

# SAFS Newsletter

*Society for Academic Freedom and Scholarship*

Maintaining freedom in teaching, research and scholarship  
Maintaining standards of excellence in academic decisions about students and faculty

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## RESEARCH ETHICS BOARDS (REBs): REQUEST FOR COMMENT FROM MEMBERS

January, 2008

Dear SAFS Members:

As you may be aware, Steve Lupker and I have written before that changes in the research ethics review system have consistently increased the burdens on individual researchers, in the social sciences and humanities (SSH) in particular, and on local university administrations, with no documented benefit in terms of the protection of research participants.

This summer and fall we've seen several new proposals involving further expansion of the research ethics industry in Canada. For example, one of these proposals was entitled "Continuing Ethics Review," which called for a new campus committee to monitor the progress of your research after the local Research Ethics Board (REB) has approved it. In addition to the extra cost and complexity that such a monitoring committee would entail (without commensurate benefit), one feature of this proposal was to allow this committee access to "documents generated by the study." As ill-defined as this is, and as expansionistic as REBs have been, this seemed to us to be opening the door to a local review of your research before it could be submitted to a peer-reviewed journal. This would provide the local authorities with an excellent opportunity to censor locally unpopular findings at a very early point in their evolution. Our commentary on this proposal can be accessed on the SAFS web site under "Issues" [www.safs.ca/issuescases/ethicsreview.html](http://www.safs.ca/issuescases/ethicsreview.html).

Our most recent commentary was a response to a proposal known as "Moving Ahead," which also can be accessed under "Issues" on the SAFS web site <http://www.safs.ca/researchproposalmain.html>. The Moving Ahead proposal argues for the creation of an

über-agency to preside over the several existing agencies. In essence, it would be the agency that provides the necessary accreditation to the lower-level agencies including local REBs. The rationale for establishing this agency is that the present situation involves a conflict of interest, with the federal granting agencies doling out monies and at the same time serving as ethics monitors under the Tri-Council Policy Statement. Ironically, this über-agency is projected to itself operate in a conflict of interest situation re its accreditation and education functions.

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It seemed most unlikely that more bureaucracy will yield greater efficiency and, hence, we suggested that the proposal for the über-agency should be rejected for that reason alone. We expect, of course, that these arguments will fall on deaf ears. What this proposal also did, however, was to raise the question about the statutory authority for the proposed expansion (and, quite likely, the statutory authority for many of the ethics bureaucracy structures that are already in place).

That is, while noting that the goals of the über-agency would be achieved more readily with the statutory authority of legislation, nonetheless, the Moving Ahead proposal explicitly recommended against seeking such authority. The implication seems to be that because considerable control has been handed to the ethics bureaucracy without statutory authority, it would be risky to go back and ask for the legal authority to do what is already being done.

We are not the only ones concerned about the continued expansion of the ethics bureaucracy in general, as links on the SAFS web site will attest. However, the purpose of this letter is to note our concern about the lack of statutory authority for this über-agency. We are asking for your input with regard to three questions.

(1) Overall, how can researchers be more effective in getting the message through to the appropriate office holders that the ethics system in Canada is in trouble, and what is the best venue for communicating this?

(2) Should we pursue the question of statutory authorization for the new agency? The argument for doing so is that it may be a way to curtail the

unwarranted expansion that has characterized the research ethics enterprise. The argument for not doing so is that more government involvement could well be worse than the disease.

(3) If you think this question of authorization should be pursued with the present government, who would you think we should approach, and how? Should such pursuit be officially associated with SAFS or be done unofficially?

We welcome your thoughts on any of these three questions, or the research ethics enterprises in general, by e-mail to me (mueller@ucalgary.ca), or Steve (lupker@uwo.ca), or Clive (seligman@uwo.ca)

*John Mueller*, University of Calgary, Member of SAFS Board. □

## MUSLIM STUDENTS FILE RIGHTS COMPLAINTS OVER MACLEAN'S ARTICLE

### But Muslim Canadian Congress defends Maclean's freedom of expression

Four students at Toronto's Osgoode Hall Law School are accusing Maclean's magazine of violating their human rights over an article titled, *The Future Belongs to Islam*.

They've filed complaints with the federal, Ontario and British Columbia human rights commissions over the October 2006 article.

