prior to class presentations on December 5, 2000.

**Incompletes:** Students are not permitted to take an Incomplete for this course. If you feel you are falling behind in the work, it is your responsibility to meet with the Professor and formulate a plan of action well in advance of the end of the semester so that you can complete the course successfully.

**Scholastic dishonesty:** The University defines academic dishonesty as cheating, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, falsifying academic records, and any act designed to avoid participating honestly in the learning process. Scholastic dishonesty also includes, but is not limited to, providing false or misleading information to receive a postponement or an extension on a test, quiz, or other assignment, and submission of essentially the same written assignment for two courses without prior permission of the instructor. By accepting this syllabus, you have agreed to these guidelines and must adhere to them. Scholastic dishonesty damages both the student's learning experience and readiness for the future demands of a work-career.

Students who violate University rules on scholastic dishonesty are subject to disciplinary penalties, including the possibility of failure in the course and/or dismissal from the University. For more information on scholastic dishonesty, please visit the Student Judicial Services website at [www.utexas.edu/depts/dos/sjs](http://www.utexas.edu/depts/dos/sjs).

**Students with disabilities:** Students with physical or learning disabilities should provide a letter requesting reasonable academic accommodation, and work directly with the Professor to determine what accommodations are needed. This letter can be obtained from Services for Students with Disabilities, located in the Student Services Building 4.104. This office can be reached at 471-6259.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

\*\*For the easiest movement through each week's readings, please read articles in the order listed.\*\*

### SECTION I: LAYING THE FOUNDATION: FEMINIST THEORIES OF GENDER & FILM

#### Week 1 Early Feminist Theories of Gender & Initial Explorations in Media Criticism

9/5	Readings:	Beauvoir	"Introduction" (R)
		Friedan	"The Problem That Has No Name" and "The Happy Housewife Heroine" (R)
		Firestone	"The Dialectic of Sex" and "(Male) Culture" (R)

#### Week 2 A New Field Emerges: Feminist Film Criticism

9/11	Screening:	<i>Still Killing Us Softly</i> <i>Adam's Rib</i>	
9/12	Readings:	Haskell	"The Big Lie" (R)
		Smith	"The Image of Women in Film" (FFT)
		Artel/Wengraf	"Positive Images" (IFFC)
		Waldman	"There's More to a Positive Image . . ." (IFFC)
		[Johnston –	"Women's Cinema as Counter-Cinema"]
		Tuchman	"Women's Depiction by the Mass Media (R)

#### Week 3 The Feminist Turn to Psychoanalysis

9/18	Screening:	<i>Vertigo</i>	
9/19	Readings:	Weedon	"3 - Feminist Poststructuralism & Psychoanalysis"
		Kaplan	"Part II: Definition of Terms" (R)
		Cook/Johnston	"The Place of Woman in the Cinema . . ." (IFFC)
		Mulvey	"Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (IFFC)
		Modleski	"Hitchcock, Feminism . . ." (IFFC)

#### Week 4 Theorizing Film Femmes: "Women's Genres," Spectators, and Directors

9/25	Screening:	<i>Desperately Seeking Susan</i>	
9/26	Readings:	Kuhn	"Women's Genres" (FFT)
		Doane	"Film and the Masquerade" (FFT)
		Gaines	"Women and Representation" (IFFC)
		Stacey	"Desperately Seeking Difference" (IFFC)
		Citron	"Women's Film Production" (R)

### SECTION II: EXPANDING GENDER-ORIENTED FILM THEORY & CRITICISM

#### Week 5 Moving Beyond Psychoanalysis and Reflecting on Difference

10/2	Screening:	<i>The Color Purple</i>	
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- 10/9 Readings: Rich "In the Name of Feminist Film Criticism" (IFFC)  
 Gledhill "Recent Developments in Feminist Criticism" (R)  
 Gaines "White Privilege and Looking Relations" (IFFC)  
 hooks "The Oppositional Gaze" (FFT)  
 Shohat "Gender and Culture of Empire" (R)

