Democracy and Peace?

Historical Links and Implications for World Order

Eighth Annual Symposium on Democracy
Kent State University, May 2 and 3, 2007
Save the date!
May 2 and 3

Featuring a keynote address by well-known political activist and author, Tom Hayden.

This year’s symposium will feature panel discussions on the relationship between democracy and world peace. While democratic governments fight wars against authoritarian regimes, historical patterns suggest they maintain peaceful relationships with other democratic countries, a concept known as the democratic peace theory. American leaders have explicitly cited this idea in promoting reforms in the Middle East, including Iraq and Afghanistan. But as a democracy, how successful is the United States in implementing peace and how well does the United States uphold its own democratic values at home and in its foreign policies? The symposium will address this question, as well as the best ways to promote democracy.

All events are free and open to the public. No registration necessary.

For more information, visit www.kent.edu/DemocracySymposium or call 330-672-8949.
Historical Links and Implications for World Order

THURSDAY, MAY 3

9:45-11:30 a.m.  Panel Discussion: Critical Perspectives on Democracy Promotion, Kiva

1-2:45 p.m.      Panel Discussion: Democracy and the Global War on Terror, Kiva

3-4:45 p.m.      Panel Discussion: U.S. Foreign Policy After 9/11, Kiva

7:30-9 p.m.      Keynote Address by Tom Hayden, Political Activist and Author, Kiva
WEDNESDAY, MAY 2

noon-1:30 p.m. Symposium Kickoff, Luncheon (by invitation) with Student Essay Contest Winners, Room 306, Kent Student Center

1:45-3:30 p.m. Panel Discussion: The Democratic Peace in Theory and Practice, Kiva

4-5 p.m. Guided Campus Tours and May 4, 1970, State Historical Marker Commemoration with Thomas Hensley, Kiva

Student Forum with Scholars, Room 313, Kent Student Center

7:30-9 p.m. Documentary Dialogue with Producer Edward Gray: “Security Versus Liberty: The Other War,” PBS Film Series America at a Crossroads, Kiva
Democracy and Peace?

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May 2 and 3, 2007

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL KENT STATE UNIVERSITY SYMPOSIUM ON DEMOCRACY
Welcome to the 2007 Symposium on Democracy. This year we gather to explore another critical question for our democratic society — whether democracy can lead to a more peaceful world.

The tragic events of May 4, 1970, at Kent State University have had a profound impact on our university, the nation and the world. This annual symposium was founded in 2000 to honor the memories of the four students who lost their lives on that day — Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller, Sandra Scheuer and William Schroeder — with an enduring dedication to scholarship that seeks to prevent violence and to promote democratic values and civil discourse.

Now in its eighth year, the symposium has focused on far-reaching and important topics such as the boundaries of freedom of expression and order in a democratic society, the role of the media, democracy and religion, democracy and homeland security, democracy and the arts, and the public forum and discussion of political, religious and scientific issues. We believe these programs are integral to our academic mission and have advanced the dialogue and inquiry of critical questions for our society.

Thank you for engaging with us in these discussions.

Sincerely,

Lester A. Lefton, President
Kent State University
Democracy and Peace?

Historical Links and Implications for World Order

May 2 and 3, 2007

The eighth annual Symposium on Democracy, will address the topic of whether democracy can lead to a more peaceful world. Highlights include a luncheon honoring student essay winners, a keynote address by well-known political activist and author Tom Hayden, a dialogue with documentary producer Edward Gray, and panel discussions by leading scholars on democratic peace in theory and practice, critical perspectives on democracy promotion, democracy and the global war on terror and U.S. foreign policy after 9/11.
**Schedule of Events**

**Wednesday, May 2**

**Noon - 1:30 p.m., Room 306, Kent Student Center**
Symposium Kickoff
Luncheon with Student Essay Contest Winners

**1:45 - 3:30 p.m., Kiva**
Panel Discussion: *The Democratic Peace in Theory and Practice*
Panelists: Daniel Egan, Assistant Professor of Sociology, UMass-Lowell; Erik Gartzke, Associate Professor of Political Science, Columbia University; John Mueller, Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University

