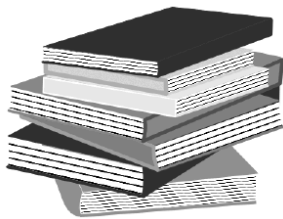


Adopt a Dissenting Book Campaign

A Student Guide



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David Horowitz Freedom Center
PO BOX 55089
Sherman Oaks, CA 91499-1964
Elizabeth@horowitzfreedomcenter.org

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The Concept

It is not the function of a faculty member in a democracy to indoctrinate his/her students with ready-made conclusions on controversial subjects. The faculty member is expected to train students to think for themselves, and to provide them access to those materials, which they need if they are to think intelligently.*

The principles of American democracy and therefore of a democratic education were once as self-evident as they were universally accepted. They were summarized in classic form by the American Association of University Professors in 1915 in the paragraph cited above. The American Council on Education, an organization representing 1800 colleges, universities and academic organizations, reiterated them as recently as June 2005 in a document that states: “Intellectual pluralism and academic freedom are central principles of American higher education.”

* *1915 Declaration on the Principles of Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure*

Simply put, this means there should be no orthodoxy imposed on students in controversial subject areas. Students should be taught *how* to think by their teachers, not told *what* to think. They should not be presented with ready-made conclusions on controversial issues. Where opposing views exist, they should be presented in a fair-minded and judicious manner.

These principles seem so obviously right as to be inarguable. Yet in many American classrooms they are ignored. At a recent conference of the Modern Language Association, which is the largest organization of academic professionals, Professor Norma Cantu, a former official in the Department of Education during the Clinton years, said that she hoped students were radicalized by her courses and that other faculty shared the same aim. (“The [question] is whether we are radicalizing our students: I hope so.”¹)

This attitude is reflected in current teaching practices which include programs intended to indoctrinate students such as “the pedagogy of the oppressed,” “critical pedagogy,” “teaching for social justice,” “radical pedagogy,” and “anti-

¹ *Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 29, 2008

oppressive education.” In a recently published book, *One-Party Classroom*, David Horowitz and Jacob Laksin describe more than 150 courses at twelve universities that are clearly designed to instill a doctrine rather than examine ideas critically. The implication of their research is that there are thousands of courses that present students with “ready-made conclusions” on controversial issues and violate their academic freedom.

The reading lists for such courses are made up of texts that represent only one side of controversial issues. In many classrooms, propaganda films such as Al Gore’s *An Inconvenient Truth* and Michael Moore’s *Sicko* are shown without critique, even though cinematic counter-arguments inspired by these films exist and are available to teachers who want to present students with an educational experience and not just ram their personal prejudices about global warming and socialized medicine down students’ throats.

The basic condition for a proper academic education is the provision of critical materials allowing students to make up their own minds. The historic “Declaration” of the American Association of University Professors on the “Principles of

Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure” makes the obligations of the instructor to provide such materials crystal clear:

The university teacher, in giving instruction upon controversial matters, while he is under no obligation to hide his own opinion under a mountain of equivocal verbiage, should, if he is fit for his position, be a person of a fair and judicial mind; he should, in dealing with such subjects, set forth justly, without supercession or innuendo, the divergent opinions of other investigators; he should cause his students to become familiar with the best published expressions of the great historic types of doctrine upon the questions at issue; and *he should, above all, remember that his business is not to provide his students with ready-made conclusions, but to train them to think for themselves, and to provide them access to those materials which they need if they are to think intelligently.* (emphasis added)

In plain English, this means that while a professor is under no obligation to hide his own

beliefs he or she *is* obligated to inform students that other scholars do not share these conclusions. Furthermore, the instructor must not present dissenting views derisively or dismissively to prejudice students against them. The instructor must present students with the “best published expressions” of these dissenting views and not give students only the weakest possible counter-arguments.

The object of teaching should not be to recruit students to the professor’s point of view but to provide them with materials and arguments that will train them to think for themselves.

The existence of this forthright declaration of fairness in providing students with materials on both sides of controversial issues would come as a surprise to students in far too many classrooms today. Because of this, Students for Academic Freedom is launching an “Adopt A Dissenting Book” campaign to urge professors and administrators to make sure that students are not presented with ready-made conclusions on controversial issues but are provided with materials that will help them to think independently. The most obvious way to do this is to assign books that are critical of the classroom orthodoxy.

The Campaign

You Can't Get A Good Education If They're Only Telling You Half The Story

Are you taking a political science, history, sociology or other course where the required readings present only one side of controversial issues? Do your professors assign hundreds of pages of Karl Marx or Barbara Ehrenreich or Howard Zinn but not a page of Friedrich Hayek or Christina Hoff Sommers or Thomas Sowell?

Are you being taught that gender is “socially constructed” but not provided with texts that argue that it is biologically determined?

If so, you are being denied a decent education whether you are at a state college or Harvard, and whether you are paying \$10,000 or \$40,000 a year.

