

WOWW PROGRAM
to
Ensure, Enhance and Promote
Freedom of Speech, Viewpoint Diversity, and Intellectual Humility
in
High School and College Campus Journalism and Media

Updated: 3-27-20

Contents

About the WOWW	2
Vision Statement.....	2
Mission Statement	2
Membership Opportunities	2
The WOWW Program for Journalists.....	3
WOWW Membership.....	4
2020 MADNESS Book Release Schedule	5
The WOWW 50 A - Z Book List.....	6
The WOWW's Top 10 Journalism Issues.....	9
1 - The Modern News Consumer Paradox.....	10
2 - Media Bias: Pretty Much All Of Journalism Now Leans Left, Study Shows	12
3 - The Problem With Journalists Against Free Speech	15
4 - Nearly All My Professors are Democrats. Isn't That a Problem?	24
5 - What Liberals and Conservatives Get Wrong About the Campus Free Speech Debate.....	27
6 - When Student Activists Refuse to Talk to Campus Newspapers.....	30
7 - How 'Social Media' Became 'Anti-Social Media': Twitter's and Facebook's Reckoning	34
8 - Social Media Viewpoint Discrimination With Algorithms.....	36
9 - Bureaucrats Put the Squeeze on College Newspapers	38
10 – The Failing Foundations of a Liberal Education and Democracy on Campus	41

About the WOWW

The objectives of the WOWW Program is to return and uphold journalistic standards throughout all types of campus media that in turn preserve freedom of speech, enable and develop viewpoint diversity, and encourage intellectual humility. Together with sapience, the end goal is to question the viewpoint orthodoxy of our students, administrators, and educators at our high school and college campuses—and change it.

This new program aims to provide a diverse opportunity for unpublished writers, student and graduate journalists, debate programs and sponsors, white paper researchers and authors of every discipline and background to contribute to any of the MADNESS titles and chapters published by Fratire Publishing and also be recognized for it. In essence, they become the new age journalistic warriors that Ensure, Enhance and Promote Freedom of Speech, Viewpoint Diversity, and Intellectual Humility in High School and College Campus Journalism and Media.

The constituency to be served will be all of America's high school, community college and university campuses, whether public or private, religious or secular, and consist of students, administrators, and educators in every discipline and department, young, old and middle age. It also includes outreach to their education associations and organizations.

Vision Statement

The World of Writing Warriors (WOWW) Program upholds journalistic standards throughout all types of campus media that ensures and promotes viewpoint diversity of articles content without fear of self-censure and being denied freedom of expression.

Mission Statement

Publish weekly WOWW newsletters for high school, community college and university level journalism programs, news media, and local Knight news outlets to restore a more civil and trustworthy media environment that also informs students and faculty of the benefits and goals of the WOWW Program.

Membership Opportunities

Help create 50 subpages on the Fratire Publishing website for 50 viewpoint diverse topics. The TOC for each will provide an opportunity for unpublished writers, student and graduate journalists, debate programs and sponsors, white paper researchers and authors of every discipline and background to contribute to and/or utilize the content for/from the 50 MADNESS titles and chapters published by Fratire Publishing and be recognized and/or benefit from it.

The WOWW Program for Journalists

The World of Writing Warriors (WOWW) Program aims to create an all-digital journalistic platform and nexus for modern journalistic practices in the 21st century. It also desires to return journalistic ethics and viewpoint diversity back to the high standards of the 20th century. The practice and development arena for the WOWW Program will start with the 50 subpages on the Fratire Publishing website for 50 viewpoint diverse topics that start the process of dismantling fake news and media and their viewpoint orthodoxy.

The World of Writing Warriors (WOWW) Program is a new non-profit program by the SAPIENT Being organization and is a partnership with the for-profit Fratire Publishing organization and their proposed 50 MADNESS e-book series. This partnership provides the inspiration and opportunity for promising and unpublished writers to develop their own journalistic projects, be it research papers, news articles, in depth stories, book reports, homework assignments, debate topics, discussion points, public policy positions, and more from every discipline and background.

The WOWW Program can act as an online training ground for the adaption and adoption of 21st century digital media practices and also provide a large slate of MADNESS and viewpoint diverse topics for members to practice and develop on with respect to best journalism practices. The MADNESS titles are meant to buck the trend of viewpoint orthodoxy in journalism and media and be the spark, the starting point, the damning expose on a variety of the hottest issues and controversial topics in America and the world without fear of academic and/or media bias or reprisals.

Because Fratire Publishing is a small but determined independent and self-publisher, it makes the perfect home for the WOWW Program with its MADNESS series of titles that are not restricted by a large publication commitment using traditional publishing houses or dependent on university presses and approvals. The starting point for the initial content of each MADNESS book title are the chapters and the further research topics and journalism opportunities derived from them.

By using the Fratire Publishing site as a training and practice ground, an online blog and classroom of sorts, and graduate showcase of development content and completed projects, WOWW Program members can learn, connect and advance in digital journalism with real world experience. Ultimately, this process will reward and recognize members for their contributions and content, and/or enable program members to use the content and program for their own projects, purposes and ideas.

What that said, please watch the enlightening video *The Joy of Being Wrong* from the John Templeton Foundation regarding intellectual humility and viewpoint diversity at: <https://youtu.be/mRXNUx4cua0>. I have, many times over—and it's profound!

WOWW Membership

Becoming a writing warrior provides you the unique opportunity to fight back, and reverse the practices in mainstream media, social media, and illiberal establishments that in principal and in practice are antithetical to an intellectually vibrant campus and academic culture. Every WOWW member has this opportunity, and they have it for life!

Throughout today's multiple media channels, the purveyors of fake news as well as the majority of America's predominantly liberal, and sometime leftist, primary and secondary educational and academic institutions, there are hundreds, if not thousands of stories, papers, thesis, that are not being considered and told. Together, we can reverse that trend and develop and strengthen academic centers and programs at our high schools, colleges and universities by ensuring they uphold rigorous standards of teaching and scholarship that exemplify America's greatness and founding principles.

If you're interest in being part of the solution and not the problem and desire to join the WOWW Program, please register at: <https://www.fratirepublishing.com/woww-program> and then send us direct correspondence by email with your research and/or or writing topic/project proposal to MADNESS Topic Suggestions at fratirepublishing@att.net.

Become a WOWW lifetime member for a one-time \$25 fee that includes 25% discount on all of the MADNESS series of reference books. They're also a valuable resource for authors, student papers, theses, journalists, researchers, grant makers, public policy, debates, fact/fake news checking, classroom topics and news reports seeking diverse and alternative subject matter.

2020 MADNESS Book Release Schedule

The WOWW Program by the 501 (c) (3) non-profit SAPIENT Being organization provides a means for student and graduate journalists, and authors of every discipline to contribute to the SAPIENT Being “MADNESS” book titles, chapters, newsletter and blog hosted on the Fratire Publishing website.

The 5 proposed WOWW Program MADNESS book titles for 2020 publication are:

- (JUN) Fake News Madness; A SAPIENT Being’s Guide to Spotting Fake News Media and How to Help Fight and Eliminate It
- (JUL) Progressivism Madness; A SAPIENT Being’s Guide to the Idiocracy and Hypocrisy of the Progressivism Movement
- (AUG) Socialism Madness; A SAPIENT Being’s Guide to Why Socialism Would Ruin America by Destroying Capitalism
- (SEP) Democratic Party Madness; A SAPIENT Being’s Guide to the Current State of Democratic Party Policies & Agenda
- (OCT) Trump Madness; A SAPIENT Being’s Guide to Why Fighting Politics as Usual Can Cure Governing Madness

These books can inspire independent and conservative writers to address the hottest issues and topics facing America and the world. The WOWW venue permits writing warriors to fight back and reverse the prevalent fake news bias in mainstream journalism, social media, and illiberal establishments that in principle and practice are antithetical to an intellectually vibrant campus and academic culture. Liberals writers can take notice regarding the diverse topic and alternate viewpoints they hadn’t considered that might lead to their own confirmation bias.

The purveyors of fake news in America's predominantly liberal media along with secondary educational and academic institutions, restrict, distort, and/or deny the benefits of conservative programs and principles can be put on notice. The WOWW Program can help reverse this trend by developing and strengthening academic centers and programs at our high schools, colleges and universities and ensure they uphold rigorous standards of teaching and scholarship that exemplify America's greatness, founding principles and freedom of speech.

The WOWW 50 A - Z Book List

Have you had enough of the idiocracy? Want to be part of WOWW? If yes, check out the WOWW's A - Z Book List below and don't get mad, get writing.

Instead, are you triggered by this book list and the subtitles? Unfortunately, we live in a world these day gone mad and turned up-side down it seems. It's much easier to shoot the messenger and suppress free speech by labeling diverse viewpoints all sorts of things that they're not. Much like a witch-hunt, or where you're guilty first until proven innocent later, or simply a lack of free speech, many people cannot seem to separate their opinions from facts. It's madness!

As the time-tested saying goes, "Everyone is entitled to their own opinions, but they're not entitled to their own facts." Facts are facts, the truth is the truth, but they can be skewed and manipulated for disingenuous methods and false narratives. We don't do that at Fratire Publishing (or the SAPIENT Being)! In fact, we'll go out of our way to point out and correct such fallacies. This is part of the higher calling of being a journalist and sapient being.

So be careful out there with the accusations and finger pointing because it's been my long and traveled experience in life and sapience, to notice, most of the people doing the finger pointing (these days) have their other four fingers pointing right back at them. Let that sink in if you've been triggered by what you just read.

Philosophically, these are the four fingers of prejudice, hypocrisy, illiberalism and bias that end up describing the accuser rather than the accused. It seems like so many of us have tossed aside all reason, logic and sapience, and given in to their illogical and irrational emotions where fiction is fact and facts are denied, and worst of all—no free speech allowed.

So, without further ado, here is the WOWW 50 A - Z Book List:

American Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide as to Why America's Greatness and Nationalism is Best for Humanity

Brexit Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide on the Impact of Brexit and Whether It's Successful or Not

California Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Analyzing the State's Acute Liberal Madness and Leftist Policies

China Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Understanding Why a Chinese Superpower is Not in the World's Best Interest

Climate Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to an Accurate and Unbiased Analysis of Climate Change

Communism Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Clarifying Humankind's Profuse Suffering From Communism

Conservative Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Why Conservative Values Trump Liberal Ones

Crime Rate Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to the Truth Behind Racial Crime Rate Disparities

Cultural Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide for Thanking Western European Culture's Enormous Contribution to Humanity

Democratic Party Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to the Current State of Democratic Party Policies & Agenda

Diversity Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Showing Why Diversity Programs Tear Us Apart

Economics Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Reeducating Americans of the Importance of Simple Economics

Education Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Fixing America's Educational System Madness

Fake News Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Spotting Fake News Media and How to Help Fight and Eliminate It

Family Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to the Left's War on the Nuclear Family and Institutions

Feminism Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Understanding Feminism and Why Sapient Women Reject It

Free Speech Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Detecting Free Speech Abuse and How to Fight and Eliminate It

Globalism Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Why Globalism Undermines America's Leadership & Values

Government Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Our Civic Obligation to Fight Big Government & Bureaucracy

Gun Control Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide Understanding Gun Facts and Death by All Types of Weapons

Health Care Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to the Pros and Cons of Socialized Health Care Programs

Hollywood Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Seeing How Ridiculous & Hypocritical Celebrities' Opinions Are

Immigration Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Legal vs. Illegal Immigrants and Assimilation

Independents Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide How to Mobilize Independents for America's Benefit

Justice Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide of Using a Judicial Watch Assessment of Political Corruption

Leftist Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Showing Why Leftism's Failures Can Be Righted Rightly

Liberal Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Reversing the Unhealthy State of Liberal Politics, Policies and Agenda

Mexico Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Why Mexico Struggles and Canada Succeeds

Middle East Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Jewish-Christian Tolerance vs. Islam's Extremism & Intolerance

Millennials Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Playbook for Protecting Millennials from Liberalism & Socialism Madness

Minority Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide and Non-Racist Assessment and Understanding of Minority Disparities

New York City Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Analyzing the City's Acute Liberal Madness and Leftist Policies Elections

Obesity Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Curing Obesity One Overweight Body at a Time

Pension Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Fixing the Pending Pension Fund Crisis Before it Bankrupts America

Political Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide for Mending the Political Divide and Madness Dividing America

Population Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Addressing Overpopulation and Irresponsible Conception

Progressivism Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to the Idiocracy and Hypocrisy of the Progressivism Movement

Racism Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide as to Who Are the Real Racists: Accusers vs. Accused

Religion Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Why Religion Freedom is a Fundamental Right in America

Retirement Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Fixing Our Social Security Programs & Entitlements

Russia Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Understanding Why the Soviet Union Lost and the US Won the Cold War

Sexual Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to the Madness of the New Gender Types and Why They Go Against Nature

Snowflake Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide for the Madness of Over-Protecting Parenting and Narcissistic Children

Socialism Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Why Socialism Would Ruin America by Destroying Capitalism

Technology Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to the Dangers of 21st Century AI and Innovation

Third World Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Understanding Why the Third World Remains Third Rate

Trump Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Why Fighting Politics as Usual Can Cure Governing Madness

Union Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Understanding Public Union's Maddening Political and Policy Powers

United Nations Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to the UN's MEWA (Making Earth Worse Again) Agenda

Voting Madness; A SAPIENT Being's Guide to Revealing How Seriously the Democratic Party is Stealing Elections

The WOWW's Top 10 Journalism Issues

The following top ten journalism topics are meant to be read from the first to the last because some of the issues established at the beginning of the list, help make sense of the solutions to follow. Please also consider that in many ways the root cause of the first nine issues are driven by a thorough review of the tenth issue. However, none of them are considered more important than the others, so read them as you see best.