**3:45 - 5 p.m.**
Guided Campus Tours with Thomas Hensley and May 4, 1970, State Historical Marker Commemoration, Depart from Kiva
Student Forum with Scholars, Room 313, Kent Student Center

**7:30 - 9 p.m., Kiva**
Documentary and Dialogue with Edward Gray, Producer of “Security Versus Liberty: The Other War,” Featured in the PBS Film Series *America at a Crossroads*

**Thursday, May 3**

**9:45 - 11:30 a.m., Kiva**
Panel Discussion: *Critical Perspectives on Democracy Promotion*
Panelists: A. Cooper Drury, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Missouri; Abdulahi A. Osman, Assistant Professor of International Affairs, University of Georgia; Glenn Petersen, Professor of Anthropology, Baruch College (CUNY); Andrea K. Tallentino, Associate Professor of Political Science, Drew University

**1 - 2:45 p.m., Kiva**
Panel Discussion: *Democracy and the Global War on Terror*
Panelists: Paul Pillar, Visiting Professor, Security Studies Program, Georgetown University; Barbara-Ann J. Rieffer-Flanagan, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Central Washington University; Sean L. Yom, Doctoral Candidate in Political Science, Harvard University

**3 - 4:45 p.m., Kiva**
Panel Discussion: *U.S. Foreign Policy After 9/11*
Panelists: R. William Ayres, Director, Center for Global Citizenship, Elizabethtown College; Andrew Cayton, Professor of History, Miami University of Ohio; Loch Johnson, Professor of Political Science, University of Georgia; Carol Lancaster, Associate Professor of Political Science, Georgetown University

**7:30 - 9 p.m., Kiva**
“Kent State: Memories of the Future”
Keynote Address by Political Activist and Author Tom Hayden
Featured in the PBS films series *America at a Crossroads*, the documentary “Security Versus Liberty: the Other War” focuses on the U.S. government’s adoption of new, controversial policies to ward off terrorists and protect the nation and its citizens. Such policies as eavesdropping on Americans’ phone calls, secret demands for records under the Patriot Act and the use of FBI sting operations have created backlash from the American people, who have felt their privacy is being invaded. Critics of the current governmental policies claim the tactics implemented to save the lives of citizens have actually taken a toll on their civil liberties.

Edward Gray, one of the film’s producers, will discuss these issues, presenting views from both critics and advocates and real-life stories of people whose lives have been affected by these policies.

Gray established himself as a well-known director, producer and writer on PBS, ABC and other major networks, and some of his most recent documentaries have aired on the Discovery Times Channel, the television unit for the *New York Times*. Throughout his career, Gray has received three Emmy awards, two Writers Guild of America awards, the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism award and the Edward R. Murrow award.

Political activist and author Tom Hayden will discuss how the effort of future generations to remember what happened at Kent State is a test of America’s strength of democratic character.

Tom Hayden has worked to reform politics through citizen participation for more than 40 years. As student editor at the University of Michigan, Hayden was a founding member of Students for a Democratic America in 1961. He traveled through the south as a Freedom Rider in the early 1960s, and during the Vietnam War, he advocated peace through teach-ins, demonstrations and writings.

A former member of the California state assembly and state senate, Hayden has 18 years of experience in politics. In addition, he served twice on the Democratic Party’s national platform committee and attended 10 Democratic national conventions, six times as a delegate.

Hayden recently taught at Pitzer College, Occidental College and Harvard’s Institute of Politics, and lives in the Los Angeles area with his wife and son. Hayden also has two other adult children from his marriage to the actress-activist Jane Fonda.
Hoping to encourage student involvement, Kent State’s eighth annual Symposium on Democracy hosted its first student essay contest open to undergraduates in any major.

Aligned with this year’s theme, “Democracy and Peace: Historical Links and Implications for World Order,” the opinion essay addressed the following question:

“Winston Churchill once said: ‘Many forms of government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.’ What does this quote mean to you? How do you view democracy as a system of government — favorably or unfavorably and why?”