Students for Academic Freedom is launching a new initiative to request that university instructors, whether liberal or conservative, provide students texts that reflect controversies, not suppress them. The idea is to “teach the conflicts” in the words

of former Modern Language Association president Gerald Graff, not to indoctrinate students in politically correct orthodoxies. The campaign is called “Adopt a Dissenting Book,” and its goal is to see that students have access *in class* to both conservative and liberal ideas.

Students for Academic Freedom will work with individuals and groups on campuses across the country to review their course syllabi and reading lists and evaluate them to see if both liberal and conservative ideas are presented in a respectful and dignified manner. If there are courses that fail to meet the basic standards of academic integrity and academic freedom we will assist students in petitioning their professors to adopt a dissenting text.

Treating dissenting scholarly views with dignity and respect is important. If ideas are ridiculed by instructors they are in effect being dismissed without argument. Some ideas may be worthy of ridicule. But when the ideas and intellectual figures representing either conservative or liberal perspectives are systematically derided this is no longer an academic examination but a political polemic, which has no place in a university

classroom. It is not enough for an instructor merely to refer to dissenting ideas. He or she must present them on their own terms as reasonable alternatives in the same respectful manner with which the instructor's own perspective and ideas are presented. While the instructor is free to present his or her own interpretation of the data, "if he is fit for his position ... he should, in dealing with [the] subjects set forth justly, without supercession or innuendo, the divergent opinions of other investigators."

If, on examining a course's syllabus and reading list, it is found that readings from only one perspective are required of students, whether the approved perspective favors one side or the other, we will work with students to correct the situation.

It is important to stress that we are not asking professors or administrators to remove any books from their reading lists. This is a campaign for inclusiveness and for increased intellectual diversity. We are asking that academic professionals respect the AAUP's 1915 declaration on academic freedom and set forth opposing critical views in a fair-minded manner.

Bring the Campaign to Your Campus

Step 1: Collect course syllabi and reading lists

The first step is to assess the current state of affairs. So you should begin by collecting syllabi from politically oriented courses in such departments as Anthropology, Communications, English Literature, Political Science, History, Sociology, Economics, Women's Studies, African-American Studies, and so forth. On some campuses, syllabi are available online to all students. If they are not, ask your friends to send you the syllabi and reading lists for the courses they are taking, and include the courses in which you yourself are enrolled. Take a look at the assigned course readings and projects and see if they include diverse points of view.

Step 2: Request that your professor adopt a dissenting book

If you find that a course features one-sided perspectives on a given topic (a course on the War on Terror, for example, that features only readings that are critical of the war and President Bush, or a course in Women's Studies that does not include texts critical of the view that gender is "socially

constructed”), then it is time to ask your professor to adopt a dissenting book and to include critical readings and perspectives other than the monolithic views currently being presented. Contact us before you approach your professor so that we can help you prepare your request.

You should research your university’s policies on academic freedom and diversity to see what they have to say about respecting other viewpoints. This can be pertinent to the arguments you will make to faculty and administrators to include dissenting perspectives in the classroom.

Step 3: Take your request up the chain of command

If your professor refuses to grant your request, appeal to the next higher authority, which would be the Department Chair, and after that the Dean of Students. If you are unsuccessful with this appeal, then take the request to the university administration beginning with the Provost or President, then the Chancellor and finally to your university’s Board of Trustees.

A National Petition Campaign

When you are forced to make an appeal to administrators, this means that your university has an intellectual diversity problem and that it is time to go public with your efforts. A large part of the success of this campaign may rest with gaining public awareness and outrage over the absence of academic standards in the classroom.

To that end, it is important to take this campaign to the public. Send a press release describing the campaign and your findings to your campus newspaper as well as any local media that regularly cover campus issues, and make yourself available for interviews. (A sample press release is included as an appendix to this guide). If your campus paper won't assign a staffer to cover the campaign, write an editorial or letter to the editor describing the situation and appealing for support and ask them to print it.

When you talk about this campaign to the media, make sure to focus on the principles of academic freedom as they are presented in the 1915 Declaration (quoted above) and explain how they are being violated by professors who

assign readings on only one side of controversial questions. Don't let the media turn this campaign into a political issue. This is an issue of academic freedom and academic standards, not conservative versus liberal beliefs.

Reach out to alumni and, in the case of state universities, to the public. The fundamental issue here is one of academic standards and academic integrity. If academic standards are not being observed, you are being cheated out of your education dollar, and have every right to be concerned about what is taking place.

We are organizing a national petition drive to "Adopt A Dissenting Book" which you can take to your campus. The local version of the petition will list courses that require readings on only one side of controversial issues and will ask the university community to take steps to rectify the situation. (A sample petition is included as an appendix to this guide.)

We encourage you to keep in touch with the David Horowitz Freedom Center throughout this project so that we can assist you and keep track of the information you are collecting. Please email

course syllabi as you collect them to Students for Academic Freedom Director Sara Dogan at Sara@horowitzfreedomcenter.org. You can also reach Sara by phone at 636-527-3321.

We can help you to evaluate the syllabi that you collect. We can also suggest books and writings that offer alternative viewpoints to the ones already being presented in your classrooms. Once you collect a number of course syllabi, we will assist you in summarizing your conclusions in a report or press release which you can then send to your school's administrators and to the media to focus attention on this crucial issue.