Regarding the tenth article and root issues, it provides a sapient analysis and remedies as well as a powder keg of potential WOWW ideas regarding public policy, campus journalism and educational reform. It's from these articles that establish the issues that World of Writing Warriors can do battle on in a literary way in our quest for viewpoint diversity, intellectual humility and freedom of speech in all facets of journalism.

The WOWW's Top 10 Journalism Issues List:

- 1 - The Modern News Consumer Paradox
- 2 - Media Bias: Pretty Much All Of Journalism Now Leans Left, Study Shows
- 3 - The Problem With Journalists Against Free Speech
- 4 - Nearly All My Professors are Democrats. Isn't That a Problem?
- 5 - What Liberals and Conservatives Get Wrong About the Campus Free Speech Debate
- 6 - When Student Activists Refuse to Talk to Campus Newspapers
- 7 - How 'Social Media' Became 'Anti-Social Media': Twitter's And Facebook's Reckoning
- 8 - Social Media Viewpoint Discrimination with Algorithms
- 9 - Bureaucrats Put the Squeeze on College Newspapers
- 10 - The Failing Foundations of a Liberal Education and Democracy on Campus

1 - The Modern News Consumer Paradox



This section of the handbook is regarding attitudes and practices in the digital era from Chapter 3 of the Pew Research Center – Journalism and Media report written by Amy Mitchell, Jeffrey Gottfried, Michael Barthel and Elisa Shearer in February 2017.

Wave after wave of digital innovation has introduced a new set of influences on the public's news habits. Social media, messaging apps, texts and email provide a constant stream of news from people we're close to as well as total strangers. News stories can now come piecemeal, as links or shares, putting less emphasis on the publisher. And, hyper levels of immediacy and mobility can create an expectation that the news will come to us whether we look for it or not. How have these influences shaped Americans' appetite for and attitudes toward the news? What, in other words, are the defining traits of the modern news consumer?

A new, two-part survey by Pew Research Center, conducted in early 2016 in association with the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, reveals a public that is cautious as it moves into this more complex news environment and discerning in its evaluation of available news sources.

To be sure, news remains an important part of public life. More than seven-in-ten U.S. adults follow national and local news somewhat or very closely – 65% follow international news with the same regularity. Fully 81% of Americans get at least some of this news through websites, apps or social networking sites. And, this digital news intake is increasingly mobile. Among those who get news both on desktop computers and mobile devices, more than half prefer mobile.

In this digital news environment, the role of friends and family is amplified, but Americans still reveal strong ties to news organizations. The data also reinforce how, despite the dramatic changes witnessed over the last decade, the digital news era is still very much in its adolescence. This combined, is a paradox or sorts and shows how journalism in the 21st century is still evolving.

These findings come from a two-part study which asked U.S. adults a wide range of questions about their news habits and attitudes, and then over the course of a subsequent week asked them in real time about news they had gotten in the last two hours. The first survey was conducted Jan. 12-Feb. 8, 2016, among 4,654 U.S. adults ages 18 and older who are members of Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel.

The second survey consisted of 14 short, online surveys that were administered two per day from Feb. 24-March 1, 2016. Survey invitations were sent at different times each day, and responses were accepted for two hours after the invitations were sent. Panelists who completed the January wave on the web and reported that they get news online were asked to participate in the experiential study; 2,078 panelists participated and completed at least 10 of the 14 surveys.

2 - Media Bias: Pretty Much All Of Journalism Now Leans Left, Study Shows



From a November 2018 article from *Investor's Business Daily* regarding media bias, the once unswerving defenders of the First Amendment, members of the press increasingly support restricting expression. Free speech is no longer sacred among young journalists who have absorbed the campus lessons about "hate speech"—defined more and more broadly—and they're breaking long-standing taboos as they bring "cancel culture" into professional newsrooms.

The World of Writing Warriors (WOWW) Program aims to reverse this trend by promoting freedom of speech, viewpoint diversity and intellectual humility to campus newsrooms, media, and journalists.

Throughout most of the 20th century, journalists on the left and the right have long shared a reverence for the First Amendment. Today, though, journalists are becoming zealous to silence their ideological rivals—and the fervor is mainly on the left.

Ask journalists, and they'll likely tell you they play things right down the middle. They strive to be "fair." They're "centrists." Sorry, not true. The profound leftward ideological bias of the Big Media is the main reason why America now seems saturated with "fake news." Journalists, besotted with their own ideology, are no longer able to recognize their own bias.

Despite journalists' denials, it's now pretty much a fact that journalism is one of the most left-wing of all professions. But until recently, that wasn't thought to be true of financial journalists — who have a reputation for being the most right-leaning and free-market-oriented among mainstream journalists.

If that was ever true, it sure isn't today, a new study suggests.

Researchers from Arizona State University and Texas A&M University questioned 462 financial journalists around the country. They followed up with 18 additional interviews. The journalists worked for the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, Washington Post, Associated Press and a number of other newspapers.

What they found surprised them. Even the supposedly hard-nosed financial reporters were overwhelmingly liberal. Of the 462 people surveyed, 17.63% called themselves "very liberal," while 40.84% described themselves as "somewhat liberal."

Media Conservatives: Endangered

When you add it up, 58.47% admit to being left of center. Along with that, another 37.12% claim to be "moderate."

What about the mythic "conservative" financial journalist? In fact, a mere 0.46% of financial journalists called themselves "very conservative," while just 3.94% said they were "somewhat conservative." That's a whopping 4.4% of the total that lean right-of-center.

That's a ratio of 13 "liberals" for every one "conservative." Whatever happened to ideological diversity? Please remember this as you watch the business news or read a financial story in the paper. You might want to take its message with a grain of salt. That's especially true if the piece seems unduly harsh on the free-market system and its many proven benefits. Or if it lauds socialism as an "answer" to society's ills.

This is an enormous problem for the media — perhaps bigger than they realize. A Rasmussen Reports survey in late October found that 45% of all likely voters in the midterm elections believed "that when most reporters write about a congressional race, they are trying to help the Democratic candidate."

Just 11% said the media would try to help the Republican. And only 35% said they thought reporters simply try to report the news in an unbiased way.

Rasmussen notes that this "helps explain why Democratic voters are much bigger fans of election news coverage" than others. They see it as favorable to their own beliefs. Perhaps that's why the 2016 presidential election results triggered an epic snowflake meltdown and madness.

Media Bias Is Real

Even so, that doesn't keep people from seeing the harsh reality of bias.

A post-election survey of 1,000 voters by McLaughlin & Associates found that "a forceful plurality (48%) of respondents believe the media coverage is unfair and biased" against President Trump. Even 16% of Democrats agreed.

It used to be thought that, sure, the cultural beat writers, book reviewers and Op-Ed writers all shared a common intellectual bent and thus were more likely to be left-leaning than other reporters. But these recent studies show that's not true. The taint of bias now infects all of journalism, not just the cultural and opinion spinners.

Media Bias: Data Don't Lie

It wasn't always this way. Along-term study of reporters' leanings and attitudes, "The American Journalist in the Digital Age," shows that the drift toward liberalism has been going on for years within journalism. In 1971, Republicans made up 25.7% of all journalists. Democrats were 35.5%, and independents were 32.5%. Some 6.3% of responses were "other."

By 2014, the year of the last survey, the share of journalists identifying as Republican had shrunk to 7.1%, an 18.6 percentage point drop. From having near-parity with the journalist Republicans in the 1970s, Democrats today outnumber Republicans today by four to one.

Meanwhile, the share of journalists calling themselves "independent" has surged to 50.2%. In case you think the growing body of Independents qualifies as "the center," think again.

Repeated surveys show that independents are usually left-of-center on social issues, but centrist on fiscal issues and many issue of governance. So, you should really characterize them as "moderate left."

A Reader Turn Off?

Bad news for journalists, and bad news for journalism! Because as Americans continue down their path of growing mistrust of the mainstream media, they will start looking for alternatives. Will they find new, more trustworthy sources of news? Or will they just turn it off entirely? Either one isn't good for journalists, or good for America.

It's time the journalistic mainstream addresses this problem. Smug denial is no longer an option. It starts with owners, publishers and editors demanding fairness in their reporting and weeding out obvious bias. While they're at it, they should elevate the idea of unbiased news coverage to a goal, even if it's not attainable.

3 - The Problem With Journalists Against Free Speech



John Tierney is a contributing editor of *City Journal* and a contributing science columnist for the *New York Times* and the content below is from that article in its entirety. *City Journal* is a publication of the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research (MI), a leading free-market think tank.

Free speech is no longer sacred among young journalists who have absorbed the campus lessons about “hate speech”—defined more and more broadly—and they’re breaking long-standing taboos as they bring “cancel culture” into professional newsrooms. They’re not yet in charge, but many of their editors are reacting like beleaguered college presidents, terrified of seeming insufficiently “woke.” Most professional journalists, young and old, still pay lip service to the First Amendment, and they certainly believe that it protects *their* work, but they’re increasingly eager for others to be “de-platformed” or “no-platformed,” as today’s censors like to put it—effectively silenced.

These mostly younger progressive journalists lead campaigns to get conservative journalists fired, banned from Twitter, and “de-monetized” on YouTube. They don’t burn books, but they’ve successfully pressured Amazon to stop selling titles that they deem offensive. They encourage advertising boycotts designed to put ideological rivals out of business. They’re loath to report forthrightly on left-wing censorship and violence, even when fellow journalists get attacked. They equate conservatives’ speech with violence and rationalize leftists’ actual violence as...speech.

It’s a strange new world for those who remember liberal journalists like Nat Hentoff, the *Village Voice* writer who stood with the ACLU in defending the free-speech rights of Nazis, Klansmen, and others whose views he deplored—or who recall the days when the *Columbia Journalism Review* stood as an unswerving advocate for press freedom. While America has seen its share of politicians eager to limit speech, from John Adams and Woodrow Wilson (who both had journalists prosecuted for “sedition”) to Donald Trump (who has made various unconstitutional threats), journalists on the left and the right have long shared a reverence for the First Amendment, if only out of self-interest.

When liberals supported campaign-finance laws restricting corporations’ political messages during election campaigns, they insisted on exemptions for news organizations. One could fault them for being self-serving in this selective censorship, which the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional in its *Citizens United* decision, but at least they stood up for their profession’s freedom.

Today, though, journalists are becoming zealous to silence their ideological rivals—and the fervor is mainly on the left. During the 1960s, the left-wing activists leading Berkeley’s Free Speech movement

fought for the rights of conservatives to speak on campus, but today's activists embrace the New Left's intellectual rationalizations for censorship. To justify the protection of an ever-expanding array of victimized groups, theorists of intersectionality—the idea that subgroup identities, such as race, gender, and sexuality, overlap to make people more oppressed—have adapted Herbert Marcuse's neo-Marxist notion of “repressive tolerance.” Marcuse propounded that Orwellian oxymoron in the 1960s to justify government censorship of right-wing groups that were supposedly oppressing the powerless.

Greg Lukianoff, who has fought free-speech wars on campus for two decades as the head of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE), dates the ascendancy of the new censors to 2013, when student protesters at Brown University forced the cancellation of a speech by Raymond Kelly, the New York City police commissioner. “For the first time, rather than being ashamed of this assault on free speech, most people on campus seemed to rally around the protesters,” says Lukianoff, coauthor of *The Coddling of the American Mind*. “That’s when we started hearing the language of medicalization, that free speech would cause medical harm. Outsiders dismissed this as a college phenomenon and predicted that these intolerant fragile kids would have to change when they hit the real world. But instead, they’re changing the world.”

This change can be seen at the once-stalwart ACLU, which has retreated to a new policy of rejecting First Amendment cases when the speech in question “can inflict serious harms” on “marginalized communities.” That’s the paternalistic rationale for campus speech codes, which have repeatedly been declared unconstitutional but remain popular, especially among Democrats and young people. In a national survey in 2017 by the Cato Institute, a majority of Democrats (versus a quarter of Republicans) said that the government should prohibit hate speech, and 60 percent of respondents under age 30 agreed that hate speech constitutes an act of violence.

Even journalists are adopting these attitudes, as Robby Soave observed while reporting on young radicals in his book *Panic Attack*. A decade ago, when Soave was an undergraduate on the University of Michigan’s student paper, his fellow editors stood in the Hentoff tradition: devout leftists but also free-speech absolutists.

Starting around 2013, though, Soave saw a change at Michigan and other schools. “The power dynamic switched on campus so that the anti-speech activists began dominating the discourse while those who believed in free speech became afraid to speak up,” says Soave, now a writer for *Reason*. “Campus newspapers, especially at elite institutions, have become increasingly sympathetic to the notion that speech isn’t protected if it makes students feel unsafe. And now you’re seeing these graduates going into professional journalism and demanding that their editors provide a safe workplace by not employing people whose views make them uncomfortable.”

The result is what Dean Baquet, the *New York Times* executive editor, recently called a “generational divide” in newsrooms. The progressive activism of younger journalists often leaves their older colleagues exasperated. “The paper is now written by 25-year-old gender studies majors,” said one *Washington Post* veteran. She wouldn’t speak for the record, though: as fragile and marginalized as these young progressives claim to be, they know how to make life miserable for unwoke colleagues.