**Week 6 Poststructuralist Approaches: Gender as Performance**

- 10/9 Screening: *Dream Girls*  
*Shinjuku Boys*

- 10/10 Readings: Weedon "2 – Principles of Poststructuralism,"  
 "4 – Language and Subjectivity," and  
 "5 – Discourse, Power, and Resistance"  
 DeLauretis "The Technology of Gender" (R)  
 Butler "Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire" (R)  
 Butler "Imitation & Gender Subordination" (R)

**Week 7 Looking Beyond Femininity: Theorizing Manhood and Masculinity in Film**

- 10/16 Screening: *The Full Monty*

- 10/17 Readings: Saco "Masculinity as Signs" (R)  
 Neale "Prologue: Masculinity as Spectacle" (STM)  
 Green "Malefunction" (R)  
 Silverman "Historical Trauma and Male Subjectivity" (R)  
 Cohan "'Feminizing the 'Song-and-Dance Man'" (STM)

**10/18-2 CINEMATEXAS INTERNATIONAL SHORT FILM + VIDEO FESTIVAL**

**Week 8 Muscular Media: "Men's Genres," Spectators, and Directors**

- 10/23 Screening: *Tough Guise* (selections), *Fight Club*

**10/24 \*\* MID-TERM PAPER DUE \*\***

- Readings: Warner "Spectacular Action" (R)  
 Tasker "Dumb Movies for Dumb People" (STM)  
 Jeffords "Can Masculinity Be Terminated?" (STM)  
 Fuchs "The Buddy Politic" (STM)

**SECTION III: ADIOS HETERONORMATIVITY: RETHEORIZING SEXUALITY**

**Week 9 Rethinking Sexualities**

- 10/30 Screening: *La Cage aux Folles*

**10/31 \*\* JOURNALS DUE \*\***

- Readings: Foucault "The Incitement to Discourse" and  
 "The Perverse Implantation" (R)  
 Rich "Compulsory Heterosexuality" (R)

Rubin "Thinking Sex" (R)  
Halperin "Is There a History of Sexuality?" (R)

**Week 10 Queerness and Media Criticism**

11/6 Screening: *The Celluloid Closet*

11/7 Readings: Gross "Out of the Mainstream" (R)  
Butler "Critically Queer" (R)  
Doty "Introduction" and "There's Something Queer Here" (R)  
Hanson "Introduction: Out Takes" (R)

**SECTION IV: SEXUALIZED REPRESENTATIONS & SPECTATORSHIP**

**Week 11 Male Homosexualities in/and Media**

11/13 Screening: *Poison*  
*Queer as Folk* (episode 1)

11/14 Readings: Edelman "Seeing Things" (R)  
Miller "Anal Rope" (R)  
Brasell "My Hustler: Gay Spectatorship as Cruising" (R)  
Meyer "Rock Hudson's Body" (R)  
Kelly "The Unbearable Lightness of Gay Movies" (R)

**Week 12 Lesbianisms in/and Media**

11/20 Screening: *War on Lesbians*  
*The Watermelon Woman*

11/21 Readings: DeLauretis "Sexual Indifference and Lesbian Representation" (R)  
Ellsworth "Illicit Pleasures" (IFFC)  
Holmlund "When Is a Lesbian Not a Lesbian?" (R)  
Savoy "That Ain't All She Ain't" (R)  
Case "Toward a Butch/Femme Aesthetic" (R)

**SECTION V: RETHINKING GENDERS AND SEXUALITIES IN THE 21st CENTURY**

**Week 13 Bisexuality, Transgenderism, and Transsexualism**

11/27 Screening: *Outlaw*  
*Sunday, Bloody Sunday*

11/28 Readings: Haraway "A Cyborg Manifesto" (R)  
Garber "Bi Words" (R)  
Shapiro "Transsexualism" (R)  
Stone "The Empire Strikes Back" (R)  
Califa "The Future of Gender and Transgenderism" (R)

**Week 14      Your Turn: Presenting Final Projects**

**12/4**    Screening:      TBD (class choice)

**12/5**    **\*\* JOURNALS DUE \*\***

Final Paper Presentations

**Week 15 – NO CLASS MEETING THIS WEEK**

**12/15**    **\*\* FINAL PAPERS DUE BY 12 PM \*\***

## APPENDIX D

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### IR 310—INTRODUCTION TO PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES

Dr. Douglas Becker

VKC 42A

dfbecker@usc.edu

Office Hours: MWF 2:00-3:00 and by appointment

This course serves as the introduction to the broad and diverse field of peace and conflict studies. Peace and Conflict Studies is a minor within the School of International Relations. While this is an international relations course, the field of peace and conflict studies is interdisciplinary. Therefore, we will examine three interrelated questions:

- 1) what causes war?
- 2) how has the nature of war, from the causes to the ways it is fought, changed in recent history?
- 3) What can peace-minded individuals and groups do to lessen the outbreak of war and/or ameliorate its consequences?