Making Your Case To Parents and Prospective Students

We also suggest that you take advantage of special events arranged for parents of current students (Parents Visiting Days) or for prospective students (Incoming Student Information Days), and use those occasions to make your case for the inclusion of dissenting perspectives in the curriculum that challenge prevailing orthodoxies. Your college

administrators will be particularly concerned with the image they present to parents and to prospective students. Using these occasions to showcase your demands will put additional pressure on them to take them seriously.

All you need to do is place a table in a central location on campus. Copies of the petition to “Adopt A Dissenting Book” should be prominently displayed on the table. The table should also include texts by dissident authors with labels saying “Adopt Me.” This will make the point that a great many important such works exist but are not included on course reading lists.

Adopt a Dissenting Book Week

We are also planning an Adopt A Dissenting Book Week in the 2010 Fall Semester. It will be one week during which students will host speakers, distribute literature, and formally petition their campus administrations to include dissenting books and perspectives in the classroom. Check our website, www.freedomcenterstudents.org, for more information on this event .

How to Participate

To join the Adopt a Dissenting Book campaign please contact Sara Dogan at 636-527-3321 or at Sara@horowitzfreedomcenter.org. You can also contact the Horowitz Freedom Center's Director of Campus Campaigns Jeffrey Wienir at 818-849-3470, ext. 206 or at Jeffrey@horowitzfreedomcenter.org. We can assist you in evaluating your course syllabi and compiling a report illustrating the lack of diverse perspectives in the classroom. You can make a difference on your campus and take charge of your education. Ask your professor to adopt a dissenting book today.

Appendix I: How Bad Is the Indoctrination in our Colleges?*

By David Horowitz

How bad is the indoctrination process in American colleges?

I had occasion to see for myself when I recently

*Article from <http://frontpagemag.com/>

visited the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. This is a state school with 20,000 students, and while I was there I audited an hour-and-a-half lecture about the Warren Court's landmark decisions on civil liberties by a political scientist named Sheldon Goldman, a nationally recognized expert in the field.

There are no open conservatives on the faculty of the University of Massachusetts, none that the conservative students who were hosting me could identify. My student hosts were political science majors and the absence of conservative professors was a real problem for them given the extreme and abusive nature of many of their professors. The students told me that one professor had given an exam that consisted of a speech by President Reagan and a question: Explain why Reagan is wrong. Another professor was a militant leftist who required a paper on the Vietnam War. To avoid the political minefield which confronted him, a student wrote his paper comparing military strategies for the war. The professor rejected the paper with the comment: "We shouldn't have been there in the first place."

When I entered Goldman's classroom I saw that

half of my conservative student hosts were taking his course, a relief they told me from the harassment they experience in other political science courses. Goldman is regarded by these conservative students as the “best” and “fairest” professor on the UMass faculty. They conceded that every now and then he would vent a liberal sentiment or prejudice but believed that his lectures were relatively free from bias. Political Science departments in my experience are more academic and less politicized than other departments such as Anthropology, Sociology and the various inter-disciplinary fields (“Peace Studies,” “Cultural Studies”) that tenured radicals have invented to push their ideological agendas.

Consequently, I was not prepared for what I encountered in Professor Goldman’s classroom. I had previously suggested in my writings and lectures on universities that professors who use their classrooms as platforms for their political campaigns represent a small albeit significant minority, which I have estimated to be about ten percent of a given faculty. The other ninety percent are scholars who are professional and observe the guidelines on academic freedom which enjoin faculty from presenting students with “ready-

made conclusions” on controversial matters. Or so I thought. After auditing Professor Goldman’s course I will have to revise that judgment.

Let me begin by stating what I believe indoctrination to be and what it is not. Indoctrination is presenting opinion to students as though it were scientific fact or as though no rational, decent, and moral person could have any other view. It is the equivalent of presenting students with ready-made conclusions which they cannot realistically feel free to challenge. There are now in our universities entire fields of study that are in fact programs of indoctrination. For example, all Women’s Studies programs with which I am familiar are programs to train students to be radical feminists and specifically to instill in them the doctrine that gender differences are “socially constructed” – that they are artificially created by male elites to subordinate and oppress women.

The “social construction of gender” is not a theory that students in Women’s Studies courses are free to adopt or reject. It is taught in the same way courses in physics teach Newton’s laws of motion. When I confronted the president of the American Association of University Professors over this very

issue at a recent academic conference he replied that he did indeed teach the social construction of gender as a scientific fact but that he also allowed students to take the opposite point of view and therefore it wasn't indoctrination. But what does it mean to let a student who is seeking a good grade argue against a scientific fact, except that you are allowing him to make a fool of himself?

Professor Goldman is not a radical and his presentation was of a much subtler order, but its import was surprisingly similar. Let me be clear at the outset. If Professor Goldman had presented the rulings of the Warren Court along with the conservative objections to those rulings and then said that personally — and based on his own years of study — he was of the opinion that the Warren rulings were wise ones, I would have no problem with his presentation, particularly since the students were confident that he was fair-minded in his treatment of them. But Professor Goldman did not do this. Instead he presented a series of landmark Warren Court decisions as a salesman for the Warren Court's point of view, and without giving the conservative justices' concerns a proper day in his court. To put it more bluntly, Professor Goldman suppressed the conservative argument

against the Warren Court decisions so that no one sitting in the class who was not already familiar with it could think that any modern person, or any rational and moral person for that matter, could fail to approve what the Warren Court did.