If their publication is considering hiring a conservative, or if a colleague writes or tweets something that offends them, young progressives express their outrage on social media—sometimes publicly on Twitter, sometimes in internal chat rooms. The internal chat is supposed to be confidential, but comments often get leaked, stoking online outrage.

It takes remarkably little to start the cycle, as *Times* opinion writer Bari Weiss discovered last year. Weiss, already in disfavor among progressives for criticizing aspects of the #MeToo movement, got into trouble for celebrating the Olympic performance of gymnast Mirai Nagasu, the American-born daughter of Japanese immigrants. Weiss adapted a line from the *Hamilton* musical to tweet: “Immigrants: They get the job done.” Weiss was promptly attacked for describing Nagasu as an immigrant, making her guilty of a progressive offense known as “othering.”

“Today, journalists are becoming zealous to silence their ideological rivals—and the fervor is mainly on the left.”

HuffPost’s Ashley Feinberg, who did her own version of othering by labeling Weiss a “feminist apostate” and “troll,” published the leaked transcript of an internal chat among *Times* staffers in which Weiss’s tweet was compared to the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. The staffers called for an expansion of the company’s program in implicit-bias training to combat the paper’s “microaggressions” and “hostile work environment.”

Weiss tried explaining that she’d been aware of the gymnast’s family background and had been using poetic license, but eventually she tweeted her surrender: “I am being told that I am a racist, a ghoul and that I deserve to die. So, I deleted the tweet. That’s where we are.”

Ian Buruma, the editor of *The New York Review of Books*, was fired for publishing an article by a man accused of sexual assault (a Canadian journalist who’d been acquitted of the charges in court but saw his career ruined). Buruma was doomed by online outrage, a staff revolt, and threats from university presses to withdraw advertising.

Harper’s was similarly roiled by internal rebellion and online fury for publishing articles by John Hockenberry, the NPR host who lost his job over sexual harassment accusations, and by Katie Roiphe, whose criticism of #MeToo was controversial even before the magazine published it. Rumors about the pending article prompted Nicole Cliffe, a columnist at Slate, to call for freelance writers to boycott *Harper’s* unless it killed Roiphe’s piece; Cliffe even offered to compensate them for any money they lost by withdrawing their articles. Her preemptive strike didn’t stop publication of the Roiphe article, but it did inspire at least one company to withdraw an ad from *Harper’s*.

The Atlantic faced a campaign to fire Kevin Williamson shortly after he was hired away from *National Review*. Writers at the *New Republic*, the *New York Times*, Slate, Vox, the Daily Beast, and other outlets called him unfit for the job. They were particularly appalled by an earlier podcast in which Williamson, in a spirit of provocation, said that women who have abortions deserved the same punishment as those who commit first-degree murder, even if that meant hanging.

The Atlantic initially stood by him, and Ta-Nehisi Coates, one of its star progressive writers, even praised Williamson’s work and said that he’d advised hiring him. But the online dragging and internal discontent soon led to his exit. At a staff meeting (a video of which was leaked to HuffPost) after Williamson’s firing, Coates apologized to his colleagues. “I feel like I kind of failed you guys,” he said.

The online outrage against Williamson was fanned by Media Matters for America, the nonprofit that employs dozens of researchers to dig up damaging material on conservatives—or, at least, material that will sound especially bad if it’s quoted without context. (Williamson, for instance, had also expressed reservations about imposing the death penalty for any crime.)

One Media Matters researcher, heroically profiled in the *Washington Post*, spent ten hours a day listening to recordings from 2006 to 2011 of Tucker Carlson's conversations with Bubba the Love Sponge, a shock-jock radio host. Media Matters published some of Carlson's cruder comments and followed up with new ones on subsequent days to keep the story alive and provide ammunition for activists demanding that corporations stop advertising on Carlson's Fox News show. The campaign succeeded in pressuring advertisers like Land Rover and IHOP to abandon the program, which runs fewer commercials than it did last year.

It's easy to see why progressive activists have made advertising boycotts one of their chief weapons against Fox, Breitbart, and other conservative outlets. What's harder to fathom is why so many journalists have cheered a tactic that's bad for their profession.

This kind of boycott is different from the traditional ones against companies accused of bad behavior like mistreating their workers or polluting the environment. In this case, companies are targeted not for the way they run their businesses but simply for advertising their wares. Jack Shafer, the longtime media critic, has been a lonely libertarian voice warning of the threat that this poses to journalism and public discourse. "I barely trust IHOP to make my breakfast," he wrote in Politico. "Why would I expect it to vet my cable news content for me?"

Journalists have traditionally prided themselves on their independence from advertisers. Now the boycotters want to end that independence. If advertisers start being held accountable for content, their aversion to controversy will put pressure on media companies to churn out bland fare that won't risk offending anyone. "It's easy to imagine today's boycotts turning into tomorrow's blacklist," wrote Shafer.

Instead of worrying about this threat to their autonomy, journalists at progressive and mainstream publications have promoted it. Activists announce boycotts regularly, but these rarely make an impact unless they get widespread public attention.

Sleeping Giants, an activist group leading the boycotts, has gotten lots of publicity (and web traffic) from largely uncritical articles heralding its leaders' pure motives. Margaret Sullivan, the *Washington Post's* media columnist, acknowledged that there might be a problem if boycotters aimed at a provocative outlet like Gawker—a left-leaning site that meets her approval—but she couldn't bring herself to condemn the tactic. Quite the reverse: "To those who sympathize with Sleeping Giants' objections to online racism, sexism and hate-mongering—count me in this number—their efforts seem worthwhile, sometimes even noble."

Other journalists have explicitly endorsed the Carlson boycott, including Kevin Drum of *Mother Jones*, and Michelangelo Signorile of HuffPost. Some have even pitched in to pressure the advertisers directly. Jenna Amatulli, a reporter at HuffPost, published a list of the show's advertisers, complete with links to their contact information, and wrote that she had "reached out" for statements from each company—meaning, in effect, that she had personally threatened them with bad publicity.

No one wants to be named in a story accusing an advertiser of supporting "racism," "white nationalism," and "misogyny," Carlson's alleged sins, reported as established facts in HuffPost articles.

Other HuffPost reporters used similar tactics against Daryush Valizadeh, known as Roosh, a male critic of feminism who ran a website called Return of Kings. After the reporters "reached out" to Amazon, YouTube, and other companies that enabled Roosh to collect online revenue, Amazon removed some of

his books, and YouTube banned him from livestreaming. HuffPost triumphantly reported the campaign's outcome: "Rape Apologist 'Roosh' Shutting Down Website After Running Out of Money."

How would the management of HuffPost react if conservative journalists similarly "reached out" to its advertisers? I put that question to Lydia Polgreen, the editor-in-chief, noting that it would be easy to find articles (like one by Jesse Been defending violence against Trump supporters) that could scare off corporations. She dodged the question, referring me to a spokesperson's bland statement about HuffPost being trusted by advertisers because of its "factual insights."

A few conservatives have tried these censorious tactics against liberals, with little success. They've hired researchers to dig up damaging social-media posts by liberal reporters—a move that Polgreen called an "extremely alarming" threat to "independent journalism," though it's precisely what her HuffPost staff and Media Matters do to conservative journalists.

Some conservatives responded to the Fox boycotts by announcing counter-boycotts against MSNBC, but these efforts got virtually no press coverage. Conservative journalists eagerly criticize the bias of their progressive colleagues, but they don't have the same power to censor—or the same zeal.

To get an idea of the imbalance, consider the cases of Quinn Norton, a libertarian technology writer, and Sarah Jeong, a progressive technology writer. After the *Times* announced that it was hiring Norton for its editorial page, it took just seven hours for progressives to get her fired. On Twitter and in an internal *Times* chat room (as HuffPost reported), Norton was attacked for having tweeted that she was friends with a neo-Nazi hacker whom she had covered.

She had always repudiated his ideology, calling him a "terrible person," but that wasn't enough to save her job. Six months later, in August 2018, when the *Times* hired Jeong for the editorial page, conservative activists unearthed tweets from Jeong, an Asian-American, denigrating white men as well as whites as a race. One used a hashtag "#CancelWhitePeople;" another predicted that whites would soon go extinct and said, "This was my plan all along." The *Times* stuck with its decision to hire her. (The paper recently announced that Jeong would no longer be part of its editorial board, though she will continue as a contributing writer.)

Conservative journalists criticized the *Times* for its double standard, but they didn't unite with the online activists demanding that Jeong be fired. The *Times*'s Bret Stephens wrote a column urging the paper to overlook the offensive tweets. In *New York*, Andrew Sullivan lambasted Jeong's bigotry and the progressive dogma that it's impossible to be racist against whites, but he, too, urged the *Times* not to fire her because media companies should not succumb to online mobs.

You might think that Sullivan's forbearance would win him some points with progressives, and perhaps even make them question their own enthusiasm for purges, but the column didn't play well even with Sullivan's colleagues at *New York*. Brian Feldman, an associate editor, tweeted: "Andrew Sullivan's newest column is complete garbage and I'm embarrassed to be even tangentially associated with it." Not exactly collegial, but again, that's where we are.

Another thought experiment: suppose, after a small organization announces a march in support of abortion rights, that an alliance of antiabortion protesters vows to shut it down. As the marchers proceed, they're confronted by a much larger group of counterprotesters wearing masks, carrying clubs, and chanting, "Whose streets? Our streets!" The counterprotesters block the marchers' progress and throw eggs, milk shakes, and rocks at them. Fights break out, inspiring a news article: "Six people were

injured today in clashes between anti-murder demonstrators and a far-left group linked to infanticide. Leaders of the anti-murder protesters blamed the left-wing group for provoking the violence and vowed to ‘continue defending ourselves and the most vulnerable members of our society.’”

Are there any right-wing journalists capable of misreporting a story so dishonestly? They haven’t had a chance to try. There’s no group of right-wing masked thugs who regularly try to stop left-wing speeches and marches. The “no-platforming” strategy is a specialty of Antifa, the left-wing network whose members have brawled at conservative and Republican events in Berkeley, San Jose, Charlottesville, Washington, D.C., Boston, Portland, Vancouver, and other cities. They describe themselves as “anti-fascist,” a ludicrous term for a masked mob suppressing free speech, but journalists respectfully use it anyway.

Media coverage obscures Antifa’s aggression by vaguely reporting “clashes” between antifascists who claim to be acting in “self-defense” (though they typically outnumber their enemies by at least four to one) against the violence of “racists” and “white supremacists” of the “alt-right.” It doesn’t matter if the conservative group is rallying to support free speech—hardly a traditional priority for fascists—and has specifically banned white supremacists from participating. Enterprising journalists can always find someone at the rally somehow linked to what some left-wing organization has designated a dangerous “hate group.”

And journalists can turn to the much-quoted Mark Bray, a historian at Dartmouth, to provide a rationale for the masked mob’s tactics. In his *Anti-Fascist Handbook*, Bray acknowledges that Antifa’s no-platforming strategy infringes on others’ free speech but maintains that it is “justified for its role in the political struggle against fascism” and approvingly describes violence as “a small though vital sliver of anti-fascist activity.”

This coverage jibes with the media narrative that the great threat to civil liberties comes from the right, a rationale used for censoring conservatives. If a lone sociopath with right-wing leanings turns violent, commentators rush to blame it on the “climate” created by President Trump and Fox News, which makes no more sense than blaming Elizabeth Warren for the recent killing spree in Dayton by a supporter of hers, or blaming MSNBC for the Rachel Maddow fan who opened fire on Republican members of Congress in Alexandria, Virginia.

Violent young men certainly exist on the right, but no conservative academic or journalist tries to rationalize their attacks as “self-defense.” They can post online threats and domination fantasies, but they don’t have the numbers or the institutional power to silence their opponents.

Yet most journalists obsess over right-wing dangers while ignoring or downplaying the actual violence on the left.

There are exceptions, like Peter Beinart of *The Atlantic*, who has warned about Antifa and criticized *The Nation* and Slate for celebrating one of its assaults (the punching of white nationalist Richard Spencer). But few others have paid much heed to Antifa. Some, like Carlos Maza and the *New Republic*’s Matt Ford, have praised its milk-shaking tactic. While working at Vox, Maza tweeted, “Milkshake them all. Humiliate them at every turn. Make them dread public organizing.” He has also tweeted, “Deplatform the bigots,” and put that idea into practice with the outspoken support of Vox’s executives. His pressure on YouTube triggered the “Vox Adpocalypse,” in which YouTube cut off advertising revenue to Steven Crowder and other conservative commentators.

Outside of conservative and libertarian outlets, Antifa hasn't attracted much scrutiny, even as its followers have assaulted journalists. (They also stood outside Carlson's home, chanting, "Tucker Carlson, we will fight! We know where you sleep at night!").

The latest victim is Andy Ngo, a writer for Quillette, *City Journal*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and other publications, whose coverage of Antifa's violence led to threats and harassment from the group's members over the last two years. In June, Ngo was attacked at a rally in Portland for men's rights that attracted two dozen supporters. They were opposed by 400 protesters who blocked streets and threw milk shakes handed out by organizers. As Ngo was reporting, masked Antifa protesters rushed him, stole his camera, showered him with milk shakes and eggs, kicked him, and pummeled his head, cutting his face and tearing his earlobe. He was hospitalized with a brain hemorrhage.



Among major newspapers, only the *Wall Street Journal* editorialized against the Antifa assault on right-leaning journalist Andy Ngo, who was seriously injured in June.