The article discusses the high birth rate among Muslims and speculates that Islamic people could become the majority population in Europe. It also says some Muslims are violent radicals.

Naseem Mithoowani, one of the Osgoode Hall law students bringing forward the complaint, said the article was one of a series of articles offensive to Muslims.

"This isn't just one article in a context of fair and balanced media. This really was the straw that broke the camel's back because it's one in a string of articles that are anti-Islam and anti-Muslim," she told CBC News.

Khurram Awan, another of the students, said the group will argue before the commissions that such articles tend to subject Muslims to hatred or contempt.

"To say that we share the same basic goals as terrorists ... if you look at the theme of the article in the context, it is putting that label on all of us and I felt personally victimized," he said.

Maclean's said it stands behind the writer of the article, Mark Steyn, and it is confident the human rights commissions will find no merit in the complaint.

Faisal Joseph, a lawyer from the Canadian Islamic Congress who is representing the four students, argued that journalists can't write just anything.

"You have to be responsible. There are limits on freedom of expression, people seem to forget that," he said. But Sohail Raza, a representative of the Muslim Canadian Congress, said Maclean's had the right to publish the article.

"This is Canada, not Sudan, Egypt or Pakistan, where the press is stifled," he said. "There is absolute freedom of expression and people have an opportunity to voice their opinion."

Alan Borovoy of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association said the organization is concerned about the human rights complaints process.

It's too easy to claim an article may subject a group to hate or contempt under commission rules, Borovoy said.

"Even truthful articles describing some of the awful situations in this world could run afoul of this law, it is so broad and such a potential threat to freedom of speech," he said.

*CBC News*, December 5, 2007. □

#### SUBMISSIONS TO THE SAFS NEWSLETTER

The acting editor welcomes articles, case studies, news items, comments, readings, local chapter news, etc. Please send your submission by e-mail attachment.

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

May 10<sup>th</sup>, 2008

### Advance Notice

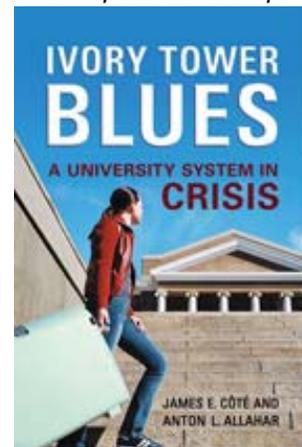
SAFS Annual General Meeting will be held at the University of Western Ontario on **May 10, 2008**.

Please mark this date on your calendar, and we hope to see you at the meeting in May.

### Keynote Speakers:

Our keynote speakers this year are: **Jim Côté** <http://sociology.uwo.ca/faculty/cote.html>, and **Anton Allahar** <http://sociology.uwo.ca/faculty/allahar.html>, professors of sociology at the University of Western Ontario. Their keynote topic is based on their recent, controversial best seller, *Ivory Tower Blues: A university system in crisis*. Côté and Allahar focus on student disengagement and grade inflation and show how these problems have weakened educational standards and student achievement. More information about the book is available at:

<http://www.utppublishing.com/pubstore/merchant.html?pid=8924&step=4>.



Further program details will be provided later. Suggestions for presentations, panel discussion, symposia, and the like are encouraged. Members wishing to participate as speakers at the AGM should contact the President. □

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**SAFS STATEMENT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMPLAINTS AGAINST MACLEAN'S MAGAZINE**

December 21, 2007

SAFS strongly opposes Human Rights Commissions' attempts to obstruct public debate on controversial issues. As Alan Borovoy, general counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, wrote in March, 2006, in the *Calgary Herald*: "During the years when my colleagues and I were labouring to create such commissions, we never imagined that they might ultimately be used against freedom of speech .... A free culture cannot protect people against material that hurts." We agree.

We deplore the tactics of the Canadian Islamic Congress and others to exploit the human rights complaint process to bully Maclean's magazine, and, in effect, the rest of us as well. The Human Rights Commission should confer no legitimacy on their attempt to censor and chill debate. We call for the speedy dismissal of the complaints.

Free speech is essential to our democracy—and to universities, which are the particular concern of the Society for Academic Freedom and Scholarship. Without unfettered debate no one will be able discover the truth about controversial ideas, scientific claims, and effective public policy. Preventing debate is the best way to achieve ignorance and force unsavory and wrong ideas underground, and thus deprive others of the opportunity to discredit them.