In discussing the First Amendment's establishment of religion clause for example, he made it seem as though the issue was whether saying a prayer in school was a step towards establishing religion or whether it was too inconsequential to raise concerns. But this was not the heart of the conservative argument. The conservative position is that the establishment clause refers to the establishment of a particular religion not the claim that a Deity exists. After all, the Founders were — or were descended from — refugees who had fled to America as Christians persecuted by other Christians who used government powers against rival denominations. It was because the *Anglican* Church was the established Church of England that the Puritans fled to America. Mentioning a non-denominational "God" in the classroom may or may not qualify as the kind of establishment the Founders had in mind, but obviously reasonable, and moral, and modern people can disagree on this matter. Yet this is something no student in Goldman's class would

understand from his lecture.

Goldman then turned to an even more important case, *Griswold v. Connecticut*, which as he pointed out provided the constitutional basis for *Roe v. Wade*. This, as he did not point out, was a decision that can be said to have transformed the politics of this country, creating a “religious right” opposition, turning Supreme Court nominations into political battles and causing a polarization of the two major parties. Nor would anything in Goldman’s presentation explain why this should be so.

The *Griswold* case involved a Connecticut law against contraceptives and was resolved when the Warren majority invented a “right to privacy” which Goldman conceded cannot be found in the actual Constitution. But he then went on to argue in effect that this non-existent right *should* have been in the Constitution and to imply that we can be thankful that it was put there by Justice Douglas under the mysterious doctrine of “penumbras.” Goldman made the case for the ruling easy by making fun of the Connecticut law, acting out an imaginary knock at the door by the contraceptive police coming to look into citizens’ bedrooms.

The effect was to underscore that this was a

stupid and dangerous law, and to insinuate that if we have to invent rights that aren't in the Constitution to get rid of such laws, well and good. They should have been there in the first place and as enlightened progressives we are obligated to supply them.

At no point do I remember Goldman pointing out to students that there was another way to get rid of a stupid and dangerous law, which was through the legislative process. This is in fact the conservative argument. Better to have legislative remedies for legislative deficiencies. That would avoid having nine unelected judges, appointed for life, rewriting the Constitution and substituting themselves for the electorate. The closest Professor Goldman came to recognizing the conservative objection to the Warren Court decision was a passing reference to Justice Stewart's dissent in which he said that the majority position was an argument for having a constitutional convention every day.

At no point did Professor Goldman explain to students that the conservative opposition to the Warren Court decisions revolved around this absolutely critical point, or as the noted liberal law professor Mark Tushnet acknowledges,

“To conservatives, the Warren Court converted constitutional law into ordinary politics....” By circumventing (really subverting) legislatures and the democratic process instead of applying the Constitution as written, the Warren Court liberals made the selection of a Supreme Court justice a momentous political act, which is why Supreme Court nominations have since become such open political conflicts, while the Constitution as written by the Founders has been gravely weakened. This conservative argument was entirely absent from Professor Goldman’s lecture.

All this would have been less problematic if the text Professor Goldman required his students to read for the course was not a partisan liberal view of the Court written by Jeffrey Toobin, which only served to reinforce his one-sided presentation to the class. It is not as though there aren’t equally accessible conservative books about this very history. Robert Bork a distinguished law professor and jurist (whose name was mentioned a few times derisively by Goldman) has written one called, *The Tempting of America*. How difficult would it have been to assign students Bork’s book alongside Toobin’s? That would have been an education.

Here is the relevant passage on indoctrination from the classic 1915 AAUP statement on academic freedom:

“It is not the function of a faculty member in a democracy to indoctrinate his/her students with ready-made conclusions on controversial subjects. The faculty member is expected to train students to think for themselves, and to provide them access to those materials, which they need if they are to think intelligently. Hence, in giving instruction upon controversial matters the faculty member is expected to be of a fair and judicial mind, and to set forth justly, without supercession or innuendo, the divergent opinions of other investigators.”

If Professor Goldman had followed these guidelines I would have had no problem with his personal judgments about the wisdom of the Warren Court. But he didn't and therefore I do. The larger problem is this: what happens to a democracy when its educational institutions are converted into training and recruitment programs for one political party and its worldview?

Appendix II: Hard Indoctrination, Soft Indoctrination, and the Books that Change Us*

By David Swindle

There are few problems as misrepresented or misunderstood as that of indoctrination in American schools. I went through my own schooling as a “progressive” undergraduate and wrote a 90-page thesis on indoctrination blasting David Horowitz for his claims about professorial practices at my alma mater, Ball State University (BSU.) I am writing about it now, after having had second thoughts and joining the Freedom Center’s Academic Freedom Campaign.