First Place
The Dilemma of Democracy
Jean M. Reid, Senior, Mass Communications

A truly democratic society requires a fully informed and engaged public. In the United States today, there is a growing disconnect between the nation’s democratic ideals and the public’s fulfillment of these basic responsibilities.

Second Place
Democracy Is About People
Dylan Stover, Junior, Botany

It is not enough for democracy to be merely equated with rule by “the people.” To be meaningful, democracy must reflect Abraham Lincoln’s positive emphasis on individual works rather than Winston Churchill’s more negative view of democracy’s structural deficiencies.

Third Place
Pursuing Peace Through Democratization
Sarah E. Wilson, Junior, Political Science

It is possible for “majority rule” to be reduced in a democracy to “mob rule.” Lasting peace within and among democracies cannot be achieved without the protection of individual rights and social justice.
This paper address the contradiction between democracy and capitalism that is present in the process of globalization. By examining so-called “globalization from below” we may find methods of increasing social welfare and expanding democratic rights.

“Faulty Correlation, Foolish Consistency, Fatal Consequences: Democracy, Peace and Theory in the Middle East”
John Mueller, Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University

Putting democratic peace theory into practice, American statesmen have sought to impose democracy on the Middle East partly operating under the misguided, if theoretically consistent, belief that this will cause peace to blossom in the area. The consequences have been catastrophic.

Chair: Tammy Clewell, Associate Professor of English, Kent State University
Discussant: Michael Grossman, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Mount Union College

“Sanctioning for Democracy”
A. Cooper Drury, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Missouri
Dursun Peksen, Doctoral Candidate in Political Science, University of Missouri

While economic sanctions as policy tools have been increasingly used since the end of the Cold War, it is not apparent whether they are successful in effecting democracy. Indeed economic sanctions may be detrimental, rather than having a positive influence on the development of democracy.

Chair: Wendy Wilson Fall, Associate Professor of Pan-African Studies, Kent State University
Discussant: Richard Feinberg, Professor of Anthropology, Kent State University

“The Forgotten Element of Democratization: Bringing the Citizen Back In”
Andrea K. Tallentino, Associate Professor of Political Science, Drew University

In attempting to understand the prospects for democracy promotion, this paper argues that it is necessary to educate and mobilize the citizenry of democratizing countries. It is only when local hearts and minds have been mobilized that “democratization from below” becomes an effective engine of change.
Paper Presentations

Panel Discussion: Democracy and the Global War on Terror
1 – 2:45 p.m., Thursday, May 3, Kiva

Chair: Steven W. Hook, Acting Chair and Associate Professor of Political Science, Kent State University
Discussant: Andrew Barnes, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Kent State University

“Encouraging Democracy or Terrorism? A Critical Examination of Democracy Promotion”
Barbara Ann J. Rieff-Flanagan, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Central Washington University
This paper examines the relationship between democracy promotion and counter-terrorism activities in several countries. A consistent finding is that ill-conceived policies intended to reduce terrorism often contribute instead to destabilization and violence.

“Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: Righteous Mission or Disguised Imperialism?”
Sean L. Yom, Doctoral Candidate in Political Science, Harvard University
This paper argues that the enterprise of exporting American democracy since 9/11 is not a righteous mission to transform Arab autocracies into bastions of electoral practice, but rather a disguised imperialist doctrine, harnessing the language of liberalism to consolidate Washington’s support for its regional allies.

“Democracy and Counterterrorism: Multiple Issues, Varied Effects”
Paul Pillar, Visiting Professor, Security Studies Program, Georgetown University
Democracy, or rather the lack of it, is a major cause of terrorism. The United States faces conflicts of values in enacting counterterrorist measures at home, but the conflicts are much less with democracy than with other values such as personal liberty and privacy.