Any attack on a journalist for reporting usually inspires displays of professional solidarity, but the *Wall Street Journal* was the only major newspaper to editorialize in support of Ngo. The Committee to Protect Journalists, which issues frequent news bulletins on threats to the press, published nothing on the assault. Last year, the committee ran a detailed report on American journalists who felt threatened by the far right (none of whom had been physically injured), but it seems uninterested in Antifa.

Some progressive journalists condemned the assault on Ngo but faulted him and the conservative organizers of the rally for inviting violence, as in a HuffPost article headlined "Far-Right Extremists Wanted Blood in Portland's Streets. Once Again, They Got It." Aymann Ismail, a staff writer at Slate, tweeted, "This is bad, but Ngo has done worse." The *Portland Mercury* tried discrediting Ngo by claiming that he previously had been complicit in an attack by right-wingers on Antifa—a baseless claim debunked by *Reason's* Soave but nonetheless repeated by the *Daily Beast*, *Vice*, and *Rolling Stone*.

Zack Beauchamp of Vox condemned the physical assault on Ngo but offered excruciating rationalizations for Antifa's rage. "The mere fact that Ngo was assaulted doesn't say what the meaning of that assault is, or what the broader context is that's necessary to understand it," he wrote, explaining that the controversy "isn't really a debate about press freedoms" but rather about "two divergent visions of where American politics is." One of those visions just happens to require silencing the other side.

Free speech should be of special interest to the *Columbia Journalism Review*, which calls itself “the leading global voice on journalism news and commentary.” But *CJR* sees the issue through a progressive filter. It not only criticized *The New York Review of Books* and *Harper’s* for publishing articles by journalists fired for sexual harassment but also essentially advocated a blacklist: “The men who feel they have been unfairly treated following accusations of harassment or abuse are entitled to their perspective, but nothing demands that editors turn over the pages of their publications to these figures.” *CJR* applauded Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube for “stemming the flow of toxic ideas” by banning “hate-mongers like Milo Yiannopoulos and Alex Jones.”

After the violence at Berkeley and Middlebury, *CJR* urged reporters covering campus unrest to “be wary of amplifying flashpoints that match Trump’s own ‘intolerant left’ narrative,” and it has been following its own advice.

CJR showed little interest in Antifa’s censorious tactics until prompted recently by Quillette, the online magazine devoted to “dangerous ideas,” which has run articles by journalists and academics on the culture wars over free speech.

Eoin Lenihan, a researcher in online extremism, reported in May on an analysis of the Twitter users who interact most heavily with Antifa sites. Most turned out to be journalists, including writers for the *Guardian*, the *New Republic*, and HuffPost as well for pro-Antifa publications.

Following a group closely on Twitter, of course, doesn’t mean that one endorses its activity; journalists do need to track the subjects they cover. But these journalists seemed more devoted to promoting the cause than covering it impartially. “Of all 15 verified national-level journalists in our subset, we couldn’t find a single article, by any of them, that was markedly critical of Antifa in any way,” Lenihan wrote. “In all cases, their work in this area consisted primarily of downplaying Antifa violence while advancing Antifa talking points, and in some cases quoting Antifa extremists as if they were impartial experts.”

CJR responded to Lenihan’s article—but not by analyzing the press coverage of Antifa. Instead, it ran an article, “Right-Wing Publications Launder an Anti-Journalist Smear Campaign,” by Jared Holt of Right Wing Watch, a project of the liberal advocacy group People for the American Way. Holt’s article was a mix of ad hominem attacks, irrelevancies, and inaccuracies. Cathy Young, who wrote about the controversy for Arc Digital, concluded that every key point in his argument was wrong. Even worse was what Holt omitted. He didn’t even address Lenihan’s main conclusion: that press coverage of Antifa was biased—the issue that should have been most relevant to a journalism review.

Yet *CJR* remained uninterested in Antifa even after the subsequent assault on Andy Ngo. This past summer, it ran an article about rightists attacking journalists in Greece, but Ngo’s assault didn’t even rate a mention in *CJR*’s daily digest of journalism news. The only reference to the Portland melee was a summary of a Media Matters article criticizing Fox News for its coverage. Fox, like other outlets, had quoted a report from the Portland police that some of the milk shakes handed out by Antifa contained quick-drying cement, but no other evidence existed that this was true.

To the nation’s leading journalism review, that was apparently the most important lesson of the episode for reporters is be careful not to exaggerate the violence of leftists opposed to free speech. And never mind that a journalist is in the hospital as a result of that violence.

Is there any hope of reviving the spirit of Nat Hentoff on the left? The zeal for banning “hate speech” doesn’t seem to be abating, though some progressives are developing a new appreciation for the First

Amendment, thanks to Trump's incoherent comments about it, like his offhand remark that "bad" speech is not "free speech" because it is "dangerous."

While the dangers of Trump's "war on the press" have been exaggerated—no matter how much he'd like to silence "fake news CNN" or the "failing *New York Times*," the courts won't suspend the First Amendment to please him—there is a danger of the federal government stifling speech on social media.

There's some bipartisan support in Congress and even among journalists for removing what's been called the Internet's First Amendment: the exemption that allows social media platforms to publish controversial material without being held legally liable for it. Removing the exemption appeals to some Democrats who want to restrict "hate speech," and to some Republicans, too, angry at the platforms for censoring right-wing voices.

This censorship is often blamed on social media companies' progressive bias, which may well exist, but it's due at least in part simply to the greater external pressure from progressive activists and journalists. If progressives keep trying to de-platform their opponents—and if Twitter and Facebook and YouTube keep caving to the pressure—there'll be more bipartisan enthusiasm to restrict all speech on social media.

A more immediate danger is self-censorship by writers fearful of being fired or blacklisted and by editors fearful of online rage, staff revolts, and advertising boycotts. After the cowardly firing of Kevin Williamson, *The Atlantic* (to its credit) published a dissent from that decision by Conor Friedersdorf, in which he worried about the chilling effect it would have on the magazine's writers and editors, and how their fear of taking chances would ultimately hurt readers.

That's the danger at every publication that bows to the new censors. Resisting them won't be easy if journalism keeps going the way of academia.

But all editors and publishers can take a couple of basic steps. One is to concentrate on hiring journalists committed to the most important kind of diversity: a wide range of ideas open for vigorous debate. The other step is even simpler: stop capitulating. Ignore the online speech police, and don't reward the staff censors, either. Instead of feeling their pain or acceding to their demands, give them a copy of Nat Hentoff's *Free Speech for Me—but Not for Thee*.

If they still don't get it—if they still don't see that free speech is their profession's paramount principle—tactfully suggest that their talents would be better suited to another line of work.

4 - Nearly All My Professors are Democrats. Isn't That a Problem?



From the *Christian Science Monitor*, here's an article about what happened on July 13, 2009 when freelance journalist and journalism student Dan Lawton at the University of Oregon posed the question: Nearly all my professors are Democrats. Isn't that a problem? That's a sure sign that universities should address the lack of ideological diversity.

In his own words, Dan Lawton explains:

When I began examining the political affiliation of faculty at the University of Oregon, the lone conservative professor I spoke with cautioned that I would "make a lot of people unhappy."

Though I mostly brushed off his warning – assuming that academia would be interested in such discourse – I was careful to frame my research for a column for the school newspaper diplomatically.

The University of Oregon (UO), where I study journalism, invested millions annually in a diversity program that explicitly included "political affiliation" as a component. Yet, out of the 111 registered Oregon voters in the departments of journalism, law, political science, economics, and sociology, there were only two registered Republicans.

A number of conservative students told me they felt Republican ideas were frequently caricatured and rarely presented fairly. Did the dearth of conservative professors on campus and apparent marginalization of ideas on the right belie the university's commitment to providing a marketplace of ideas?

In my column, published in the campus newspaper *The Oregon Daily Emerald* June 1, I suggested that such a disparity hurt UO. I argued that the lifeblood of higher education was subjecting students to diverse viewpoints and the university needed to work on attracting more conservative professors.

I also suggested that students working on right-leaning ideas may have difficulty finding faculty mentors. I couldn't imagine, for instance, that journalism that supported the Iraq war or gun rights would be met with much enthusiasm.

What I didn't realize is that journalism that examined the dominance of liberal ideas on campus would be addressed with hostility.

A professor who confronted me declared that he was "personally offended" by my column. He railed that his political viewpoints never affected his teaching and suggested that if I wanted a faculty with Republicans I should have attended a university in the South. "If you like conservatism you can certainly attend the University of Texas and you can walk past the statue of Jefferson Davis every day on your way to class," he wrote in an e-mail.

I was shocked by such a comment, which seemed an attempt to link Republicans with racist orthodoxy. When I wrote back expressing my offense, he neither apologized nor clarified his remarks.

Instead, he reiterated them on the record. Was such a brazen expression of partisanship representative of the faculty as a whole? I decided to speak with him in person in the hope of finding common ground.

He was eager to chat, and after five minutes our dialogue bloomed into a lively discussion. As we hammered away at the issue, one of his colleagues with whom he shared an office grew visibly agitated. Then, while I was in mid-sentence, she exploded.

"You think you're so [expletive] cute with your little column," she told me. "I read your piece and all you want is attention. You're just like Bill O'Reilly. You just want to get up on your [expletive] soapbox and have people look at you."

From the disgust with which she attacked me; you would have thought I had advocated Nazism. She quickly grew so emotional that she had to leave the room. But before she departed, she stood over me and screamed.

"You understand that my column was basically a prophesy," I shot back. I had suggested right-leaning ideas weren't welcome on campus and in response the faculty had tied my viewpoints to racism and addressed me with profanity-laced insults.

What's so remarkable is that I hadn't actually advocated Republican ideas or conservative ideas. In fact, I'm not a conservative, nor a Republican. I simply believe in the concept of diversity – a primarily liberal idea – and think that we suffer when we don't include ideas we find unappealing.

After my article on political diversity was published, I received numerous e-mails from students at other schools who spoke of similar experiences. As a result of my research and personal experience, I can now say without reservation that the lack of ideological diversity on college campuses is a dangerous threat to free and open discourse in academia. Sadly, there are few perfect solutions.

One proposal considered by universities is endowing a chair of conservative thought to lure a high-profile conservative scholar to campus. However, this has the potential to exacerbate partisan tensions by sanctioning an explicitly ideological position.

A more draconian option is to enact a political litmus test and mandate that Republicans fill a certain number of positions but doing so would exclude many qualified professors and be unfairly discriminatory.

The fact is that political diversity, like many diversity efforts, is something that cannot be created through edict, but only by a concerted effort on the behalf of those in power. While hiring on the basis of party affiliation isn't the answer to reducing political discrimination, denying that political beliefs influence pedagogy is simply naive.

Faculties in ideological departments should examine the body of work of a candidate to see if it fills a shortcoming. In a department of journalism or political science, a professor with a right-leaning perspective would not only provide a balance in curriculum, but a potential mentor to conservative students who feel isolated in their beliefs. At left-leaning universities, such professors should be aggressively pursued.

Above all, deans, provosts, and professors must not allow their aversion to conservative ideas to manifest so contemptuously.

Political disagreement is crucial to vibrant discourse, but not in the form of caricatures, slights, or mockery.

Students should never come under personal attack from faculty members for straying from the party line. The fact that they do shows how easily political partisanship can corrupt the elements of higher education that should be valued the most.

5 - What Liberals and Conservatives Get Wrong About the Campus Free Speech Debate



Written by The Conversation in the February 21, 2020 AlterNet publication by Timothy Ryan, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Mark McNeilly, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, when it comes to understanding disputes over free expression on college campuses, such as speakers getting disinvited or having their speeches interrupted, conservatives tend to blame liberal professors for indoctrinating students and ostracizing those who don't agree with liberal viewpoints.

One prominent conservative organization, Turning Point USA, has gone so far as to create a database of faculty it says, "discriminate against conservative students and advance leftist propaganda in the classroom."

Liberals, in contrast, argue that concerns about free speech on college campuses are overblown. They also accuse conservatives of co-opting the language of free speech proponents in an effort to falsely position themselves as victims.

Our research indicates that each of these narratives is flawed. We are researchers who study political behavior, as well as strategies for business.

For the past year, we have been studying free expression issues at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a campus that has had a number of flare-ups related to free expression in recent years. We wanted to look beyond single episodes and better understand the typical student's experience concerning free expression.

We found that students who identify with the political right do indeed face fears of being ostracized that students who identify with the left do not. However, we also found signs that right-leaning students worry at least as much about reactions from peers as from faculty. Much of this plays out silently in classrooms at Chapel Hill and – we believe – at other colleges and universities throughout the nation.

It's Not About Professors

For our research, we sent surveys to all 20,343 students – the entire undergraduate population at Chapel Hill. Two-thousand of these students (randomly selected) were offered a US\$10 incentive to participate in the survey. This feature helped ensure we heard from a representative cross section of students. We received 1,087 complete responses. About half of those respondents were those who got

\$10 for their participation. The results of the 2019 UNC-Chapel Hill Free Expression Survey are presented below.

For each student who responded, we randomly chose one class from their schedule and asked – for that particular class – how many times during the semester they kept a sincere opinion related to class to themselves because they were worried about the consequences of expressing it. We found a large liberal/conservative divide – 23% of self-identified liberals said they censored themselves at least once, while 68% of self-identified conservatives did so.

How Often do Students Self-Censor?