Looking back at my own education from the vantage point of four post-graduate years in the University of the Real World, I still wonder: Did I experience indoctrination as an undergraduate political science and English double-major at BSU? Once, my answer would have been an adamant “No.” My professors were professional. None subordinated their teaching to their politics or attempted in a blatant fashion to impose their

*Article from <http://frontpagemag.com>

prejudices on their students. Many went out of their way to argue contrary views and even preface their remarks with, “Now understand that just because I argue a point it does not mean I believe it.” I was never assigned neo-communist propagandist Howard Zinn’s *A People’s History of the United States* or instructed to study it as though it were the Bible.

My answer now is different, though. After debating the question of what constitutes indoctrination for years, it’s clear to me that “indoctrination” does not just include the extreme examples that Horowitz frequently used in his trilogy on universities *The Professors*, *Indoctrination U* and *One-Party Classroom*. (Horowitz’s reason for emphasizing these outrageous cases is that if one cannot grasp that extreme examples of classroom indoctrination are problematic then the more subtle examples will be all but invisible.)

In *One-Party Classroom* Horowitz defines “indoctrination” in this fashion: “Indoctrination takes place when professors teach a point of view that is contested within the spectrum of scholarly or intellectually responsible opinion as though it were scientific fact.” He then admonishes: “Professors

should make their students aware that such opinions are contested, and must not teach their point of view as though it were fact. Students should be provided with materials that would allow them to draw their own conclusions about contested positions.”

This is a definition I would have accepted if it had been put in front of me when I was an undergraduate. I certainly embrace it today now that I see that there are two kinds of indoctrination students, parents, and everyone concerned with higher education should consider, which I will call “hard” and “soft.”

In cases of *hard indoctrination* the professor himself is a willing abuser of the academic classroom and traducer of students’ academic freedom. He sets out to indoctrinate students and to recruit them to his political cause. He takes a page from Italian Stalinist Antonio Gramsci’s playbook and sees the university as a “means of cultural production” that must be captured for the revolutionary agenda. He decides that he will utilize his classroom as a political venue. The purpose of his teaching is not to promote an academic inquiry and inculcate an intellectual curiosity and scholarly skepticism. His goal is to fix the world by instilling

a “progressive” sensibility and perspective in his captive student audience. Hard indoctrination is an entirely conscious choice. It is indoctrination by malice.

By contrast, professors who practice *soft indoctrination* do so largely unconsciously and would never think of forcing their students to make their political views match their own. The professor’s fault is weighting his course with leftist or “liberal” texts that he believes represent a consensus of respectable views on a given topic and either failing to give adequate time to conservative views or not treating them as legitimate. David Horowitz discusses the case of one such professor above. This academic represented the liberal Warren Court’s transformative decisions without adequately presenting the conservative and libertarian objections. By and large this is indoctrination by ignorance and misdirection.

Looking back at my own education, I have to conclude that the syndrome Horowitz discusses is unfortunately quite common. Yesterday I pulled one of my English major textbooks off my bookshelf — *Falling Into Theory: Conflicting Views on Reading Literature* by David H. Richter — and flipped

through the table of contents. Several names stood out with fading yellow highlighter behind them: Helen Vendler, Gerald Graff, Terry Eagleton, Paulo Freire, Bell Hooks, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Janice Radway, Alan Purves. With the exception of Himmelfarb, a well-known neoconservative, mostly Marxists and neo-Marxist radicals.

Did my professor intend consciously to propagandize me and my classmates by assigning us such a work? I don't think so. But that does not mean he could not have provided a much better educational experience if he had not been burdened by the pieties of the Left and unable to see past its dominance of his discipline. Will bell hooks with her mantras about America's alleged "white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" really help undergraduate English majors learn how to analyze texts? Is she really consequential? Or is she actually there because she's a black woman expressing *chic*, leftist dogmas?

In assigning this book and these readings my professor was doing one thing quite well: introducing me to the current culture of literary studies at the collegiate level. In this culture, Gramsci has triumphed; a *chic* (if somewhat

vulgar) Marxism has thoroughly embedded itself within the discipline, as it has virtually all of the liberal arts in Academia. One cannot prepare to become a professor of English without reading a lot of Marxist texts. That's what the field has been transformed into during the last 40 years. Given such a situation, a soft indoctrination in the classroom is an inevitability.

So what's to be done about it?

Dealing with soft indoctrination is in many ways easier than the hard variety. And here's why: in the university the student has tremendous freedom in shaping his education. In the writing of papers and the selection of texts the student is quite capable of introducing authors of his own choosing into the discussion. Professors who fall into the soft indoctrination category might not bring conservative texts into the discussion on their own but given their view of themselves as thinkers committed to open and objective scholarly inquiry (however benighted such a conception may be) they are not likely to aggressively oppose such texts because to do so would be a challenge to their *amor prope*.

So my advice to students: if the reading list

is one-sided or excludes views that dissent from the leftwing orthodoxy bring this statement to the attention of your professor and ask him to introduce intellectual diversity into his curriculum. If he refuses, take it upon yourselves to widen the range of the classroom debate.

