



# Democracy and the Problem of Free Speech

By Cass R. Sunstein

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Freedom of speech is one of our greatest legal rights and Cass Sunstein is one of our greatest legal theorists. This book is a must read for anyone who wants to think seriously about the free speech issues facing this generation.

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Akhil Amar, Southmayd Professor, Yale Law School

This is an important book. Beautifully clear and carefully argued, Sunstein's contribution reaches well beyond the confines of academic debate. It will be of interest to any citizen concerned about freedom of speech and the current state of American democracy.

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Joshua Cohen, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

How can our constitutional protection of free speech serve to strengthen democracy? Cass Sunstein challenges conventional answers with a remarkable array of lucid arguments and legal examples. There is no better book on the subject.

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## Democracy and the Problem of Free Speech By Cass R. Sunstein Bibliography

- Sales Rank: #1304903 in Books
- Published on: 1995-02-01
- Released on: 1995-02-01
- Original language: English
- Number of items: 1
- Dimensions: 9.25" h x 1.00" w x 6.12" l, 1.13 pounds
- Binding: Paperback
- 344 pages



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### Editorial Review

#### From Publishers Weekly

Calling for a "large-scale reassessment of the appropriate role of the First Amendment," University of Chicago law professor Sunstein here offers nuanced and provocative proposals for reform. After providing a primer on the contrasting developments in First Amendment law, he argues that the notion of free expression should be connected to the goal of creating a Madisonian "deliberative democracy." Thus, he criticizes "market theology" and calls for free media time for political candidates, and for federal guidelines--but not mandates--for coverage of public issues. Drawing on precedents regarding commercial speech, Sunstein proposes a lesser degree of protection for nonpolitical speech like advertising. He suggests allowing "deliberative" racist or sexist political speech, but not hateful epithets, which he compares to obscene phone calls. Convinced that there is a causal connection between pornography and violence against women, he endorses the proposal, advanced by legal scholar Catharine MacKinnon and feminist author Andrea Dworkin, for civil action against violent pornography. Sunstein is fuzzy on finding principles to govern taxpayer support for the arts. Still, his worthy book should stimulate valuable argument.

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#### From Library Journal

To many, the First Amendment to the Constitution is clear and unambiguous: "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." Sunstein (jurisprudence & political science, Univ. of Chicago) instead analyzes the First Amendment under the Madisonian conception: that is, he links the amendment to the American vision of sovereignty and a specific idea of democracy. Arguing that the First Amendment has been changed from a Madisonian principle to a "species of neo-classical economics," he calls for a "New Deal" vision of the First Amendment in which political speech, so vital to a democracy, would be more fully protected than commercial speech. Though Sunstein analyzes the relationships among broadcasting, politics, and liberty and discusses issues raised by hate speech, cross burning, pornography, government arts funding, and corporate speech, his arguments will satisfy neither the free speech absolutists nor proponents of "politically correct" speech. For academic and law libraries.

- Sue Kamm, Inglewood P.L., Cal.

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#### From the Back Cover

The right to free speech is invoked to protect an astonishing range of activities, a range that seems to expand every day. Newspapers publish the names of rape victims, flags are burned, pornography flourishes, and all of these controversial actions are protected under the constitutional right of free speech. The Supreme Court increasingly decides disputes by invoking the First Amendment. Civil libertarians, former antiwar protesters, and tobacco advertisers join revisionist conservatives in attacking almost all forms of censorship, extending the search to the farthest reaches of commercial and symbolic speech. In short, we are in the midst of a revolution of absolutist interpretations of free expression. The absolutists are misguided, argues Cass Sunstein. Our government now protects speech that causes harm yet forbids speech that is essential, he says. Instead, we should conceive of free speech first and foremost as a means to achieve civic deliberation and true popular sovereignty. Building on James Madison, Sunstein proposes a "New Deal" for the first Amendment, a new interpretation that attacks undifferentiated absolutism and replaces it with a vision of responsible public life. Sunstein examines broadcasting, campaign finance, hate speech, pornography, government art funding, commercial speech, and the privacy of rape victims. He insists that political speech, essential for the functioning of any democracy, must not only be protected, but encouraged. If the government, say were to use broadcasting markets to encourage attention to public issues and diverse points

of view, the First Amendment would not stand in the way. Nonpolitical speech, on the other hand, should be less fully protected when it conflicts with other interests and rights such as that of privacy. Democracy cannot achieve its full potential with a stunted public discourse. Instant polls and 900 numbers may seem to increase political participation, but they are no substitute for reasoned and careful public deliberation. In Democracy and the Problem of Free Speech, Cass Sunstein points the way toward a renewal of American democracy and a reaffirmation of political equality.

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