In addressing these broad sweeping questions, we will explore the philosophical nature of war and ask how war defines nations and people. We then will answer one of the key questions within the study of insurgency: whether war is driven by leaders who simply represent the grievances of people or whether they are driven by greed. As a corollary to that question, we will examine the nature of funding terrorist insurgencies, including al Qaeda. After the mid-term, we turn our attention to the other necessary war resource—the soldiers who fight the wars. We examine the impact of children on the battlefield and how they change the nature of war. Next we will examine the role that media has played, particularly in underdeveloped political system such as those in Central Africa. Finally, after examining the causes of war, we end on the hopeful note of peacemaking, with a particular eye to the role that religious leaders have played at promoting peace..

The grades for this course are as follows:

- Research paper 35%
- mid-term 25%
- final 30%
- class participation 10%

The research paper is a piece of empirical research on a topic that we mutually agree upon. This means that you should plan to come in and see me during office hours to discuss your topic. The mid-term and final are in-class, with both an objective portion and an essay which should engage your critical thinking. Class participation is required, which includes attendance of the class, demonstration of prior completion of the reading, and thoughtful response to questions posed. **The penalty for late work is 5 points a day.** The only excuses accepted are University sanctioned excuses and must be documented. Also, this course will follow all of the guidelines for reasonable accommodations laid out in the University Handbook. The books for this class are as follows:

- Ballentine, Karen and Jake Sherman, Editors. *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict*. Lynne Reinner, 2003, ISBN: 1588261727.
- Biersteker, Thomas and Sue E. Eckert. *Countering the Financing of Terrorism*. London: Routledge Books, 2008, ISBN: 0415396433
- Frere, Marie-Soliel. *The Media and Conflicts in Central Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 2007, ISBN: 9781588264657
- Hedges, Chris. *War is a Force that Gives us Meaning*. Anchor Publishing, 2003. ISBN: 1400034639
- Little, David. *Peacemakers in Action: Profiles of Religion in Conflict Resolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, ISBN: 9780521618946
- Singer, P.W. *Children at War*. Pantheon: 2005. ISBN: 0375423494

August	25:	Introductions, Hand out Syllabi
	27:	Why is War so Popular in Modern Society? Hedges, Chapter 1, pgs 1-42
	29:	Nationalism in Warfare Hedges, Chapter 2, pgs 43-61
September	1:	Labor Day, no class
	3:	The Destruction of Culture in War Hedges, Chapter 3, 62-82
	5:	The Seduction of the Battlefield Hedges, Chapter 5, pgs 83-121

- 8: Historical Memory  
Hedges, Chapter 5, pgs 122-141
- 10: The Causes of War, a first look  
Hedges, Chapters 6-7, pgs 142-185
- 12: Economics and War  
Ballentine and Sherman, chapters 1-2, pgs 1-45
- 15: Natural Resources, Lootability, and War—A Model  
Ballentine and Sherman, Chapter 3, pgs 47-70
- 17: Colombia and the Coca Trade  
Ballentine and Sherman, Chapter 4, pgs 73-106
- 19: Nepal and Papua New Guinea: Beyond Mere Economic Want  
Ballentine and Sherman, Chapters 5-6, pgs 107-166
- 22: Kosovo and the Political Economy of Reconstruction  
Ballentine and Sherman, Chapter 7, pgs 167-195
- 24: Diasporas Funding Conflict  
Ballentine and Sherman, Chapter 8, pgs 197-223  
Biersteker, chapter 5, pgs 93-125
- 26: Documentary on Conflict Diamonds  
Biersteker, chapter 9, pgs 193-206
- 29: Burma and the Political Economy of a Cease Fire  
Ballentine and Sherman, Chapter 9-10, pgs 225-283
- October
- 1: The financing of terrorism  
Biersteker, chapters 1, 3, pgs 1-16; 47-62
- 3: Organizational dynamics of terrorism  
Biersteker, chapters 2, 4, pgs 19-46; 63-89
- 6: Terrorism's link to organized crime  
Biersteker, chapter 6, pgs 126-149
- 8: Legal and quasi-legal trade and terrorism  
Biersteker, Chapter 7-8, pgs 150-192
- 10: US and international efforts to curb terrorist funding  
Biersteker, Chapter 10-11, pgs 211-259