This is the first step in what will be a generational struggle to restore educational values to the academic curriculum. If students can open the curriculum to diverse views now they will do it when they're the professors and administrators decades hence. The goal is not to make the liberal arts conservative, but to make them truly liberal, again — apolitical, skeptical, and non-ideological. This is a task that may take a long time, but in the process of attempting it you may just get yourself a quality education.

Appendix III: A List of Books Excluded From the Current Curriculum

Note: The following list is not meant to be comprehensive. Rather, it is meant to serve as a starting place for students and educators who are seeking a list of available books and authors that dissent from current academic orthodoxy.

African-American Studies:

John McWhorter, *Losing the Race: Self-Sabotage in Black America*

Mary Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa*

Shelby Steele, *The Content of Our Character*

Ward Connerly, *Creating Equal*

Hugh Pearson, *Shadow of the Panther*

Mary Lefkowitz and Guy Maclean Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*

American Studies:

Peter Collier & David Horowitz, *Destructive Generation: Second Thoughts About the 60s*

Paul Hollander, *Anti-Americanism*

Peter Collier & David Horowitz: *The Anti Chomsky Reader*

Dinesh D'Souza, *What's So Great About America*

Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, *Hating America: A History*

Daniel J. Flynn, *Why the Left Hates America: Exposing the*

Lies That Have Obscured Our Nation's Greatness
Richard Brookhiser, *What Would the Founders Do? Our Questions, Their Answers*

Cultural Studies:

Thomas Sowell, *Race and Culture: A Worldview*

Thomas Sowell, *Conquests and Cultures: An International History*

Thomas Sowell, *Migrations and Cultures: A Worldview*

Paul Johnson, *Intellectuals*

Ronald & Alis Radosh, *Red Star Over Hollywood: The Film Colony's Long Romance with the Left*

James Bowman, *Honor*

Alan Ehrenhalt, *The Lost City*

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Roads to Modernity: The British, French and American Enlightenments*

Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values*

Roger Simon, *Blacklisting Myself: Memoir of a Hollywood Apostate in an Age of Terror*

Roger Kimball, *Rape of the Masters*

Irving Kristol, *Reflections of a Neoconservative*

Harvey Mansfield, *Manliness*

Peter Wood, *Diversity*

Gabriel Schoenfeld, *The Return of Anti-Semitism*

Robert Edgerton, *Sick Societies: Challenging the Myth of Primitive Harmony*

Jonah Goldberg, *Liberal Fascism: The Secret History of the American Left, From Mussolini to the Politics of Meaning*

Brian Anderson, *South Park Conservatives: The Revolt Against Media Bias*

Economics:

Henry Hazlitt, *Economics in One Lesson*

Deepak Lal, *Invisible Hand: The Case for Classical Liberalism in the 21st Century*

Ludwig Von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics*

Milton and Rose Friedman, *Free to Choose*

Thomas Sowell, *Basic Economics: A Citizen's Guide to the Economy*

Andrew Bernstein, *The Capitalist Manifesto*

Martin Wolf, *Fixing Global Finance*

Martin Wolf, *Why Globalization Works*

David Horowitz, *One Party Classroom*

William F. Buckley, *God and Man at Yale*

Neil Hamilton, *Zealotry and Academic Freedom*

Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*

Alan Kors and Harvey Silvergate, *The Shadow University: The Betrayal of Liberty on America's Campuses*

Roger Kimball, *Tenured Radicals*

Sol Stern, *Breaking Free: Public School Lessons and the Imperative of School Choice*

Dinesh D'Souza, *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*

Environmental Studies:

Roy Spencer, *Climate Confusion: How Global Warming Hysteria Leads to Bad Science, Pandering Politicians, and Misguided Policies That Hurt the Poor*

Chris Horner, *Red Hot Lies*

Lawrence Solomon, *The Deniers: The World Renowned Scientists Who Stood Up Against Global Warming Hysteria, Political Persecution, and Fraud - And Those Who Are Too Fearful To Do So*

Ethnic Studies:

Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory*

Victor Davis Hanson, *Mexifornia*

Linda Chavez, *An Unlikely Conservative*

Peter Wood, *Diversity: The Invention of a Concept*

History:

Burton Folsom, *The Myth of the Robber Barons*

Thomas DiLorenzo, *How Capitalism Saved America*

Larry Schweikart, *A Patriot's History of the United States*

Daniel Flynn, *A Conservative History of the American Left*

Whittaker Chambers, *Witness*

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*

Paul Johnson, *Modern Times*

Harry Jaffa, *A New Birth of Freedom: Abraham Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War*

Martin Gilbert, *Winston S Churchill: Volume Five: Prophet of Truth 1922-1939*

Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*

Joshua Muravchik, *Heaven on Earth: The Rise and Fall of Socialism*

Steven Hayward, *The Age of Reagan*

Amity Shlaes, *The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression*

Victor Davis Hanson, *A War Like No Other*
Joseph Epstein, *Alexis De Tocqueville: Democracy's Guide*,
Juan Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story*
Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*
Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*
Varlam Shalamov, *Kolyma Tales*
Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers: The Clash of Religion
and Politics in Europe, from the French Revolution to the
Great War*
Michael Burleigh, *Sacred Causes: The Clash of Religion
and Politics, from the Great War to the War on Terror*
Howard K. Bloom, *The Lucifer Principle: A Scientific
Expedition into the Forces of History*
Howard K. Bloom, *The Genius of the Beast: A Radical Re-
Vision of Capitalism*