To advance the cause of reasoned debate, we have posted on our website, [www.safs.ca](http://www.safs.ca), the human rights complaints launched by Mr. Elmasry, national president of the Canadian Islamic Congress, the 70 page document written by K. Awan, M. Skeikh, N. Mithoowani, A. Ahmed, and D. Simard to support claims of alleged unfairness in Maclean's portrayal of Muslims, and other material explaining the grievance. We have also posted Maclean's explanation of its position, and columns and editorials of others who, like us, oppose the CIC's attack on free speech. There is much at stake, and we trust our readers to make up their own minds. Free people do not rely on bullies to tell them what ideas they can read or hear and what to think. ▢

**REVISITING THE DANISH CARTOON CRISIS**

**An interview with newspaper editor Flemming Rose**

*Michael C. Moynihan*

Over a year after the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* published those now-infamous cartoons of Mohammad—one of which portrayed the Muslim Prophet carrying a lit bomb in his turban—the country is still noticeably on edge. When I recently visited Copenhagen, a week after a pre-dawn raid netted a handful of suspected Islamic extremists, the twin issues of Islam and integration were difficult to avoid. On television, the news and chat shows were dominated by discussions of coexistence with the country's approximately 200,000 Muslims; newspapers were brimming with reader letters and editorials on Islamophobia, secularism and democracy; and a bookshop associated with the country's left-leaning daily *Politiken* prominently displayed Norman Podhoretz's latest book *World War IV* in the window, with a large stack on sale inside.

To get a sense of how this diminutive socialist country (previously famous for pork products, liberal views on pornography and Jante's Law) was transformed into a main front in Europe's culture war, I sat down with the man responsible for printing the offending cartoons, *Jyllands-Posten's* culture and arts editor Flemming Rose. In a wide-ranging discussion, Rose expounded on his years in the Soviet Union, free speech versus "responsible speech" and his Muslim supporters.

I spoke with Rose in September at *Jyllands-Posten's* Copenhagen office.

**reason:** Did your time in Russia and as *Berlingske Tidende* correspondent in the Soviet Union inform your ideas of free speech and political freedom?

**Flemming Rose:** Yes. I am going to write a book about the cartoon crisis and I am going to compare the experience of the dissidents in the Soviet Union to what has happened to people like Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Ibn Warraq, Salman Rushdie and Irshad Manji... I am very much informed by my contact with [Soviet dissidents] and I'm close to the Sakharov camp—people like Natan Sharansky and Sergei Kovalev... The dissidents were split between what I would call the nationalist camp and the human rights movement. And

I would say that I identified more with the human rights movement, although I am a big admirer of Solzhenitsyn, of course, because of what he accomplished. But today he is, in fact, supporting Putin and he believes that he's conducting a very wise foreign policy program. I don't think Sakharov would have subscribed to this view.

**reason:** Were you surprised by the reaction of those who argued not for unfettered free speech, but "responsible speech?"

**Rose:** Well, no. I think many people betrayed their own ideals. The history of the left, for instance, is a history of confronting authority—be it religious or political authority—and always challenging religious symbols and figures. In this case, they failed miserably. I think the left is in a deep crisis in Europe because of their lack of willingness to confront the racist ideology of Islamism. They somehow view the Koran as a new version of *Das Kapital* and are willing to ignore everything else, as long as they continue to see the Muslims of Europe as a new proletariat.

Like during the Cold War, there is a willingness to establish a false equivalence between democracy and oppression—between a totalitarian ideology and a liberal ideology. When I look back at my own behavior during the "cartoon crisis," it was very much informed by my experience with Soviet Union because I saw the same kind of behavior both inside the Soviet Union and those dealing with the Soviet Union in the West.

**reason:** At the height of the "cartoon crisis," were you surprised to turn the television on to images of people in Lahore burning Danish flags, mobs attacking Scandinavian embassies? Did anyone at the paper anticipate such a response?

**Rose:** Not at all. No one expected this kind of reaction. Last year, I visited Bernard Lewis at Princeton and he told me: "Your case is unique in a historical sense. Never before in modern times, on such a scale, have Muslims insisted upon applying Islamic law to what non-Muslims are doing in non-Muslim country. It has never happened before. And you can't really compare the Rushdie affair, because he was perceived to be an apostate." And as he told me, there is a long tradition of offending the Prophet in history. In the St. Petronio church in Bologna there is, on the ceiling, a painting of Mohammad in hell, based Dürer's paintings of Dante's

Divine Comedy.