	<u>Respondent Self-identification</u>		
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Never	77%	51%	32%
Once	10	20	10
2-5 times	13	19	28
6-10 times	0	5	13
More than 10 times	2	4	17
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Numbers reflect how liberal, moderate, and conservative respondents answered the question, “About how many times did you keep an opinion related to class to yourself because you were worried about the potential consequences of expressing that opinion?” The question referenced a randomly selected class from each student’s Fall 2018 schedule. The analysis is limited to classes where the respondent said that politics was a subject of conversation.

You might presume that behavior by instructors is to blame for this stark difference. But the evidence we gathered does not seem to support this view.

We asked students whether their course instructor “encouraged participation from liberals and conservatives alike.” Only 2% of liberal students and 11% of conservatives disagreed that the instructor did so. Similarly, only 6% of liberals and 14% of conservatives disagreed that the same instructor “was interested in learning from people with opinions that differed from the instructor’s own opinions.” These are low numbers and the splits are small. They are simply not what one would expect if the narrative that liberal instructors try to indoctrinate their students were broadly true.

Liberals, Moderates, and Conservatives Generally See Their Instructor as Even-handed and Open-minded

	<i>“The instructor encouraged participation from liberals and conservatives alike.”</i>		
	<u>Respondent ideological self-identification</u>		
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Percent who disagree:	2%	4%	11%
	<i>“The instructor was interested in learning from people with opinions that differed from the instructor’s own opinions.”</i>		
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Percent who disagree:	6%	12%	14%

Note: These questions focused on a randomly chosen class from students’ Fall 2018 schedule. Analysis is limited to classes for which the respondent said that politics came up as a topic of discussion more than “never.”

Fears About Peers

In contrast, students reported substantially more anxiety about how their own peers would respond to expressing sincere political views – and the divides between liberal and conservative students are larger.

Seventy-five percent of conservative students said they were concerned that other students would have a lower opinion of them if they expressed their sincere political views in class. But only 26% of liberal students had this concern. Forty-three percent of conservative students were concerned about a negative post on social media. Only 10% of liberal students had this concern.

Pressures that disproportionately affect right-leaning students were evident outside the classroom as well. We asked how often students hear “disrespectful, inappropriate, or offensive comments” about 12 social groups on campus. Students – even those who identify as liberal – acknowledged hearing such comments directed at political conservatives far more often than at any other group.

How Often Did Respondents Hear “disrespectful, inappropriate, or offensive” comments?

<i>Comments about...</i>	<u>Respondent Ideological Self-identification</u>		
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
Women	32.4%	17.5%	10.3%
Men	24.6	39.0	52.2
Whites	22.0	40.1	60.1
African Americans	19.8	9.4	7.4
Hispanics or Latinos	11.6	4.9	5.9
Asians	10.7	8.7	6.4
Students born outside the US.	10.3	6.0	4.9
Christians	20.4	32.8	44.6
Muslims	14.2	9.3	8.4
LGBT individuals	21.5	13.0	10.9
Political liberals	21.2	11.4	11.9
Political conservatives	57.1	67.8	82.8

Note: Numbers represent the percentage of liberal, moderate, or conservative respondents who say they hear disrespectful comments “several times per semester,” or more often than that.

We also examined whether liberal or conservative students might be more inclined to employ obstructionist tactics, such as blocking the entrance to a public event that featured a speaker with whom they disagree. To do this in an evenhanded way, we presented students with a list of ten political opinions. Then we asked them to choose the opinion that they find most objectionable. We chose a slate of opinions that really exist at UNC, such as ones concerning affirmative action, LGBT rights, and Silent Sam – a Confederate monument that is subject of a long-running campus controversy.

After students chose which opinion they found most objectionable, we asked whether it would be appropriate to take various actions toward people who hold that view. Nearly 20% of liberal respondents indicated it would be appropriate to prevent other students from hearing a campus speaker express the disliked view. But just 3% or less of moderate and conservative respondents indicated that doing so was appropriate.

In order to better understand the typical experience of a university student, we believe it’s important to go beyond singular dramatic confrontations. The deeper story about free expression on campus, as our study shows, is not just about the shouting that takes place during high-profile incidents on campus. It’s also about what students say – and feel compelled to keep to themselves – in lecture halls and classrooms throughout the school year.

6 - When Student Activists Refuse to Talk to Campus Newspapers



With the rise of social media, young people have a mouthpiece of their own and little incentive to help reform an institution they've criticized as reported below by Kate Talerico in the June 30, 2016 article from *The Atlantic*. Kate is also the news editor at *The Brown Daily Herald*.

Students at Brown University stage a protest to change the name of Fall Weekend to Indigenous People's Day. The protest happened days after the university's student newspaper published an opinion piece asking Native Americans to appreciate Christopher Columbus's legacy.

This February, at a conference attended by the editors of 10 college newspapers along the East Coast—myself among them—student journalists recognized a common obstacle plaguing their publications: Student activists would no longer talk with them.

As student activists call for the institutions around them to confront issues of diversity and inclusion, campus newspapers have been critiqued as well. But activists are not just calling for reform—editors of campus papers are struggling to improve their papers alongside student bodies that, in some cases, would like to see student newspapers as an institution disappear.

Students boycotted the *Brown Daily Herald (BDH)*, where I am a news editor, after it published two racist opinion pieces for which it later apologized. Since then, students have used the publication's controversial past as reason to refuse comment and even to remove reporters from campus-wide events. These kinds of conflicts have erupted on campuses across the country.

Melissa Click, a former assistant professor at the University of Missouri who was eventually fired, tried to stop a student reporter from covering a campus protest. Student activists at Smith College told student journalists they would be barred from a black-solidarity rally unless they vowed to "participate and articulate their solidarity with black students and students of color." Even a headline can ignite backlash: *Yale Daily News (YDN)* journalists have struggled to interact with social-justice advocates on campus since the paper ran an article about accusations that a fraternity discriminated against people of color with the headline "SAE denies charges of racism."

Sometimes the confrontations have resulted in long-term consequences. At Wesleyan University, student activists critiqued the student newspaper, the *Argus*, when they failed to cover a Black Lives Matter protest in the fall, although the paper had not yet begun its print cycle for the year.

Later that year, the *Argus* published a controversial opinion piece that prompted the student government to cut its funding in half. As the paper attempted to ramp up its coverage of events centering on students of color in response to student demands from early that fall, it was further stonewalled, according to Rebecca Brill, the newspaper's former editor-in-chief. "We were trying to fix this thing that was a valid critique of us," she said, "but the people who were critiquing us weren't letting us talk to them."

Across the country, students have called for meaningful changes within campus publications to support marginalized communities, or even the disbanding of their student newspapers, from colleges like the University of Arizona to Dartmouth. Several editors from publications attending the conference declined to comment for this article, fearing they would jeopardize progress made in working with communities of student activists.

And while certain activists acknowledge their student newspaper's attempts to correct any lapses in coverage, many have still put pressure on student reporters to adapt to their demands. "Until we see a willingness to engage journalism in a much more ... social justice-oriented way, it's hard to trust [student newspapers] to protect or be mindful of the issues that we face," said Justice Gaines, a trans student activist at Brown whose activism focuses on issues of race, gender, and sexuality.

But that philosophy creates a catch-22 for editors. "I don't know if it's fair to demand representation ... but then deny the paper that permission by refusing to speak to them," Brill said. "We can't have better representation unless there's cooperation." This cooperation requires the trust of these student sources.

Still, for some marginalized students, and particularly students of color, campus newspapers are emblematic of institutional media as a whole—an industry that in their experience has tended to delegitimize their narratives.

Language that student activists say misconstrues their narratives regularly appears in the coverage of campus activism, by both mass media and college newspapers.

And according to a 1999 study by the University of Minnesota, such language can delegitimize the arguments of protesters challenging the status quo. Reporters often use terms like "coddled" and "complaining" when describing modern-day student activists who are pushing their universities to address issues of diversity and inclusion. Journalists may not see "that we actually have valid points and things we want to change," said Ivetty Estepan, a student activist at Yale who focuses on issues of racism and marginalization.

Some student activists also view their campus newspaper as symbolic of the university as an institution—whether their paper receives funding from the administration or student government, or is independent, like the *BDH* and the *YDN*. "There's this idea that the *YDN* has been a part of Yale as an institution for ... hundreds of years, so how much does that influence it?" Estepan said.

And just like the college administrations that have been critiqued in recent years by student activists, student newspapers lack diversity in their newsrooms. This dearth of diversity is maintained by a vicious cycle; newsrooms bereft of underrepresented minorities may, through their coverage or image, engender backlash from racial-justice activists that in turn can discourage underrepresented students from joining the papers' ranks. A 2007 study of journalists from communities of color working

at four large-circulation newspapers showed that a lack of newsroom diversity undermines reporters' ability to represent their communities in their journalism.

This tension is evident in a recent survey from Gallup and two journalism advocacy organizations—the Knight Foundation and the Newseum Institute—of student opinions on First Amendment rights and offensive speech. The study found that people from marginalized groups were more likely to favor limiting free speech on campus, and 44 percent of students believe it is acceptable to restrict the media's access to campus events because the activists want to tell the story themselves on social media. "You lose agency when you tell the media what is going on," Estepan said.

The media's unwillingness to take a stance when reporting on issues of oppression represents a kind of "institutional bias," said Warren Harding, a graduate student at Brown involved in the activism that led to the school's adoption of a \$165 million diversity-and-inclusion plan. "Especially when it comes to anti-racism work or anti-oppression work, when a newspaper says they are trying to be objective, that means they are upholding standards that were set against people who have been oppressed," Gaines, the Brown student activist, echoed. Stories that describe the experiences of injustice and violence merit a journalist who will ethically stand in solidarity, Harding argued.

But that, too, raises questions: Which stories would a journalist then choose to slant, and which would they not? At that point, what separates that source from an opinion blog, or social media? Journalists do not claim to be unbiased. We believe that the process of seeking out a variety of perspectives and approaching an article without explicitly including biases leads to a more productive and balanced discussion of the news. "Coming close to objectivity can be enough," Brill, the former *Argus* editor, said.

Still, about half of the students in the Gallup survey also said that they would be comfortable limiting press access to an event if the reporter was "biased." That worries people like Gene Policinski, the chief operating officer of the Newseum Institute. "Simply saying we won't talk to someone because we don't like their viewpoint ultimately constrains your voice," he said.

And that mindset fails to acknowledge that by working with a student journalist, activists' voices can reach much further than through social media alone—campus publications not only serve the student body, but also a wide network of administrators, faculty, and alumni, in addition to the surrounding community. What starts out as a story at a student newspaper is often picked up by national news sources who can feed momentum into activist efforts.

Furthermore, student activists who block journalists find themselves on shaky ground with the First Amendment.

Technically, a journalist operating within a newspaper independent from a school has no right of access at a private institution, said Frank LoMonte, the executive director of the Student Press Law Center. But when that journalist is also a student, she has the right to access the same spaces as other students (such as classrooms used for community-wide events). Only the university itself would have the authority to bar a student journalist from an event.

But most private universities promise protections in line with those of the First Amendment when it comes to speech in public, said Robert Shibley, the executive director of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, or FIRE, which defends free speech and academic freedom on campus. "If a student who's not part of the media could attend...I'd say the argument for keeping the media out is nonexistent," he said.

And whether it's by barring journalists from events or defunding their newspapers, activists are ultimately putting themselves at a disadvantage by attempting to dissolve their student newspapers. Learning how to reform the student press alongside the students working there proves a goal ultimately more beneficial to both parties.

Campus newspapers, according to several student journalists, are in a prime position to respond to the demands of their college communities and experiment with the rules of traditional journalism. Operating without the extra weight of bureaucracy felt by larger publications, student newspapers have the opportunity—and even the responsibility—to respond to the concerns of their audiences, Gaines argued.

Often, changes come as a direct response to the actions of student activists, who use their position of power to negotiate terms with student newspapers that they expressly disagree with.

In the fall of 2015, the *BDH* changed its style to accommodate gender-neutral pronouns like *xe*, *xem*, and *xyr*. The change came after Gaines, an oft-quoted source for the *BDH*, refused to comment again unless the newspaper agreed to change its style. "There's a tension between utilizing the *BDH* and challenging the *BDH*," Gaines said. "There's room to use the *BDH* as a mechanism to change the *BDH*."

In her time at the *Argus*, Brill attempted to incorporate input from Wesleyan's community and balance student demands for increased representation of marginalized perspectives with a commitment to ensuring all voices have a platform. This year, the paper created a column called "Voices" reserved for the opinion pieces of marginalized students.

Still, though, the defunding of the *Argus* poses a significant threat to the paper. "They had an opportunity at Wesleyan to ... try to make the newspaper better, and instead they tried to destroy it," the SPLC's LoMonte said. "Our belief is that while newspapers are always imperfect and can always do a better job of serving minority communities, those communities are much better off with a well-funded newspaper than without."

7 - How 'Social Media' Became 'Anti-Social Media': Twitter's and Facebook's Reckoning



Another *Investor's Business Daily* article from July 2018 regarding media bias notes that Twitter might soon have the government breathing down its neck for "shadow-banning" conservatives, while Facebook's market value has plunged more than \$130 billion in just two days back then as the once-dominant social media site's growth goes flat amid charges of bias. Is this the beginning of the end of the social media boom?

A report by Vice Media, which can hardly be considered right of center, found that Twitter appeared to suppress certain accounts of conservative groups, individuals and politicians.