- 10: US and international efforts to curb terrorist funding  
Biersteker, Chapter 10-11, pgs 211-259
- 13: Lessons learned and prospects to stopping terrorism's money  
Biersteker, Chapter 12 and conclusion, pgs 260-304
- 15: Review for mid-term
- 17: **Mid-Term**
- 20: The Rise of Children in warfare  
Singer, Chapters 1-2, pgs 3-34
- 22: How Children are Recruited into war  
Singer, Chapters 3-5, pgs 37-93
- 24: What Children on the Battlefield means for War?  
Singer Chapters 6, pgs 94-115
- 27: Children as Terrorists  
Singer, Chapter 7, pgs 116-131
- 29: Preventing Child Soldiers  
Singer, Chapters 8-9, pgs 135-182
- 31: What to Do After the Conflict?  
Singer, Chapters 10-11, pgs 183-211
- November 3: The role of the media in the DRC  
Frere, chapter 1; 3, pgs 1-7; 41-77
- 5: Great Lakes conflict—Rwanda and Burundi  
Frere, Chapters 2; 4, pgs 9-40; 79-117
- 7: Congo (Brazzaville) and the Central African Republic  
Frere, Chapters 5-6, pgs 119-154
- 10: Chad and Cameroon  
Frere, Chapters 7-8, pgs 155-189
- 12: Gabon and Equatorial Guinea  
Frere, Chapters 9-10, pgs 191-220
- 14: Conclusions about African conflict and media coverage  
Frere, Chapters 11-12, pgs 221-251

- 17: The role of religion in conflict and peace  
Little, chapter 1, pgs 2-24
- 19: religion and peace in Central America  
Little, chapter 2, pgs 25-52
- 21: Western nations' conflict and the role of religion:  
Northern Ireland and South Africa  
Little Chapters 3; 8, pgs 53-96; 215-246  
**Papers due**
- 24: Peacemaking in the former Yugoslavia  
Little Chapters 4-5, pgs 97-150
- 26: Peacemaking in East Africa  
Little Chapters 6-7, pgs 151-214
- 28: Thanksgiving, no class
- December 1: Peacemaking in West Africa  
Little Chapters 9-10, pgs 247-301
- 3: Middle East peacemaking  
Little, Chapters 11-12, pgs 302-401
- 5: Southeast Asia  
Little, Chapters 13-14, pgs 402-448  
Final Exam Wednesday, December 19, 11:00-1:00 pm

## APPENDIX E

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### SYLLABUS FOR THE COURSE: POLITICS OF THE WAR ON TERROR

Bruce D. Larkin•  
TA Pascha Bueno  
Fall 2002

MWF 12.30-1.40  
Stevenson 175

#### **Politics 72 Politics of the “War on Terrorism”**

##### PRELIMINARY SYLLABUS

This course will introduce the ‘War on Terrorism’ following the 9.11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, with a focus on the politics stemming from those events. The course will be taught through and around the texts--presidential speeches, Acts of Congress, newspaper analyses, germane Treaties, reports of actions by public officials--displaying political claims and moves.

##### DESCRIPTION

From September 2001 the United States committed to a ‘War on Terrorism’. What are its political sources? Objectives? Effects on internal politics, external alliances, and civil liberties? Military implications? Costs? How is political discourse deployed? How can it be assessed? Topics [By Week]

1 **Preliminaries.** The 1993 World Trade Center attack. Attacks on US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, and on the USS Cole. Clinton Administration measures. The election of 2000 and the early anti-terrorism actions of the GW Bush Administration. Was the US ‘unprepared’?