Panel Discussion: U.S. Foreign Policy After 9/11
3 – 4:45 p.m., Thursday, May 3, Kiva

Chair: Averil McClelland, Associate Professor of Educational Foundations and Special Services, Kent State University
Discussant: Steven W. Hook, Acting Chair and Associate Professor of Political Science, Kent State University

“The Contradictions of U.S. Democracy Promotion by Force”
R. William Ayres, Director, Center for Global Citizenship, Elizabethtown College
While economic sanctions as policy tools have been increasingly used since the end of the Cold War, it is not at all apparent that they are successful in effecting democracy. Indeed, in some cases economic sanctions may be detrimental to the development of democracy.

“Democratic Imperialism in Historical Perspective”
Andrew Cayton, Professor of History, Miami University of Ohio
American leaders have long faced a dilemma between the nation’s ideals of liberty and its imperial expansion in North America. This tension reflects a deeper division between democratic values that are presumably universal in scope and those that advance the interests of particular peoples and groups.

“Democracy Promotion and Intelligence Cooperation”
Loch Johnson, Professor of Political Science, University of Georgia
This paper critically examines the U.S. government’s recent efforts at democracy promotion in the context of the war on terror. A primary task for the United States in this war is to restore political cooperation with other governments, particularly in the process of intelligence gathering.

“U.S. Foreign Aid as an Instrument of Democracy Promotion”
Carol Lancaster, Associate Professor of Political Science, Georgetown University
The United States maintains the world’s largest foreign aid program, which serves a variety of self-interests as well as the humanitarian concerns of recipients. The promotion of democracy is a frequently cited function of U.S. foreign aid, but other foreign policy priorities often overshadow this objective.
2007
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2006
Irreconcilable Differences? Democratic Policy Deliberations in Science, Religion and Politics

2005
Democracy and the Arts: Voices and Choices

2004
Democracy and Homeland Security

2003
Democracy and Globalization

2002
Democracy and Religion: Free Exercise and Diverse Visions

2001
Media, Profit and Politics

2000
The Boundaries of Freedom of Expression and Order in a Democratic Society

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Appreciation

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2007 Symposium Student Advisory Committee
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Department of Political Science
Kent Political Union
Kent State University Honors College
Kent State University Press
May 4th Task Force
Office of the Provost
PBS 45 & 49
Public Relations Student Society of America
University Communications and Marketing
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Special Thanks

Lester A. Lefton, President
Paul L. Gaston, Provost

Melissa Edler, Public Relations and Marketing Coordinator, University Communications and Marketing
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Steven W. Hook, Acting Chair, Department of Political Science
Heidi Johnson, Community Outreach Coordinator, PBS 45 & 49
Hillary Lovell, Student, Kent Political Union
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David Odell-Scott, Chair, Department of Philosophy
Charlene Reed, Secretary to the Board of Trustees, Senior Assistant to the President, Office of the President
Debra Shuler, Executive Secretary, Office of the President
Will Underwood, Director, Kent State University Press
I wish to propose a model of social change based on the clash of social movements and machiavellian power structures. I call it the M model, and it goes like this. Social movements arise from the margins, are mysterious [never predicted], developing into communities of meaning, pass through moments when they reach the mainstream and eventually gain majority support for the radical reforms they originally demanded. Along the journey, they discover machiavellian power structures which initially marginalize them, attempt to repress them, divide them before ultimately conceding reform. Both movements and Machiavellians divide into more moderate and militant camps based on accepting or rejecting the reforms at stake. When a new majority accepts the reform, the massive character of the movement declines with the victory, while a counter-movement arises as a backlash to the movement’s victory.

The beginning and end of this dialectical cycle lies on the contested battlefields of memory, in museums, in monuments.

I believe that the events at Kent State and Jackson State were examples, signs if you will, of the final battles between movements and Machiavellians that ended with both radical change – the end of the Vietnam War, the end of the draft, voting rights for the disenfranchised, and basic changes in educational curriculum – and the restoration of the machiavellian order with the election of Richard Nixon and the counter-attack on the legacies of the Sixties, known to some as “the Vietnam Syndrome.”