Those people who say, "you offended one billion people," or "you offended a weak minority," they lack the understanding of the raw power game that was at play here. This had very little to do with insulting religious sensibilities, though it was being used by influential groups and regimes in the Middle East to stir up emotions. It was a very well planned and executed operation. It was not spontaneous in any way.

Abu Laban, the Danish imam that promoted the cartoons in the Arab world, was saying that we aren't allowed to build mosques in Denmark, that the Koran is being censored, that we aren't allowed to have our own cemeteries, that Muslims are almost on the verge of being sent to concentration camps. But the fact is that Muslims in Denmark enjoy more rights than they would in any Muslim country. In fact, two weeks ago a delegation from the Egyptian parliament were in Denmark and they were surprised when they spoke to Danish Muslims who said "we enjoy living here."

Naser Khader, a Danish parliamentarian who was very supportive of me and stood up in parliament and said "I am very offended by those who insist on an apology to one billion Muslims, because I am not offended by these cartoons." But, he said, I *am* offended by being lumped into this grey mass of "one billion Muslims."

**reason:** How do you rank the reactions of European politicians?

**Rose:** I think it's a mixed bag. I think [European Commission President] Manuel Barroso, who has a background in an authoritarian regime, understood the situation better than others, like, for instance, Tony Blair and Jack Straw, who behaved disastrously. Barroso came out very clear—a little late, maybe—but he said that free speech is non-negotiable; it's the foundation of European civilization. A lot of governments and opinion makers in Europe and the West were driving this line that we have offended one billion people and we should be ashamed of ourselves, free speech and but responsible speech... all this crap.

But what really bothers me today—and this hasn't been reported very widely—is that right after the cartoon crisis, the Organization of the Islamic Conference at the United Nations sponsored a resolution condemning the "ridiculing of religion." It didn't pass, but in March

of this year the United Nations Human Rights Council, which is the highest international body in the world for the protection of human rights, passed a resolution condoning state punishment of people criticizing religion. I think this is a big scandal. This was a direct result of the "cartoon crisis." Fortunately the European Union voted against it. But countries like Russia, Mexico and China supported the resolution. And in this resolution, they call on governments to pass laws or write provisions into their constitutions forbidding criticism of religion. This would give a free hand to authoritarian regimes around the world to clamp down on dissidents.

One of the lessons I have drawn from this experience is that free speech is indivisible. I am in favor of removing all blasphemy laws and laws criminalizing Holocaust denial... I think that in a globalized world, the way forward is not to raise barriers "protecting people," or calling for "responsible speech," but to do away with all kinds of limitations of speech.

Things may perhaps change when they have their own cartoon crises. I'm amazed that Swedish newspapers are republishing [artist Lars Vilks cartoon of Muhammad as a dog]—and not noticing the hypocrisy that they didn't want to publish our cartoons. We published the Vilks cartoon; almost all Danish newspapers did.

**reason:** Whose response disappointed you the most?

**Rose:** In Europe? Jacques Chirac, who lambasted [*Jyllands-Posten*] and then flew to Saudi Arabia the next week to sign a large weapons contract.

**reason:** How are the cartoonists doing?

**Rose:** They are OK: All back in Denmark. But they are still under surveillance by the police.

**reason:** Are you under surveillance?

**Rose:** Every now and then. But we [at *Jyllands-Posten*] don't feel in any immediate danger; we aren't getting any information that we are being targeted. There is an ongoing terror trial in Odense, and according to the prosecutor, these young men planned a terrorist attack against parliament and this building. I do receive some supportive emails from Muslims in Denmark, who think that my struggle is their struggle.

And I think this is very important: Fundamentally, this is a struggle within the Muslim community, and I think our duty is to send a very clear message whose side we are on.

*Michael Moynihan* is an associate editor of *reason*.