2 **Precursors.** The great Civil Wars and revolutions. Nationalism. Anarchism. The anti-colonial movement. The Russian and Chinese Revolutions. ‘National liberation movements.’ The Israeli-Palestinian issue. The 1990s of the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Was ‘Islamic extremism’ inevitable? Were the American Revolutionaries ‘terrorists’?

**3 The Attack of 9.11.** The GW Bush Administration response. Launching of the 'war on terrorism'. UN Security Council endorsement. Origins of a 'coalition' [distinguished from the Gulf War coalition]. Could the Administration have responded differently?

**4 Vulnerability.** Are all polities inherently vulnerable? Are democracies especially so? And what of societies reliant on complex technological infrastructure? Can sources of attack can be foreseen? Why was 9.11 not foreseen? What are the chief vulnerabilities to which US society is exposed? What constitute 'adequate' measures to preclude attack? Is it always true that a few can cause great harm, if they choose to do so?

**5 Enemies.** If you were trying to identify and rout people with plans to commit terrorist acts against the United States or US citizens abroad, how would you do it? Is organizational membership a good criterion? Funding an organization? Speaking well of an organization? Having friend and associates in an organization? And what of whole countries: how should we understand the concept of "a country which harbors terrorists"? And do Iran, Iraq and North Korea constitute an 'axis of evil' which threatens the United States?

**6 Weapons of Mass Destruction.** The attack of 9.11 did not employ a 'weapon of mass destruction'. Could attackers have used chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear weapons? Could they have launched missiles, armed with such weapons, against the United States? Does 9.11 confirm the need for National Missile Defense, as the Bush Administration insists, or does it show that realistic threats actually lie elsewhere? And what is the significance of the anthrax attacks?

**7 The Congress.** Undertaking 'war' silenced Democratic critics in Congress. In February 2002 the Administration proposed a budget with massively enlarged spending for the military. Does calling the response a 'war on terrorism' deny the elected Congress an effective voice? How, and on what issues, are the Administration and the Democrats bargaining with each other? Would it be different if Senator Jeffords had not left the Republican Party? And now, with results of the mid-term election in hand, how has the election changed this relationship?

**8 Civil Liberties I.** The Prisoners and the Courts. What is the Constitutional basis for military tribunals? Are the Administration's actions consistent with US obligations under the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III) of 1949? Are captured Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters 'prisoners of war' or 'unlawful combatants' or 'detainees'? Why were some of those captured moved to Guantanamo Bay? What of the prosecution of John Walker Lindt?

**9 Civil Liberties II.** Domestic Surveillance and Control. The USA PATRIOT Act. Definition of 'terrorism'. Expanded authority for electronic wiretap. Denial of confidentiality of lawyer-client conversations. Detention without indictment or trial. Refusal to release names of those in detention. Focused interrogations. Profiling. Focus on

specific groups: Muslims, foreigners, persons of Middle Eastern descent, students. Visa controls. Controls on airline passengers. Use of technology (computers, databases, networking) to consolidate and use information about individuals. Proposed national identity card.

**10 Military and the Policy of Preventive Intervention.** The new model of warfare: technology, special ops, reliance on local forces. Bases. Paul Wolfowitz on preventive intervention. Policy of self-reliance. US nuclear policy: forces not to be constrained by treaties.

**11 Foreign Relations.** Allies: Britain, Canada, Australia. Bases. Pakistan. Politics of deference to Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, China, Russia, Israel. Hubert Vedrine criticism of the US as 'unilateralist'. Effects on the United Nations. Foreign views of the GW Bush Administration policies resisting and rejecting multilateral constraints: Kyoto Protocol, ABM Treaty, CTBT, START process, &c. Will the US response to 9.11 lead to a loose global coalition against US unilateralism?

#### READING LIST

This syllabus is 'preliminary' because we wish to take advantage of works which may be published in late Spring. If this course were taught today, the reading would consist of the following books and a reader or online materials providing the texts for discussion:

Heymann, Philip B., *Terrorism and America: A Commonsense Strategy for a Democratic Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998).

Hoge, James F., Jr. and Gideon Rose [eds], *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001).

Rashid, Ahmed, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*  
<http://www.learnworld.com/Courses.html#P72>