It's called "shadow banning," in which Twitter engages in subtle blocking of conservative accounts on the site's search function. It amounts to making one side of the political debate — mainly, conservatives and libertarians — far less visible in searches than the liberal and progressive side.

The report said: "The Republican Party chair Ronna McDaniel, several conservative Republican congressmen, and Donald Trump Jr.'s spokesman no longer appear in the auto-populated drop-down search box on Twitter, VICE News has learned. It's a shift that diminishes their reach on the platform — and it's the same one being deployed against prominent racists to limit their visibility."

Meanwhile, "Democrats are not being 'shadow banned' in the same way," the report said. "Not a single member of the 78-person Progressive Caucus faces the same situation in Twitter's search." In other words, once again a progressive-dominated tech-site biases its service towards the left-side of the political spectrum to the detriment of the conservative-libertarian right. It's not just Twitter, of course. Facebook is having problems now for the same reason: It treats Republicans and conservatives differently than Democrats and leftists on its site.

Of course, conservatives don't have to have Facebook or Twitter accounts. But then, if those two social media define themselves as politically oriented sites, the rules change somewhat.

That may be what Florida Republican Rep. Matt Gaetz was getting at on Wednesday. He was one of a number of well-known mainstream Republicans, including several other members of Congress and even the chair of the Republican National Committee, who had their accounts obscured by Twitter.

Gaetz told The Daily Caller News Foundation that he is pondering filing a complaint with the Federal Election Commission over Twitter's suppression of his account.

"I am contemplating a complaint with the FEC, because if my political opponents have better access to the Twitter platform than I do, that's no different than a private company giving my political opponents access to a billboard or television time or radio time," said Gaetz. "That wouldn't be equal."

"So, I believe that Twitter may have illegally donated to the campaigns of my opponents by prejudicing against my content," he added.

Others have complained of the same thing. Blogger, screenwriter, author and co-founder of Pajamas Media Roger Simon noted that his own account seems to have shriveled from around 30,000 followers to about 17,000, following an "algorithm change" that Twitter says it made in Spring to "improve the health of the public conversation on Twitter."

Conservatives have complained for years about biased treatment on Facebook, too. Things got so bad in 2016, that they sought a meeting with Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg.

In late April of this year, a group of more than 60 conservatives issued a joint demand to Facebook and other social media and search sites that they "rectify their credibility with the conservative movement" by explaining why they sometimes remove innocuous material and delete legitimate accounts.

Among those signing included former Attorney General Edwin Meese and Family Research Council President Tony Perkins.

A study by The Western Journal found: "After Facebook's January algorithm changes, pages associated with members of both major parties saw a significant decrease in interactions with readers, but the Facebook pages of Republican members of the House and Senate were impacted measurably more than those of their Democrat counterparts."

Right-of-center critics have lodged similar complaints about Google's search engine, which seems to favor liberal-left news sites when bringing up the results of a search. In some ways, Google, a pervasive search utility, has less of a defense for its alleged bias than either Facebook or Twitter, which are basically luxury communication apps.

Trump's Tweets

No surprise, the apparent bias has riled up President Trump, whose own Twitter account is the subject of a movement to have it removed. Yesterday, in response to recent developments, he tweeted out: "Twitter SHADOW BANNING" prominent Republicans. Not good. We will look into this discriminatory and illegal practice at once! Many complaints."

He's right. This obvious anti-conservative bias is not healthy, not for our democracy or for the companies involved. Facebook and Twitter should expect more trouble ahead.

That's especially true from those who feel "shadow-banned" or deceptively excluded from social media for expressing mainstream conservative political beliefs, while unhinged leftist critics on the same media routinely call their right-of-center foes "Hitler," "racist" and even worse with impunity.

It's time for the techie progressives that run the social media companies to clean up their act. If they don't, they face inevitable decline as a force in American culture.

America's traditions of free speech, open debate and the marketplace of ideas deserve respect. Rank political bias against conservatives, libertarians and the Republican Party is not acceptable.

8 - Social Media Viewpoint Discrimination With Algorithms



Borrowing a politics and policy article written by Ben Shapiro for the National Review, it's becoming more evident that media companies' so called 'impartial' algorithms disproportionately impact conservative material. Ben Shapiro is the editor in chief of the *Daily Wire* and writes the following.

The biggest names in social media are cracking down on news. In particular, they're cracking down disproportionately on conservative news. That's not necessarily out of malice; it's probably due to the fact that our major social-media sites are staffed thoroughly with non-conservatives who have no objective frame of reference when it comes to the news business.

Thus, Google biases its algorithm to prevent people from searching for guns online in shopping; temporarily attached fact-checks from leftist sites like Snopes and PolitiFact to conservative websites but not leftist ones; showed more pro-Clinton results than pro-Trump results in news searches; and, of course, fired tech James Damore for the sin of examining social science in the debate over the wage gap. Google's bias is as obvious as the "doodles" it chooses for its logos, which routinely feature left-wing icons and issues.

YouTube has demonetized videos from conservatives while leaving similar videos up for members of the Left. Prager University has watched innocuous videos titled "Why America Must Lead," "The Ten Commandments: Do Not Murder," and "Why Did America Fight the Korean War" demonetized (i.e. barred from accepting advertisements) at YouTube's hands. Prager's lawyer explains, "Google and YouTube use restricted mode filtering not to protect younger or sensitive viewers from 'inappropriate' video content, but as a political gag mechanism to silence PragerU."

Facebook was slammed two years ago for ignoring conservative stories and outlets in its trending news; now Facebook has shifted its algorithm to downgrade supposedly "partisan" news, which has the effect of undercutting newer sites that are perceived as more partisan, while leaving brand names with greater public knowledge relatively unscathed.

Facebook's tactics haven't just hit conservative Web brands — they've destroyed the profit margins for smaller start-ups like LittleThings, a four-year-old site that fired 100 employees this week after the algorithm shift reportedly destroyed 75 percent of the site's organic reach (the number of people who see a site's content without paid distribution).

And Twitter has banned nasty accounts perceived as right-wing while ignoring similar activity from the left. James O’Keefe recently exposed the practice of “shadowbanning,” in which Twitter hides particular content or mutes particular hashtags for political purposes. That’s no coincidence: Twitter head Jack Dorsey is an ardent leftist who has campaigned with radicals like DeRay Mckesson, and whose company relies on the input of an Orwellian Trust and Safety Council staffed thoroughly with left-wing interest groups.

This Bias in Social Media Has Profound Impact on News Consumption

For users, exposure to news stories isn’t based on market forces — it’s not that these companies provide results precisely tailored to user desires. Information is disseminated to users based on a combination of their history *and* the whims of the companies at issue.

So, for example, Facebook’s new news algorithm is explicitly designed to minimize “passively reading articles or watching videos,” and instead to maximize “people’s well-being,” and to encourage “meaningful interactions between people.” Mark Zuckerberg wrote, in rather frightening fashion, “There’s too much sensationalism, misinformation and polarization in the world today.” Thus, he concluded, Facebook should favor content that is “broadly trusted.”

How does Facebook determine whether a source is “broadly trusted”? They ask users if they are familiar with a news source and then whether they trust that news source. Presumably, Left-wingers won’t trust *National Review*, and right-wingers won’t trust the *Huffington Post* — but activists on the left are more common on Facebook than activists on the right, so the Right will be more easily damaged.

Facebook’s new algorithmic change also means that stories that generate controversy are disfavored, while those that encourage positive interaction are favored. News with partisan implications is likely to suffer the most — and that’s the news people are most interested in. In fighting against the brawl that is daily politics, Facebook is defanging the new media altogether, and handing power back to institutional sources with brand value.

America has become more polarized in many ways. But the rise of the new media is a necessary corrective to the dominance of a thoroughly left-wing “objective” media.

That model was supported, in large measure, by the freedom of social media — and by the freedom of the ad-based model that turned traffic into cash flow. Now that social media are reestablishing themselves as the gatekeepers, they’re actually *exacerbating* the news bubble by preventing Democrats from seeing conservative content, and even preventing conservatives from seeing conservative content so long as it’s been downvoted by Democrats. All of which means that the ad-based model has started to shrivel for news outlets, encouraging them to turn toward a subscription-based model — where, not surprisingly, legacy media have the upper hand.

The great irony here, of course, is that conservatives aren’t the ones threatening to regulate social media — that’s the Democrats. Conservatives may be the targets, but they’re not the threat.

Nevertheless, the market of ideas will not be quashed so easily. Already, competitors are eyeing the crackdown by social-media companies and sensing an opening. The default Democrats at social-media giants may attempt to choke off the traffic and income valve for those with whom they disagree, but so long as the Internet remains a free market, they’re unlikely to succeed in the long term. They’re only likely to earn the scorn and ire of a huge percentage of Americans who feel that they’re being censored.

9 - Bureaucrats Put the Squeeze on College Newspapers



The corporatization of higher education has rendered a once-indispensable part of student life irrelevant, right when it's needed the most as reported in this August 23, 2019 article. Freelance writer for *The Atlantic* Adam Willis. He reports that in September 2017, Rebecca Liebson broke the biggest story of her college career and put her school's administration on its heels.

In a faculty senate meeting that month, Stony Brook University President Samuel L. Stanley announced a series of impending budget cuts, department closures, and layoffs that would eliminate the jobs of more than 20 professors. Liebson, a reporter for the student newspaper *The Statesman*, was the only journalist in the room. Her story went viral in the Stony Brook community, precipitating campus wide outrage and months of student protests.

Almost as quickly as her story appeared, she received an email from Stony Brook's media-relations officer asking her to come in for a "fact check" on the report. She panicked. "I had no clue what she wanted to talk about," Liebson told me, recalling that the administrator refused to provide any specifics about what the meeting would entail. "If you're a student ... you're wanting to get more information on what you're going to be scolded on, and she was denying me that—that was really scary."

But within minutes of sitting down for the meeting, Liebson realized that the administrator wasn't disputing the facts of her story. Over the next hour, Liebson was instead admonished for circulating an unflattering portrait of President Stanley, and her ethics were called into question over objective reporting. "It was purely to intimidate me," Liebson said. "It just felt like she was there to implicitly say, 'Know your place.'"

Stony Brook, a branch of the State University of New York system, is a public institution. In four years of reporting for *The Statesman*, Liebson said, she faced a pattern of resistance from her school's administration. Her access to documents and her ability to interview university officials, she found, were often restricted to the point of smothering even positive stories. In her farewell column in *The Statesman* upon graduating from Stony Brook last spring, Liebson put her school on blast, condemning the administration—and particularly its media-relations office—for stonewalling the campus newspaper, bullying student journalists away from critical coverage, and putting "a chokehold on their first amendment rights."

Liebson's column prompted jaded responses from some readers: *Welcome to the real world. This is what it's like to be a journalist.* "That kind of pissed me off," said Liebson, who had by that point interned in several professional newsrooms, and who now works for *The New York Times*. "I never ran into as [many] roadblocks as I did as a student journalist."

When professional pundits talk about dangers to free expression on campus, they typically refer to a handful of incidents in which colleges have revoked invitations for controversial speakers. This, however, is a fringe issue, confined to a small number of universities. The real crisis of campus speech lies elsewhere—in the erosion of student newspapers.

These once-stalwart publications have long served as consistent checks against administrative malfeasance, common forums for campus debate, and training grounds for future professional journalists. Today, these outlets are imperiled by the same economic forces that have hollowed out local newspapers from coast to coast. And unlike their professional peers, student journalists face an added barrier: The kind of bureaucratic interference Liebson met at Stony Brook is becoming the norm for student journalists.

Few school newspapers are financially independent from the institutions they cover, says Chris Evans, president of the College Media Association. As a result, college administrators hold powerful leverage over student journalists and their faculty advisers. The need for aggressive student news organizations is as acute as ever. But image-obsessed administrators are hastening the demise of these once-formidable campus watchdogs.

The relationship between student journalists and the officials they cover is bound to be adversarial at times. If nothing else, this tension should sharpen young reporters for their post-campus careers. But administrators are tightening their grip. A 2016 study by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) outlined an array of tactics used by administrators to "subordinate campus journalism to public relations" through directly undercutting the rights to free speech on their campuses. Butler University, Muscatine Community College, Wichita State University, and Mount St. Mary's University have punished or threatened to punish student newspapers for publishing potentially unflattering material. Even schools with lauded undergraduate journalism programs such as the University of Missouri, the University of Kansas, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill were among those cited by the AAUP for encroachments on student journalism. Both the College Media Association and the Student Press Law Center have tracked administrative threats to the funding of college newspapers or to the employment of their faculty advisers as responses to critical coverage.

The AAUP report notes a "growing tendency" for administrations to conduct important business matters "behind closed doors." Administrators slow-roll student journalists' requests for public records. At some schools, newspaper advisers have been instructed to conduct "prior review" of student articles before publication, a precaution intended to ensure that anything that could gin up bad publicity never makes it to print.

The decline of college newspapers has taken place against the backdrop of a decades-old power shift in the American university. As the Johns Hopkins University professor Benjamin Ginsberg chronicles in his 2011 book, *The Fall of the Faculty*, administrative bureaucracies at American universities have grown much faster than the professoriate, a trend that Ginsberg decries. "University administrators are no different than any other corporate executives or heads of government agencies," Ginsberg said in an interview. "They're engaged in constant spin designed to hide any shortcomings that they or their institution might have."