*Reasononline*, October 1, 2007. □

## ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND FOES OF THE MILITARY

*Kenneth H.W. Hilborn*

On May 24, 2007, *Western News* (the official weekly of the University of Western Ontario) reported a recommendation by the University Research Board that the Vice-President for Research "raise awareness of issues" arising from "military-related" research "with his counterparts in Ontario and the G-13 group of universities." This action came in response to pressure from a member of the University Senate, who argued explicitly that "limitations on academic freedom could be warranted" in order to curtail such research. He explained that "the military are authorized to use deadly force which brings up ethical issues," in particular the prospect that research might contribute to "the killing of someone."

The fact that the persons killed (except in cases of accident) would presumably be enemies trying to kill Canadians or their allies in war was a consideration that the senator seemed to regard as irrelevant. His concern was evidently to protect enemy lives, not the lives of Canadian and allied personnel -- the latter objective being one that might well be served by killing the enemy before he could kill somebody fighting on our side.

If the senator had his way, one group of taxpayer-funded institutions, the universities, would restrict individual faculty members' academic freedom -- their freedom of choice in research -- in order to enforce a policy of denying (or at least limiting) assistance to another taxpayer-funded institution, the armed forces. Whatever effect such a policy might have on taxpayers' perceptions of the academic community, it could easily result in a much broader threat to academic freedom than may be apparent at first sight.

In 2001, on a visit to the University of Texas in Austin, I noticed an item posted on a bulletin board about a scientist who was studying the ability of certain snakes to detect prey at night by sensing tiny differences in temperature. It was explained that if more could be learned about the snakes' temperature sensors, it might be possible to apply the knowledge in developing technology for distinguishing between decoys and real missile warheads in space, thus opening the door to more effective anti-missile defence. To judge from the material on the bulletin board, the University of Texas had no qualms about the research -- rather the reverse -- but it could easily appear "unethical" in the eyes of those hostile to the armed forces, on the ground that effective anti-missile defence would tend to neutralize a potential enemy's deterrent, giving the United States and its allies more freedom of military action.

This example suggests how extensive the obstacles to scientific investigation might become if universities established procedures (as the UWO senator advocated) for screening research with "potential military application" -- to quote the report in Western News -- for its "ethical" acceptability. A great deal of research primarily intended just to expand knowledge, or to serve civilian purposes, may have results with "potential" uses in war.

Though radar began as a military project, it could equally well have been civilian in origin. The fate of the Titanic in 1912 had shown the need for it, and with the rise of air travel the need increased; but the potential military value (such as the detection of approaching bombers) would have been obvious from the start. Would it have been "unethical" for a university scientist to contribute to radar's development? In the eyes of the apparently pacifist senator at Western, the answer might be "yes," since success could lead (as it did) to the killing of enemy bomber crews.

If the senator had his way, vast areas of study would become "ethical" minefields. Anything related to metallurgy, fuels, lasers or electronics -- especially if it could be applied to communications, computers, reconnaissance (and thus identification of targets), guidance and propulsion systems, protective armour, etc. -- would be vulnerable to obstruction by an "ethics" review board, especially if its members were politically hostile to the armed forces or to the policies of the government controlling them. At best, researchers seeking approval for their plans would

have to put up with paperwork, delays and uncertainty. They might feel under pressure to avoid possibly controversial projects, even at the cost of sacrificing their own priorities.

The recommendation by Western's University Research Board that an effort be made to "raise awareness" at other institutions about "issues" connected with research of potential military value may not lead to any reprehensible result. Western News (November 1) quoted a statement by President Paul Davenport in defence of academic freedom, explicitly including the freedom of faculty members to undertake research of a "controversial" nature. But the newspaper reported also that at a Senate meeting in late October, where arriving members encountered anti-military campaigners handing out leaflets, the campaigners "received the answers they wanted to hear -- the university is taking steps to address their concerns" through the activities of the Vice-President for Research, who indeed had been trying to "raise awareness" elsewhere.

These activities may prove in practice to be meaningless gestures of symbolic appeasement to pacify the agitators, or they may be something worse. Since an attack on free choice in research could have an adverse impact on faculty recruitment, any one university may be deterred from adopting a restrictive policy on its own. It is not surprising that last spring the Research Board judged the establishment of an "ethics" review body at Western to be "premature." On the other hand, if a large number of universities were to agree on a common standard for "ethics" assessments, they might be emboldened to go along with the anti-military elements likely to be present among both faculty and students on the typical campus. Scientific progress, the usefulness of universities to society at large, and the cause of academic freedom would all be the losers.