International Relations & American Foreign Policy:

Vietnam War:

Norman Podhoretz, *Why We Were In Vietnam*
Jeremiah Denton, *When Hell was in Session*
Bruce Herschensohn, *An American Amnesia: How the US
Congress Forced the Surrenders of Vietnam and Cambodia*
B. G. Burkett and Glenna Whitley, *Stolen Valor: How the
Vietnam Generation Was Robbed of Its Heroes and Its
History*
Lewis Sorley, *A Better War: The Unexamined Victories and
Final Tragedy of America's Last Years in Vietnam*
Mark Moyar, *Triumph Forsaken*

Cold War:

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History*

Jeane Kirkpatrick, *Dictatorships and Double Standards*

John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *In Denial: Historians, Communism and Espionage*

Harvey Klehr, John Haynes, Alexander Vassiliev, *Spies: The Rise and Fall of the KGB*

War on Terror:

Doug Feith, *War and Decision*

China:

Ethan Gutmann, *Losing the New China*

Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story*

Global Studies:

Martin Wolf, *Why Globalization Works*

Deepak Lal, *In Praise of Empires*

Niall Ferguson, *The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the World*

Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*

Christopher Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West*

Law:

Robert Levy and William Mellor, *The Dirty Dozen: How Twelve Supreme Court Cases Radically Expanded Government and Eroded Freedom*

Antonin Scalia, *Scalia Dissents: Writings of the Supreme Court's Wittiest, Most Outspoken Justice*

Antonin Scalia and Amy Gutmann, *A Matter of Interpretation: Federal Courts and the Law*

Michael W. McConnell, Robert F. Cochran Jr., and Angela C. Carmella, *Christian Perspectives on Legal Thought*

Steven Michael Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement: The Battle for Control of the Law*

Randy E. Barnett, *Restoring the Lost Constitution*

Literature:

Reinaldo Arenas, *Before Night Falls*

Saul Bellow, *Ravelstein*

Ayn Rand, *Atlas Shrugged*

Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon*

Philip Roth, *American Pastoral*

Cormac McCarthy, *The Road*

Biography:

Malcolm Muggeridge, *Chronicles of Wasted Time*

David Horowitz, *Radical Son*

Ronald Radosh, *Commies*

Said Sayrafiezadeh, *When Skateboards Will Be Free: A Memoir of a Political Childhood*

Middle East Studies:

George Gilder, *The Israel Test*

Robert Spencer, *Stealth Jihad: How Radical Islam is Subverting America without Guns or Bombs*

Ibn Warraq, *Defense of the West*

Walid Phares, *The War of Ideas: Jihadism Against Democracy*

Ibn Warraq, *What the Koran Really Says: Language, Text, and Commentary*

Wafa Sultan, *A God Who Hates: The Courageous Woman Who Inflamed the Muslim World Speaks Out Against the Evils of Islam*

Nonie Darwish, *Cruel and Unusual Punishment: The Terrifying Global Implications of Islamic Law*

Alan Dershowitz, *The Case for Israel*

Norman Podhoretz, *World War IV: The Long Struggle Against Islamo-Fascism*

Foud Ajami, *The Foreigners Gift*

Ephriam Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism*

Paul Berman, *Terror and Liberalism*

David Meir-Levi, *History Upside Down: The Roots of Palestinian Fascism and the Myth of Israeli Aggression*

Dan Senor and Saul Singer, *Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle*

Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War*

Ayaan Hirsi Ali, *Infidel*

Souad, *Burned Alive: A Survivor of an "Honor Killing" Speaks Out*

David Pryce-Jones, *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs*

Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World*

Andrew McCarthy, *The Grand Jihad: How Islam and the Left Sabotage America*

Efraim Karsh, *Palestine Betrayed*

Political Science and Political Philosophy:

Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*

Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Mirage of Social Justice*

Robert Bork, *The Tempting Of America*

Mark Levin, *Liberty and Tyranny: A Conservative Manifesto*

Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*

Jamie Glazov, *United in Hate*

Thomas P.M. Barnett, *The Pentagon's New Map*

Richard M. Weaver, *Ideas Have Consequences*

Michael Oakeshott, *Rationalism in Politics*

Michael Ledeen, *Accomplice to Evil*

Paul Hollander, *Political Pilgrims: Western Intellectuals in Search of the Good Society*

Paul Hollander, *Understanding Anti-Americanism: Its Origins and Impact at Home and Abroad*

Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism: The Founders-The Golden Age-The Breakdown*

Post-Colonial Studies:

Ibn Warraq, *Defense of the West*

Efraim Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism*

Humberto Fontova, *Fidel: Hollywood's Favorite Tyrant*

David Horowitz, *The Politics of Bad Faith*
David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb*
Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History of the Soviet Camps*
Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda in the Arab World*
Armando Valladares, *Against All Hope: A Memoir of Life in Castro's Gulag*

Religious Studies:

Robert Spencer, *The Truth About Muhammad*
Dinesh D'Souza, *What's So Great about Christianity*
Richard John Neuhaus, *American Babylon: Notes of a Christian Exile*
Michael Novak, *On Two Wings*
Michael Novak, *No One Sees God: The Dark Night of Atheists and Believers*
Michael Novak, *Washington's God: Religion, Liberty, and the Father of our Country*
George Weigel, *Against the Grain: Christianity and Democracy, War and Peace*
George Weigel, *The Truth of Catholicism: The Essential Teachings and Controversies of the Church Today*
George Weigel, *Faith, Reason, and the War Against Jihadism: A Call to Action*
Leon Kass: *The Book of Genesis*

Sociology:

Thomas Sowell, *Black RedNecks and White Liberals*

Shelby Steele, *White Guilt*

Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom, *America In Black and White*

James Q. Wilson, *Crime & Human Nature: The Definitive Study of the Causes of Crime*

Dinesh D'Souza, *The End of Racism*

Douglas Rushkoff, *Life Inc.: How the World Became a Corporation and How to Take It Back*

Women's Studies:

Christina Hoff Sommers, *Who Stole Feminism?*

Daphne Patai and Noretta Koertge, *Professing Feminism: Education and Indoctrination in Women's Studies*

Phyllis Chesler, *The Death of Feminism*

Wendy Shalit, *A Return to Modesty*

Stephen Rhoads, *Taking Sex Differences Seriously*

Appendix IV: Sample Press Release

For Immediate Release

[Name of Group]

[Contact Person]

[Email and Phone]

[Name of Organization] Unveils “Adopt a Dissenting Book Project” at [Name of School] Project Aims to Restore Academic Standards to University Courses

[Name of Organization] at [Name of College] is launching a campaign to include critical texts in university courses which present only one side of issues that are controversial. The campaign is called the “Adopt a Dissenting Book Project” and its goal is to see that students have access in class to books and materials that challenge classroom orthodoxies.

The cardinal principle of an education in a free society is that students are taught how to think and not told what to think. This means that students should not be presented with ready-made conclusions but should be provided with materials that allow them to think for themselves.

In the canonical 1915 Declaration on the Principles of Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure, the American Association of University Professors declared that the function of a teacher in a democratic society is not to indoctrinate students. Therefore instructors are obligated to “set forth justly, without supercession or innuendo, the divergent opinions of other investigators.”

This is the bedrock principle of academic freedom but in the contemporary academy many professors disregard it and present their students with ready-made conclusions on controversial topics in attempt to instill sectarian doctrines and pursue political agendas. [Name of Organization] feels that such violations of students' academic freedom rob students of their educational dollar and deprive them of the professional education they deserve.

[Name of Organization] will review course syllabi and reading lists to see if they present ideas analytically and skeptically or whether their intention is to impose a sectarian orthodoxy. If these materials fail to meet basic scholarly standards of open-minded inquiry, [Name of Group] will ask their instructors to "Adopt a Dissenting Book" and include it in their required reading lists.

Treating dissenting scholarly views with dignity and respect is also important, as David Horowitz, author of *Indoctrination U.* has pointed out. "When the ideas and intellectual figures representing one mainstream perspective are systematically derided, as happens in too many classrooms today, it is no longer an academic exercise. It is a political indoctrination, which has no place in a university classroom."

[Include quote from a member of your organization]

Students interested in working with [Name of Organization] on this important new endeavor should contact [Contact Person] at [Phone and Email].

Appendix V: Petition to Adopt a Dissenting Book

Whereas “intellectual pluralism and academic freedom are central principles of American higher education.”*

Whereas the freedom to learn is inseparable from the freedom to teach,

Whereas the future of American democracy is predicated upon an educated citizenry that is capable of critical reasoning and independent thinking,

Whereas the American Association of University Professors’ canonical 1915 Declaration on the Principles of Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure emphasizes that professors must present not only their own beliefs on controversial questions but must “set forth justly, without suppression or innuendo, the divergent opinions of other investigators,”

Whereas in far too many courses and disciplines, students are presented with ready-made conclusions on controversial topics,

We hereby affirm:

The right of all students to be presented in class with dissenting sources and viewpoints on controversial issues,

The right of all students to take reasoned exception to the data or views offered in any course of study and to reserve judgment about matters of opinion,

The obligation of instructors to require dissenting texts on controversial subjects and to avoid making their classrooms and reading assignments instruments of indoctrination.

*Statement of the American Council on Education,
June 23, 2005

The function of the university is to seek and to transmit knowledge and to train students in the processes whereby truth is to be made known. To convert, or to make converts, is alien and hostile to this dispassionate duty. Where it becomes necessary in performing this function of a university, to consider political, social, or sectarian movements, they are dissected and examined, not taught, and the conclusion left, with no tipping of the scales, to the logic of the facts.... Essentially the freedom of a university is the freedom of competent persons in the classroom. In order to protect this freedom, the University assumes the right to prevent exploitation of its prestige by unqualified persons or by those who would use it as a platform for propaganda.

University of California,
Berkeley, UC President
Robert Gordon Sproul,
1934.