I believe now that two activist generations, those of the Sixties and those today opposing the Iraq War and the Bush Administration, and rising to repeal the neo-conservative counter-attack which was consolidated in the Reagan years. The dreams are far from dead. The mission of our combined generations is not to solidify peace by exporting democracy through military intervention. As Charles McDew, an early student leader in Mississippi, used to say, turning Woodrow Wilson upside down, our mission was not to make the world safe for democracy but to make democracy safe for the world.
The memories of Kent State and Jackson State, if taught and preserved, serve as democracy's cautionary barriers against official deception and the encroachment of the military-industrial-intelligence-entertainment state. When controlled amnesia strangles those memories, both democracy and peace are threatened by the arrogance of power.

Let's first resurrect and consider first the achievements of the Sixties generation.

First, greater acceptance of the idea and practice of participatory democracy has opened the way to greater participation in decision-making than ever before. Even the stoned hippie played by Jeff Bridges in The Big Lebowski claims authorship of the Port Huron Statement, the original version rather than the watered-down second draft, he says.

Second, our generation caused institutional changes that redistributed political access and power, most notably the right to vote for 30 million African Americans and students. Imperial presidents like Johnson and Nixon were forced from office. Civil rights and affirmative action policies broadened opportunities for women and people of color. Presidential primaries were opened to the grass roots. Public broadcasting was mandated.

Third, new issues and constituencies moved from the margins to the mainstream of public life. The changes have been in voting rights, environmental laws, worker safety policies, consumer safety policies, disability laws, and great public inclusion in most public processes. In those days, students had to revolt on behalf of a more relevant education; nowadays, there are black studies, latino studies, asian American studies, gender studies, environmental studies, and you can read Alice Walker and Howard Zinn in the classroom.

Fourth, the Vietnam War was ended and the Cold War model challenged. Under public pressure, the Congress set a deadline to end funding for the war. The Church committee opened a window on unconstitutional counter-intelligence plots carried out not only against radical protesters – I was one of a number secretly targeted to be “neutralized” in 1968 - but also public figures and political parties, as revealed by the “enemies lists” and
Watergate. President Jimmy Carter gave amnesty to draft resisters and deserters. Under his leadership, human rights became an official factor in foreign policy. Relations with Vietnam and China were normalized.

Fifth, the computer and internet communications revolutions were launched, according to one historian, by “long-haired hippie freaks.” These have meant breakthroughs towards participatory democracy on a scale we have yet to comprehend.

Perhaps most important, we are in the beginning stages of defining and embracing a new narrative of American history itself, one launched by Howard Zinn’s people’s history but now expanding to the most hidden recesses of our identity. We are recovering the lost stories of social movements in making possible so much of what we hold dear – the Bill of Rights, abolition, suffrage, the dignity of labor, environmentalism – fought for on a new topography of venerated places, from Selma to Alcatraz Island, from Delano to Kent State.

As we now approach the fiftieth anniversary of everything that happened in the Sixties, it is important that we build our democratic heritage from the bottom up not the top down, and on the legacies of the past not the siren song of “yesterday’s gone.”

As I’ve said, one of the reasons we don’t feel triumphal, why many of us feel besieged or ignored, is that the Sixties movements came to an abrupt end partly as a result of success. As we entered the mainstream, a new identity crisis would overtake us. Had we changed society or merely become tolerated? still living on the inside of institutions that wished to disgorge us. The Counter-Revolution was rampant.

The Reagan and Bush decades were nothing but attempts to block and reverse the changes brought about by the Sixties [and, in the case of Social Security and the Wagner Act, the 1930s radical reforms]. The historian Francis Fukuyama, a repentant neo-conservative, writes that the neo-conservative phenomenon emerged in battle against the New Left and the Counterculture in the 1960s. The old radical left, he says, had been replaced by the New Left of Tom Hayden and Students for a Democratic Society. [18] Karl Rove was attacking SDS as leader of the Young Republicans. Dick and Lynne Cheney were stepping over protesters on their way to graduate school at the University of Wisconsin. Cheney’s first political job was drafting congressional legislation denying federal aid to campuses that tolerated
protests and riots. As a result of the Reagan and Bush years, many of the gains of the Sixties were rolled back. Privatization, for example, came to replace the notion of government as an active force in the economy, even among Democrats. With the US triumph in the first Gulf War, that President Bush declared that he had defeated the entire Vietnam Syndrome – summarized as a consensus that there be no more Vietnam Syndromes, no more policing the world, and no more imperial presidencies.