*Kenneth H.W. Hilborn* is Professor Emeritus of History and former member of Senate at the University of Western Ontario. He has been a member of the SAFS Board. □

#### DISCLAIMER

The views expressed in the *SAFS Newsletter* are not necessarily those of the Society, apart from the authoritative notices of the Board of Directors.

All or portions of the *Newsletter* may be copied for further circulation. We request acknowledgement of the source and would appreciate a copy of any further publication of *Newsletter* material.

## IN MEMORIAM

### RICHARD A. HARSHMAN

**Richard A. Harshman**, one of SAFS original members, died suddenly on January 10, 2008 at a meeting to discuss revisions to the graduate statistics program in the department of psychology at the University of Western Ontario. He was 64. He had suffered from heart problems for many years.

Richard was passionate about academic freedom, and extraordinarily dedicated to SAFS. In addition to writing occasionally for our Newsletter and presenting at our Annual General Meeting, he financially supported SAFS activities; he paid the annual cost of our email account and domain name. On his own initiative, he managed our change from one website provider to another who offered better services at lower costs. He created the software to run the online payment option as well as negotiated the agreement with the bank at terms favorable to us. He created the discussion section of our website. He was also our unofficial photographer at our annual general meetings.

A native Californian, Richard did his undergraduate and graduate work at UCLA, and joined the faculty at Western in 1976, rising through the ranks to full professor. Richard was truly a renaissance man with interests that ranged from the effects of marijuana on cognitive abilities to analysis of individual differences in cerebral organization to the developments of three-player chess. He is most identified with creative and important developments in statistical analysis. An entry for him in *Wikipedia* notes that he was one of the pioneers in latent semantic analysis. He made two extremely important contributions to psychometrics, dealing first with the analysis of asymmetric square tables and second, in the analysis of multiway tables. His work on PARAFAC (parallel factor analyses) is used in biomedical applications, chemometrics and wireless communications. One external reviewer of his work noted that “He is one of the most influential quantitative methodologists in the past 30 years...he is a fundamental thinker, not distracted by appearances of currently fashionable approaches. He is always walking a few steps ahead of most of us”. Another noted: “His work is well known...his presence and influence loom large and he basically single handedly

started the complex discussions about uniqueness several years prior to receiving his PhD.”

We have lost not only a strong advocate for academic freedom and a major contributor to his research field but also a truly gentle man – one playful with ideas, kind-hearted and generous. He is survived by his wife, Elizabeth Hampson, also a psychology professor at Western and a SAFS member, his father and sister.

A graduate scholarship in his name has been established. Donations may be sent to: Foundation Western, Westminster College, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, N6A 3K7, [fw@uwo.ca](mailto:fw@uwo.ca). On your behalf, SAFS has made a donation to this fund. ▢

## NOMINATION FOR SAFS BOARD OF DIRECTORS

2008-2009

The Nominations Committee consisted of Clive Seligman (President), Doreen Kimura (Past-President), Albert Katz (UWO) and Phil Sullivan (U of T) as two SAFS members not currently on the Board.

The current board is being re-nominated. The Directors are: **Grant Brown, Andrew Irvine, Tom Flanagan, Steve Lukper, John Mueller, Clive Seligman, Peter Suedfeld, and Martin Wall.**

Any member of SAFS may nominate individuals for election as Director. These nominations must be received at the SAFS Office by April 15, 2008. Each member nomination shall contain the following information: (i) the signature of the person nominating and the signatures of two (2) seconders; (ii) the full name and address of the person nominated; (iii) a statement of the status and attributes of the person nominated, showing each person's qualifications to be a director; (iv) a written consent signed by the person nominated agreeing to be nominated for election and serve, if elected. ▢

## INTO THE HEART OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS

*Robert Fulford*

Seventeen years ago political correctness came to Canada for the first time, when someone (we'll never know who) decided that an exhibit at the Royal Ontario Museum, *Into the Heart of Africa*, was flagrantly, insultingly, viciously racist. That idea spread through a section of the Toronto black community and produced the worst scandal in the history of Canadian museums.

A heavy irony lay beneath this incident. Jeanne Cannizzo, the curator, set out to denounce colonialism and criticize white Canada's attitudes to Africa. But black protesters, looking at images of Africans humiliated by missionaries, saw the reverse. So they did all they could to turn the museum into a symbol of uncaring, unrepentant white power.