And as Frank LoMonte, the former director of the Student Press Law Center, now the director of a free-speech institute at the University of Florida, points out, access to top administrators has tightened as public-relations offices have ballooned. In a bygone era, college newspaper staffers regularly worked the phones to reach their schools' top administrators late into the evenings. Today's student journalists are routinely told to channel their queries through the PR desk. Whenever Liebson and her fellow *Statesman* reporters wanted to speak with an administrator, they had to submit a media request form disclosing questions ahead of time. Often, she said, the requests went ignored anyway. "The concentration of resources into university PR offices has made the job exponentially harder for campus journalists," LoMonte says. "The PR people see their job as rationing access to newsmakers on campus, so it is harder and harder to get interviews with newsmakers."

University administrators can exert more pressure upon their own student journalists than they can upon reporters for outside publications. In her farewell column, Liebson described her 2017 meeting with Stony Brook's media-relations officer as "a case study in intimidation tactics." (I contacted the administrator in question, the Stony Brook media-relations officer Lauren Sheprow, for a response to Liebson's complaints. "Over the years, the Office of Media Relations has worked to assist thousands of student reporters from the School of Journalism and who work in student media with their class assignments, and reporting assignments," Sheprow said in a statement, adding, "The goal of the media relations team in working with any outlet or reporter is always to assist in their reporting process.")

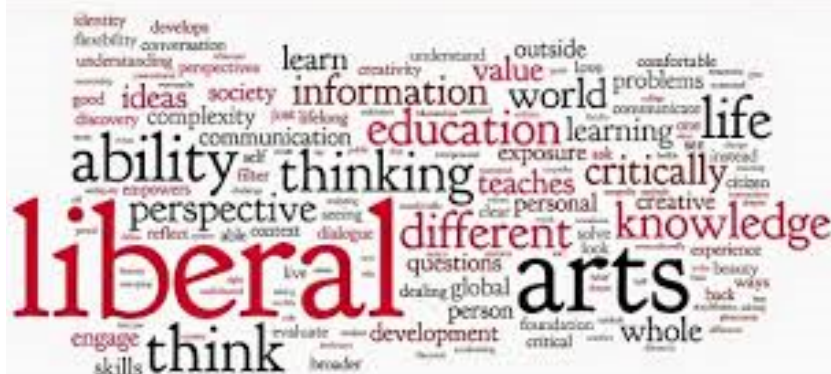
Some college administrators fail to understand the basic purpose of the free press. "Sometimes the administration wants the paper to be a PR outlet for the university," says Evans, the president of the College Media Association. LoMonte goes further, arguing that many administrations see their campus newspapers as a liability, not an asset. "When we turned that corner culturally—when colleges became a brand and they began to embrace this idea that they were a brand—then the bottom fell out in support for independent watchdog journalism," he says. "The endgame in many institutions is for the independent, student-run media to go out of business."

At most schools, a financially independent student newspaper is no longer a viable option. The overwhelming majority of college newspapers today rely on some amount of funding from their university. Still, administrations could play a vital role in preserving the future of student journalism if they recognized its many benefits—not just to student life, but to the life of the university itself.

The Constitution protects press freedom because governments function better, and officials behave more conscientiously, when their doings are publicly reported. Especially as university administrative bureaucracies sprawl, student newspapers provide a crucial source of accountability. Local news has all but dried up in many college towns, and most schools—the Harvards, Yales, and Stanfords of the world excepted—are slipping from the crosshairs of media coverage. At state schools, student publications keep tabs on institutions that spend public dollars and employ thousands of people. Without student-run news organizations, LoMonte says, "you may have a powerful, well-funded government agency that's being watched by nobody."

But the decline of college newspapers is toxic for universities of all stripes. The consequences are more diffuse than just depleting journalism's farm system or wounding an abstract ideal of campus discourse—though these are problems, too. The erosion of the student press threatens the integrity of the university in America, and the quality of its future.

Value of Liberal Arts Education



Lastly, this in depth article (less the section about SCOTUS Scalia) by Peter Berkowitz is the Tad and Dianne Taube senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University draws on previously published essays and was published on April 20, 2018 in the *Washington Examiner* titled Liberal Education and Liberal Democracy.

Unfortunately, liberal education in America is in bad shape. Our colleges have exposed it to three major threats. They have attacked and curtailed free speech. They have denigrated and diluted due process. And they have hollowed and politicized the curriculum. These threats are not isolated and independent. They are intertwined. All are rooted in the conceit of infallibility. To remedy one requires progress in remedying all.

Free Speech Curtailed

From speech codes, trigger warnings, microaggressions, and safe spaces to disinviting speakers and shouting down lecturers, free speech is under assault on college campuses. One reason is that, as polls by Gallup and others show, many students do not understand the First Amendment. And when they learn that it protects offensive and even hateful speech, they dislike it.

Why has free speech fallen out of favor? Many university students, faculty, and administrators suppose there is a fundamental conflict between free speech on one side and diversity and inclusion on the other. The freer the speech, the argument goes, the more pain and suffering for marginalized students. This way of thinking springs from a faulty understanding of free speech and of diversity and inclusion in education.

Yes, words wound. Children learn that from experience. History teaches, however, that beyond certain narrow exceptions—such as true threats, direct and immediate incitement to violence, defamation, and sexual harassment—the costs of regulating speech greatly exceed the benefits. One cost is that regulating speech disposes majorities to ban opinions that differ from their own.

Well-meaning people will say, “I hear you, I’m with you, I support free speech, too. But what does free speech offer to historically discriminated-against minorities and women?” The short answer is the same precious goods that it offers to everyone else: knowledge and truth. The long answer begins with three observations.

First, for many years women have formed the majority on campuses around the country. Approximately 56 percent of university students are female. On any given campus, women and historically discriminated-against minorities are together likely to represent a large majority. Thus, the curtailing of campus speech on behalf of these minorities and women reflects the will of a new campus majority. This new majority exhibits the same old antipathy to free speech. It plays the same old trick of repressing speech it labels offensive. And it succumbs to the same old tyrannical impulse to silence dissenting views that has always been a bane of democracy.

Second, as Erwin Chemerinsky and Howard Gillman argued last year in their book *Free Speech on Campus*, far from serving as an instrument of oppression and a tool of white male privilege, free speech has always been a weapon of those challenging the authorities—on the side of persecuted minorities, dissenters, iconoclasts, and reformers.

In the United States, free speech has been essential to abolition, women's suffrage, the civil rights movement, feminism, and gay rights. All took advantage of the room that free speech creates to criticize and correct the established order. Restricting speech—that is, censorship—has been from time immemorial a favorite weapon of authoritarians.

Third, a campus that upholds free speech and promotes its practice is by its very nature diverse and inclusive. Such a campus offers marvelous benefits to everyone regardless of race, class, or gender. These benefits include the opportunity to express one's thoughts with the best evidence and arguments at one's disposal; the opportunity to listen to and learn from a variety of voices, some bound to complement and some sure to conflict with one's own convictions; and, not least, the opportunity to live in a special sort of community, one dedicated to intellectual exploration and the pursuit of truth.

Instead of touting free speech's benefits, however, schools are encouraging students—especially but not only historically discriminated-against minorities and women—to see themselves as unfit for free speech, as weak and wounded, as fragile and vulnerable, as subjugated by invisible but pervasive social and political forces. Standing liberal education on its head, colleges and universities enlist students in cracking down on the lively exchange of opinion.

Liberal education ought to champion the virtues of freedom. It ought to cultivate curiosity and skepticism in inquiry, conscientiousness and boldness in argument, civility in speaking, attentiveness in listening, and coolness and clarity in responding to provocation. These virtues enable students—regardless of race, class, or gender—to take full advantage of free speech.

In *On Liberty* (1859), Mill provided a guide to the advantages deriving from the broadest possible protection of free speech. There are three possibilities, he observed. The first is that one's opinion is false. In that event, we benefit from free speech because it provides access to true opinions.

A second possibility is that one's opinion is true. But unless we are compelled to defend our true opinions, they grow stale. If they are untried and untested, if accepted on faith and affirmed reflexively by all around us, we lose sight of a true opinion's foundations, implications, and limitations. If our opinion is true, we profit from free speech because the encounter with error invigorates our appreciation of our opinion's roots and reach.

The third possibility is the common case. Typically, one's opinions are a mixture of true and false, as are the opinions of those with whom we differ. Free speech fosters the give and take that enables us to sift out what's false in our views and discover what's true in others' views.

Since free speech is essential to liberal education, we must devise reforms that will enable colleges and universities to reinvigorate it on their campuses. Last year, the Phoenix-based Goldwater Institute developed “model state-level legislation designed to safeguard freedom of speech at America’s public university systems.” Consistent with its recommendations, universities could take several salutary steps:

- Abolish speech codes and all other forms of censorship.
- Publish a formal statement setting forth the purposes of free speech.
- Create freshman orientation programs on free speech.
- Punish those who attempt to disrupt free speech.
- Host an annual lecture on the theory and practice of free speech.
- Issue an annual report on the state of free speech on campus.
- Strive where possible for institutional neutrality on partisan controversies, the better to serve as an arena for vigorous debate of the enduring controversies.

Many colleges and universities won’t act on such principles. Public universities, however, are subject to the First Amendment, and state representatives can enact legislation to assist state schools in complying with their constitutional obligations.

Private universities are not subject to the First Amendment. But like public universities, they have a surpassing educational interest in safeguarding free speech. To help private universities discharge their educational responsibilities, states could follow California’s example. Through the 1992 Leonard Law, California prohibits private colleges and universities from restricting constitutionally protected speech. Congress, further, can tie federal funding to schools’ willingness to protect free speech.

Due Process Denigrated

The curtailing of free speech on campus has not occurred in a vacuum. It is closely connected to the denial of due process in disciplinary proceedings dealing with allegations of sexual misconduct. Both suppose that little is to be gained from listening to the other side. Both rest on the conceit of infallibility.

Campus practices, for example, can presume guilt by designating accusers as “victims” and those accused as “perpetrators.” Universities sometimes deprive the accused of full knowledge of the charges and evidence and of access to counsel. It is typical for them to use the lowest standard of proof—a preponderance of the evidence—despite the gravity of allegations.

In many instances, universities withhold exculpatory evidence and prevent the accused from presenting what exculpatory evidence is available; they deny the accused the right to cross-examine witnesses, even indirectly; and they allow unsuccessful complainants to appeal, effectively exposing the accused to double jeopardy. To achieve their preferred outcomes in disciplinary hearings and grievance procedures, universities have even been known to flout their own published rules and regulations.

There is, of course, no room for sexual harassment on campus or anywhere else. Predators must be stopped. Sexual assault is a heinous crime. Allegations should be fully investigated. Universities should provide complainants immediate medical care and where appropriate psychological counseling and educational accommodations. Students found guilty should be punished to the full extent of the law.

At the same time, schools must honor due process, which rightly embodies the recognition that accusations and defenses are put forward by fallible human beings and implementing justice is always the work of fallible human beings. Some would nevertheless truncate due process on the grounds that a rape epidemic plagues higher education, but, fortunately, there is no such thing.

The common claim that women who attend four-year colleges face a one in five chance of being sexually assaulted has been debunked. According to the most recent Department of Justice data, 6.1 in every 1,000 female students will be raped or sexually assaulted; the rate for non-student females in the same age group is 7.6 per 1,000. Yes, even one incident of sexual assault is too many. Yes, women's safety must be a priority. And yes, we can do more. But contrary to conventional campus wisdom, university women confront a lower incidence of sexual assault than do women outside of higher education.

Others would curb due process because all women should just be believed. Certainly, they should be *heard*. But no one should just be believed, especially when another's rights are at stake. And for a simple reason: Human beings are fallible.

As Harvard professor of psychology Daniel Schacter amply demonstrated in *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers* (2001), we humans routinely forget, routinely remember things that never were, and routinely reconstruct the past in ways that serve our passions and interests.

Then there's the question of why universities are involved at all in adjudicating allegations of nonconsensual sex. *Nonconsensual sex* is a common statutory definition of rape. Generally, universities leave violent crimes to the police and courts. If a student were accused of murdering a fellow student, who would dream of convening a committee of administrators, professors, and students to investigate, prosecute, judge, and punish? For that matter, if a student were accused of stealing or vandalizing a fellow student's car, would we turn to a university committee for justice? If both murder, the gravest crime, and crimes much less grave than sexual assault—*theft and vandalism*—are matters for the criminal justice system, why isn't the violent crime of sexual assault?

After all, administrators, faculty, and students generally lack training in collecting and analyzing evidence, questioning witnesses, and conducting hearings. Why then suppose that they ought to investigate, prosecute, judge, and punish alleged criminal conduct that carries sentences of many years in jail?

Partly because the government said so. In an April 2011 "Dear Colleague" letter, the Department of Education reconceived universities' Title IX obligations. Title IX prohibits institutions of higher education that receive federal funding from discriminating on the basis of sex. That's good. But the Department of Education equated due process for men with discrimination against women. That's bad. And it threatened universities with costly federal investigations and the loss of federal funding if they did not drastically reduce due process for those accused of sexual misconduct. That's very bad.

When the Obama administration sent that letter, it was pushing on an open door. Administrators, professors, and students have internalized doctrines developed more than 30 years ago by the law professor Catharine MacKinnon. In *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (1989), she argued that in a "male supremacist" society like ours, women may not be able to distinguish sex from sexual assault. In MacKinnon's world, women are unable to give meaningful consent.