The Sixties decade became an orphan in history, symbolized by Clinton’s remark that he did not inhale.

But even today, according to Bill Clinton’s memoir, the Sixties are still the clearest dividing line in American politics.

Building on the legacies of the Sixties, an original, committed, spirited generation of young people in the 1990s fought against sweatshop funding by their universities, the destruction of tropical rainforests, and the corporate machinery of the World Trade Organization in Seattle in 1999. They were carrying the spirit of Port Huron but in harder times, listening to hip hop while past prophets were serenading the Pope and marketing garments made in sweatshops as a solution to AIDS in Africa.

Then came the catastrophe of 9/11 and the promising renewal seemed over. It appeared that all last traces of the Sixties would be washed away.

Yet five years later, according to a worried 2005 analyst in Foreign Affairs magazine, the Sixties are back – in the form of a new Iraq Syndrome arising from the memories of the Vietnam Syndrome. Consider –

1. Since 2002, there have been eight demonstrations larger than 100,000, including three in the range of 500,000 people. The global demonstration of February 2002 was perhaps the largest in recorded history.

2. According to the Gallup survey, a majority of Americans came to view Iraq as a mistake faster than Americans during the Vietnam War, despite the huge disparities in casualties and costs.

3. 165 cities have passed resolutions against the Iraq War thus far.
4. Howard Dean was the Eugene McCarthy of 2003-2004 and became the chairman of the national Democratic Party.

5. Michael Moore’s Farenheit 911 broke all box office records for documentaries and won the prize at the Cannes festival.

6. MoveOn members contributed $180 million to candidates in the 2003-2004 electoral cycle, an amount never raised by an anti-war group in history.

7. When Cindy Sheehan played the role of Rosa Parks, sitting down and refusing to move from Crawford Texas, there were 600 vigils involving nearly one million people organized in less than one week.

8. There were three times more protestors arrested at the 2004 Republican convention, in the midst of illegal and ominous police surveillance, than during the 1968 Chicago Democratic convention.

9. In the November 2006 election, an American majority voted against an ongoing war for the first time.

10. President Bush and his White House now are stumbling into a Watergate moment of their own. His presidency and the war itself are in free fall.

11. Voter surveys in the last election showed progressive majorities favoring an end to the war, fair trade instead of corporate-based trade, energy independence, and less extremism from the Christian evangelicals. A progressive majority is clearly emerging once again, as occurred in the 1930s and 1960s. The predicted permanent Republican political realignment is in doubt.

12. The most charismatic presidential contender today is Barack Obama, a child of the Sixties claiming a post-1960s consciousness. He is drawing together a vast movement of young people including my own son Troy and his girlfriend. Obama’s chief rival, Hillary Clinton, is herself a polished product of the Sixties who wrote her senior thesis on the radical community organizer Saul Alinsky.

We have difficulty perceiving these changes because of the paradigm that
protest is relegated to the streets, to places outside the institutions. But because of the 1960s I believe we are already somewhere in the mainstream, the lines and barriers between outside and inside the system have blurred or broken. Social movements cannot be defined exclusively any longer as based in the streets. The Net, after all, is not a street.

I know it doesn’t feel like the Sixties around here. We are not as polarized. Blogging is not as defiant as draft card burning, but there are no draft cards to burn. There is no American majority favoring repression, much less the shooting of students to teach them a lesson. The effort to censor and destroy the careers of the brave and feisty Texas Dixie Chicks ended with their winning the Grammies.

There IS an anger out there just beneath the surface, beyond the bubble of the protected middle class. Here is an excerpt from a Marine widow- “My husband, also a Marine, several several tours. I left the surface six months ago because I got pregnant while he was home on leave and three days ago I get a visit from two men in uniform who hand me a letter and tell me my husband died in that fucking festering sandpit. You fuckers and that goddamned lying sack of shit they call a president are the reason my husband will never see his baby and my kid will never meet his dad. And you know what the most fucked up thing about this Iraq shit is? They don’t want us there. They’re not happy we can and they want us out now. We fucked up their lives even worse than they already were and they’re pissed off. We didn’t help them and we’re not helping them now. That’s what our soldiers are dying for. You know what? My dad served in Vietnam and NOTHING HAS CHANGED. So I’m pissed. I’m beyond pissed. And I’m going to go to my husband’s funeral and receive that flag and hang it up on the wall for my baby. But I’m not going to tell him that his father died for the stupidity of the American government. I’m going to tell him that his father was a hero and the best man I ever met, and that he loved his country enough to die for it, because that’s all true and nothing will be solved by telling my son that his father was sent to die by people who didn’t care about him at all.”

My father was a World War 2 Marine who believed- naturally assumed- that his government never lied. When I turned against the war, he stopped speaking to me for sixteen years. Like Nixon, he thought the activists were nothing but bums. It was not until 1970, the year the Chicago trial ended and the killings occurred at Kent State, that he became enraged to discover
that two Presidents had lied to send young men of my generation to war. He became as angry as that Marine widow whose letter I shared with you.

Now I want to directly address the subject of this conference, whether there is a positive relationship between democracy and peace.

Turning the argument around, I would argue that expanding democracy in the United States is the surest path to peace we have. It is not because, as some claim, that the United States is the chief threat to peace in the world today, but because it is the only way to counter-balance the momentum of the military-industrial complex which President Eisenhower warned against at the outset of the 1960s.

This is why the legacy of Kent State and Jackson State are so important. When so many Americans were willing to be deceived, willing to send their sons into combat, were supportive of harsh police methods, it was the unique role of young people to break with the moral suffocation conformity of their time and refuse orders.

Vietnam was not a noble cause for which millions died, but it was the resistance by the nation's youth, on campuses and in the military, that was noble. We need to tell brother Tom Brokaw that "the greatest generation were not the warmakers but those innocent disenfranchised young people who showed the greatest courage, whether they refused their commanders or their administrators. We would have achieved political success were it not for the murders of John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, murders as Shakespeare wrote, most foul.

The Sixties are applauded and appreciated around the world. But here at home the fate of the anti-war movement all too often has been one of patriots without honor. This is not an oversight, but a reflection of how it is almost impossible for elites to recognize that people in the streets are an important factor in foreign policy decision-making. The Vietnam war is seen by nearly everyone now as a mistake, but the anti-war movement was somehow more mistaken, condemned to being prematurely anti-war.

Kent State, Jackson State, and Chicago were not isolated cases of repression but the last brutal phase of Machiavellian resistance. At least 19 students and young people were murdered by the forces of the state during the 1960s. At
At least 69 students were shot and wounded in those instances. These were not over-reactions or accidental spasms, but acts of repression encouraged and sanctioned by rhetoric from the highest levels. Ronald Reagan, J. Edgar Hoover, James Rhodes, Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew invoked the language of war that resonated with our fathers’ generation.

Agnew – We can, however, afford to separate them from our society, with no more regret than we should feel over discarding rotten apples from a barrel.

The FBI dispatched 1,200 new agents against the New Left in 1970 alone, establishing list of those to be neutralized, myself included. They prosecuted 4,000 draft resisters, brought 45 federal grand jury cases, and opened secret files on hundreds of thousands of Americans.

The secrets keep being disclosed, most recently in the revelations that orders to shoot were given at Kent States. If only for that reason, the past cannot be considered behind us.

All these closures of the windows of democracy were considered necessary to prosecute a secret and unpopular war against Cambodia.

I don’t share the view that today’s Europe is generally at peace because of its dedication to democratic conflict resolution, though that is important. As I strolled the streets of Geneva, the home of Rousseau, past the place where the Geneva Agreements were signed, I realized that the most powerful reason for peace sentiment on that continent was not its diplomatic and democratic processes, but the shadow of 100 million deaths during World War 2. Except for the native people, we in America have no such experience to draw upon as we consider questions of war and peace.