Last December, Jessica Bennett, the *New York Times's* "gender editor," restated MacKinnon's extraordinary claim. Bennett suggested in an essay that "cultural expectations" render some women

“unable to consent.” That is, cultural expectations force women who are not subject to the slightest physical coercion to consent to sex contrary to their wills.

Emergency conditions justify emergency measures. The theory that women are a systematically subjugated class—subject to “structural misogyny,” as MacKinnon put it in a February op-ed in the *New York Times*—motivates the suspension of due process for men. It impels universities to impose on men the responsibility to obtain explicit and unambiguous consent at every step of sexual relations. Under this theory, though, even affirmative consent is not decisive. For campus authorities may always interpret a “yes” as wrongfully extracted by the oppressor’s “emotional coercion” or “emotional manipulation” of the oppressed.

The denial of female agency, which follows from the claim that women are incapable of truly consenting to sex, implies that a man who acknowledges having had sex with a woman has *prima facie* committed assault. This approach—common on campuses—may be illegal. Insofar as it presumes male guilt and denies men due process, it appears to violate Title IX by discriminating against men on the basis of sex. It is also profoundly illiberal and anti-woman. It turns out that the denial of due process for men rests on the rejection of the belief—central to liberal democracy—that women, as human beings, are free and equal, able to decide for themselves, and responsible for their actions.

The willingness of university officials to deny female agency, presume male guilt, and dispense with due process is on display in the more than 150 lawsuits filed since 2011 in state and federal courts challenging universities’ handlings of sexual-assault accusations. Lawsuits arising from allegations of deprivation of due process at Amherst, Berkeley, Colgate, Oberlin, Swarthmore, USC, Yale, and many more make chilling reading. Numerous plaintiff victories have already been recorded.

Serious as is the problem of sexual misconduct, there is no legitimate justification for abandoning due process, the cornerstone of legal justice in liberal democracies, in campus cases involving sex. The denial of due process, moreover, causes harms that go far beyond the life-altering injuries suffered by wrongly convicted students. It also undermines liberal education. By jettisoning the distilled wisdom about fundamental fairness in a free society, higher education accustoms students to the exercise of arbitrary power. It habituates them to regard established authority as infallible. And it encourages them to see more than half of the student population as unfit for the challenges of freedom.

What should be done? Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos took an important step last year by rescinding the 2011 “Dear Colleague” letter. The federal government no longer *mandates* the *denial* of due process in campus cases concerning sexual misconduct. But the government doesn’t *require* due process on campus either.

To take advantage of their newfound freedom to provide due process for all their students, universities might consult the October 2014 statement published by 28 Harvard Law School professors in the *Boston Globe*. The statement offers guidance in reconciling the struggle against sexual misconduct with the imperatives of due process. It counsels universities to adopt several measures:

- Inform accused students in a timely fashion of the precise charges against them and of the facts alleged.
- Ensure that accused students have adequate representation. Adopt a standard of proof and other procedural protections commensurate with the gravity of the charge, which should

include the right to cross-examine witnesses, even if indirectly, and the opportunity to present a full defense at an adversarial hearing.

- Adopt a standard of proof and other procedural protections commensurate with the gravity of the charge, which should include the right to cross-examine witnesses, even if indirectly, and the opportunity to present a full defense at an adversarial hearing.
- Avoid assigning any one office—particularly the Title IX office, which is an interested party because maximizing convictions justifies its presence—responsibility for fact-finding, prosecuting, adjudicating, and appeals.

In, addition, universities ought to make sessions on due process an essential part of freshman orientation.

It is unreasonable, however, to expect the restoration of due process on campuses anytime soon. For starters, it depends on reinvigoration of free speech. A culture of free speech presupposes and promotes a healthy sense of fallibility. That opens one to the justice of due process. For what is due process but formalization of the effort by fallible human beings to fairly evaluate other fallible human beings' conflicting claims?

Free speech, however, is not enough on its own to rehabilitate due process. Commitment to both is rooted in an understanding of their indispensable role in vindicating liberal democracy's promise of freedom and equality. To recover that understanding, it is necessary to renovate the curriculum so that liberal education prepares students for freedom.

The Curriculum Politicized

The college curriculum has been hollowed out and politicized. The conceit of infallibility is again at work—in the conviction that the past is either a well-known and reprehensible repository of cruel ideas and oppressive practices or not worth knowing because progress has refuted or otherwise rendered irrelevant the foolish old ways of comprehending the world and organizing human affairs.

The disdain for the serious study of the history of literature, philosophy, religion, politics, and war that our colleges and universities implicitly teach by neglecting them, denigrating them, or omitting them entirely from the curriculum, has devastating consequences for liberal education.

Without a solid foundation of historical knowledge, students cannot understand the ideas and events that have shaped our culture, the practices and institutions that undergird liberal democracy in America, the advantages and weaknesses of constitutional self-government, and the social and political alternatives to regimes based on freedom and equality.

Absent such an understanding, students' reasoning lacks suppleness, perspective, and depth. Consequently, graduates of America's colleges and universities, many of whom will go on to occupy positions of leadership in their communities and in the nation, are poorly equipped to form reasoned judgments about the complex challenges America faces and the purposes to which they might wish to devote their lives.

To say that the curriculum has been hollowed is not to say that it fails to deliver a message but that it lacks a core. Much of college education is a mishmash of unconnected courses. Most undergraduates are required to fulfill some form of distribution requirements. Typically, this involves a few classes in the humanities, a few in the social sciences, and a few in the natural sciences.

Within those broad parameters, students generally pick and choose as they like. For fulfilling requirements in the humanities, schools tend to treat courses on the sociology of sports, American film and race, and queer literary theory as just as good as classical history, Shakespeare, or American political thought.

The most common objection to a coherent and substantive core curriculum is that it would impair students' freedom. Each undergraduate is different, the argument goes, and each knows best the topics and courses that will advance his or her educational goals. What right do professors and administrators have to tell students what they must study?

The better question is why we put up with professors and administrators who lack the confidence and competence to fashion and implement a core curriculum that provides a solid foundation for a lifetime of learning. Every discipline recognizes that one must learn to walk before one learns to run. The star basketball player had to learn the fundamentals of dribbling, passing, and shooting to excel as a point guard, power forward, or center. The virtuoso jazz musician had to practice scales before performing masterpieces. The outstanding lawyer had to grasp the basics of contracts, torts, criminal justice, and civil procedure before effectively structuring complex transactions or ably defending a client's interests in a court of law.

In every discipline, excellence depends on the acquisition of primary knowledge and necessary skills. Even the ability to improvise effectively—with a game-winning shot, a searing riff, or a devastating cross-examination—is acquired initially through submission to widely shared standards and training in established practices. It is peculiar, to put it mildly, that the authorities on college campuses are in the habit of insisting on their lack of qualifications to specify for novices the proper path to excellence.

But faculty and administrators only half mean what they say when they oppose a core curriculum on the grounds that it infringes on students' freedom. Professors tend to adhere to a rigid view of what counts as legitimate knowledge and high-level accomplishment in their chosen fields of expertise. Scholars of critical race theory no less than analytic philosophers impose on students a fixed course of reading and seek to direct their thinking within rigorously constructed channels. Professors across fields and departments understand that designing a core curriculum is unfeasible because they know that there is no shared understanding spanning the contemporary university concerning the general outlines of what an educated person should know.

For many professors, ideological opposition to a core curriculum on the grounds that it interferes with students' freedom merges with self-interested opposition to it on the grounds that having to teach a common and required course of study would interfere with faculty members' freedom. University hiring, promotion, and tenure decisions usually turn on scholarly achievement in rarefied areas of research.

Powerful professional interests impel faculty to avoid teaching the sort of courses that provide students with general introductions, solid foundations, and broad overviews because those take time away from the specialized scholarly labors that confer prestige and status. Much better for professors, given the incentives for professional advancement entrenched by university administrations, to offer courses that focus on small aspects of arcane issues.

Learning to run before they learn to walk, students squander their college years advancing their professors' interests in examining fine points of, say, textile production in Guatemala or the impact of the 1950s fashion industry on attitudes about gender and graduate with little appreciation of the operation of free markets and command economies, the lineaments of constitutional government and

authoritarian government, and the central teachings of the varieties of biblical faith and the basic doctrines of the other great religions of the world.

The absence of a core curriculum, thus, deprives students of the chance to comprehend their civilization and compare it constructively with others. It also leaves them bereft of a common fund of knowledge with which to converse with classmates and formulate their disagreements as well as their agreements.

The hollowed-out curriculum, moreover, is politicized as much by routine exclusion of conservative perspectives as by aggressive promulgation of progressive doctrines. Students who express conservative opinions—about romance, sex, and the family; abortion and affirmative action; and individual liberty, limited government, and capitalism—often encounter mockery, incredulity, or hostile silence.

Few professors who teach moral and political philosophy recognize the obligation to ensure in their classroom the full and energetic representation of the conservative sides of questions. Courses featuring Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Karl Marx, and John Rawls abound; those featuring Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, and Friedrich Hayek are scant.

Worse still, higher education fails to teach the truly liberal principles that explain why study of *both* conservative, and progressive ideas nourishes the virtues of toleration and civility so vital to liberal democracy. Many faculty in the humanities and social sciences suppose they are champions of pluralism even as they inculcate progressive ideas.

The cause of their delusion is that the rightward extreme of their intellectual universe extends no further than the center-left. Many were themselves so thoroughly cheated of a liberal education that, unaware of their loss, they blithely perpetuate the crime against education by cheating their students.

Small wonder that our politics is polarized. Both through their content and their omissions, college curricula teach students on the left that their outlook is self-evidently correct and that the purpose of intellectual inquiry is to determine how best to implement progressive ideas.

At the same time, students on the right hear loud and clear that their opinions are ugly expressions of ignorance and bigotry and do not deserve serious consideration in pressing public-policy debates. By fostering smugness on the left and resentment on the right, our colleges and universities make a major contribution to polarizing young voters and future public officials.

What Should Be Done?

First, freshman orientation must be restructured. Schools should not dwell on diversity, equality, and inclusion while excluding diversity of thought. In addition to providing sessions on the fundamentals of free speech and the essentials of due process, they ought to give pride of place in orientation to explaining the proper purposes of liberal education.

This means, among other things, reining in the routine exhortations to students to change the world—as if there were no controversial issues wrapped up in determining which changes would be for the better and which for the worse. Instead, orientation programming should concentrate on helping students understand the distinctive role higher education plays in preserving civilization's precious inheritance and the distinctive role such preservation plays in enriching students' capacity for living free and worthy lives.

Second, curricula must be restructured to make room for a core. In our day and age, undergraduate specialization in the form of a major is inevitable. And students accustomed to a wealth of choice and to

personalizing their music lists and news sources cannot be expected to abide a curriculum that does not provide a generous offering of electives. But even if a third of college were devoted to a major and a third to pure electives, that would leave a third—more than a year’s worth of study—to core knowledge.

A proper curriculum should not only introduce students to the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. It should also make mandatory a course on the tradition of freedom that underlies the American constitutional order and clarifies the benefits of a liberal education. In addition, the curriculum should require study of the great moral, political, and religious questions, and the seminal and conflicting answers, that define Western civilization. And it should require study of the seminal and conflicting answers to those great questions about our humanity and our place in the world given by non-Western civilizations.

Third, professors must bring the spirit of liberal education to their classrooms. The most carefully crafted and farsighted revisions of the curriculum will not succeed in revivifying liberal education unless professors teach in the spirit of Mill’s dictum from *On Liberty*, “He who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that.” Indeed, unless professors recognize the wisdom of Mill’s dictum, they will fail to grasp the defects of the contemporary curriculum that make its revision urgent.

The Professor’s Vocation

To provide a properly liberal education, then, our colleges and universities must undertake three substantial reforms. They must institutionalize the unfettered exchange of ideas. They must govern campus life on the premise that students are endowed with equal rights and therefore equally deserving of due process without regard to race, class, or gender. And they must renovate the curriculum by introducing all students to the principles of freedom; to the continuities, cleavages, and controversies that constitute America and the West; and to the continuities, cleavages, and controversies that constitute at least one other civilization.

To accomplish these reforms, the conceit of infallibility must be tamed. Progress in one area of reform depends on progress in all. But to recall a matter Marx touched on and, long before him, Plato pursued: Who will educate the educators?

Thirty-five years ago, a brilliant young Harvard Law School professor named Roberto Unger published a remarkable essay in the school’s law review. A manifesto of sorts, “The Critical Legal Studies Movement” called for a radical remaking of the American legal and political order. Unger ruefully described the academy that he had recently entered. He likened his fellow professors to priests who had lost their faith but kept their jobs.

Times Have Changed

The academy has undergone a kind of religious awakening. These days many professors resemble priests who believe their job is to impose their faith. But the zealous priest is no more suited to the vocation of liberal education than is the cynical priest. Professors would do better to take the midwife—in the Socratic spirit that Mill embraced—as their model.

Liberal education’s task is to liberate students from ignorance and emancipate them from dogma so that they can live examined lives. It does this by furnishing and refining minds—transmitting knowledge and equipping students to think for themselves.

What about political responsibility? What about justice? What about saving the country and the world?

Through the discipline of liberal education, professors do what is in their limited power to cultivate citizens capable of self-government. And law professors do what is in their limited power to cultivate thoughtful lawyers. Those are lofty contributions since self-government and the rule of law are essential features of liberal democracy—the regime most compatible with our freedom, our equality, and our natural desire to understand the world and live rightly and well in it.