We are left with democracy, and not a very serious one. Democracy is not a neutral and balanced process, but is weighted heavily with the inequalities of money, status and privilege that arise from society. Voices and voters are far from being equal when two percent of the upper class make over 90 percent of Congressional campaign contributions. Because of racism and narrow nationalism, it is possible to vote democratically for an unjust war or even imperialism. Arundhati Roy calls this “imperialist democracy”. She is not
wrong, but recent events may be surprising her.

But there is a deeper democratic tradition in America that is an indispensable resource for reformers, radicals and peacemakers. This is the radical populist tradition that has never triumphant but never defeated. These movements arise from the utter margins, but if they connect with a common sympathy, eventually overcome repression and murder to take a wider place in the mainstream. Their causes are taken up by people of conscience, even by the media and the politicians. They find themselves with majority support, and eventually their core demands are adopted as cultural norms and institutional reforms. These movements include those who resisted the Indian and Mexican wars, those who fought for the Bill of Rights, the emancipation of the slaves and for reconstruction, women's suffrage and equality, the rights of working people, consumers and environmentalists.

The fact that you know this historic populist litany is a measure of how far we have come already in writing the legacies of protest into history since Kent State. At that time, the young historian Howard Zinn had not yet written A People's History of the United States, Dee Brown had not written Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee. These books have been published now in the millions. By the early Seventies, subjects like women's studies were adopted at 78 institutions and there were two thousand courses on women at 500 campuses, where there were virtually none before.

This deeper democratic tradition has expanded over time, asserting itself in social movements as well as individual acts in the nooks and crannies of civil society. For example, the torture scandal at Abu Ghraib was exposed by an individual American soldier who disclosed the shocking photos long before the mainstream media decided to report the event. Similarly the censored photos of American soldier's coffins being returned to Washington were posted on a website before they were printed in the media.

One of our least-discussed, and most important, democratic rights is the right to full disclosure of our history, full access to our hidden past. The past is the future of the present. Our lives and culture are like a vast archeological dig, with layers of memory suppressed beneath those who control the current institutions. Yet the desire to discover and re-discover the past is integral to our identity, especially when memory is threatened by
America, for example, from Mexico City to Chile to Argentina and Bolivia, people are digging up bones and engaged in liberating memory and holding its executioners accountable. It was a small network of Chileans who uncovered the atrocities of the Pinochet dictatorship, built up an international human rights norm, succeeded in gaining the indictment of the dictator, and in the process opened space for the election of a woman president, Michelle Bachelet, who had been tortured herself and whose father was killed by the dictatorship.

The pursuit of hidden truths, therefore, is an indispensable democratic act. We need to steadily challenge and dismantle the cover-ups of history which are packaged as education and conventional wisdom. The most important of these cover-ups have to do with protecting and immunizing the immoral actions of the powerful. We need to dismantle the fictions that lay blame for horrific acts on the “few rotten apples”, and go from there to blur and conceal the chain of command, whether military, political or corporate. We must pursue an alternative model, whether in the histories of Chicago 1968 or Kent State 1970 or My Lai 1969 or Abu Ghraib 2004. We need to do so not to settle scores but to make sense of our lives, expose the contradiction of state secrets in a democratic society, prod the media and the schools to shed light in the darkest corners, so that the honorable legacies of social movements may be passed on to future generations without censorship or manipulation.

Some will ask can’t we just forget the wounded past, get over it and move forward. The Clinton campaign song, perhaps understandably, was that of Buffalo Springfield, “don’t stop thinking about tomorrow, yesterday’s gone.”

But saying that what happened at Kent State and Jackson State is “over” is to collaborate in a myth that serves the powerful and implies that the victims contributed to their own deaths. As far as I can ascertain the facts, the parties ultimately responsible included the governor of Ohio, the FBI’s counter-intelligence program, and the White House itself. And these were not isolated instances. We all know the murderous history of the South. But there were XXX other students killed in the Sixties [k sale]