Cannizzo built a critical display around 375 African objects (of uneven quality) owned by the ROM, most of them collected by Canadian missionaries. She wanted to show Torontonians of the past as the racists they were. But it was her first exhibition, and she made her points through wall texts. No one had told her that most museum visitors ignore wall texts -- they look at the objects and move on.

This strange and unsettling moment in Canadian cultural history comes to life again with the appearance in paperback of *Contested Representations: Revisiting "Into the Heart of Africa"* (Broadview Press), by Shelley Ruth Butler, an anthropologist at McGill University.

The ROM show opened in November, 1989, without incident. Newspaper reviewers particularly liked the way it depicted the cultural arrogance of missionaries. No controversy appeared till March 10, 1990, when the Coalition for the Truth about Africa (CFTA) began picketing the museum.

The CFTA, created for this occasion, claimed to represent 16 black groups. Its signs denounced the ROM as the "Racist Ontario Museum," which had (a CFTA statement said) aimed "the bullets of psychic murder" at Africa. The CFTA claimed to bring out 200 demonstrators but in my visits to the museum I never

counted more than 20. Some told me they hadn't seen the exhibition because, as they said, they already knew it was racist.

The CFTA issued a pamphlet, *The Truth about Africa*, which Butler prints as an appendix. It said the first doctors were black Africans, as was Socrates. Also, Zeus, Apollo and Buddha were black African gods.

Butler loves words like *ambiguous* and *ambivalent*, which she uses obsessively -- because, I'm guessing, she's not confident enough to come down on one side or the other. Supporting the black protests might undermine academic freedom, but supporting Cannizzo could attract accusations of racism. In the end she's a little more critical of Cannizzo than not.

In fact, Cannizzo was the only real victim. The day after the show closed, someone spray-painted on her house the words, "J. Cannizzo is a racist." She was hired by the University of Toronto to teach the cultures and peoples of Africa but she found herself (Butler says) facing many of the picketers, not all of them registered students, in her classroom. These "students" began yelling at her and one said she was a "fucking white supremacist bitch." She asked the campus security people to drive her home and faxed her resignation. In recent years she has taught at the University of Edinburgh and organized some British exhibitions.

*Into the Heart of Africa* revealed a certain pusillanimity among museums, their directors and their boards. Museums in Ottawa, Vancouver, Los Angeles and Albuquerque, all of which had booked the exhibition, cancelled it when they heard about the trouble. It died with the end of its Toronto run in August, 1990.

Then the waters closed over the whole incident. No one on the staff of the Royal Ontario Museum has ever attempted to analyze it in public. Nor has anyone at the University of Toronto. It was that university's first (so far last) example of a teacher being banished from her classroom for political reasons. The administration has privately maintained that in letting her resign it did nothing wrong.

On the final effect of the crisis, Butler quotes an anthropologist who was on the ROM staff when it

happened: "I think people in Toronto are going to be a lot more aware and a lot more sensitive to Eurocentrism." She called that one right. Today, at the University of Toronto, even a whiff of the possibility of an accusation of alleged racism creates institutional terror and paralysis. Into the Heart of Africa may not be discussed anymore, but it lives on in the institutional subconscious, a demon that can never be exorcised.

*National Post*, Saturday, November 24, 2007. □

## DEFINING ACADEMIC FREEDOM FOR 2007

*Scott Jaschik*

In 1940, the American Association of University Professors adopted a "Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure," [www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/1940statement.htm](http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/1940statement.htm), a document that ever since has been cited in disputes about the rights of professors to freedom of expression and job security. While plenty of colleges over the years have ignored parts of the document, the statement has come to be seen as a definitive statement on such issues as professors' right to research and teach controversial ideas, the tenure process and more. The 1940 statement has enough history and support behind it that even critics of the AAUP like to cite the statement.

Today, the American Federation of Teachers — which has about 165,000 members in higher education — is issuing its own statement on academic freedom. [http://www.aft.org/higher\\_ed/pubs-reports/AcademicFreedomStatement.pdf](http://www.aft.org/higher_ed/pubs-reports/AcademicFreedomStatement.pdf) On most issues, the substance of the statements (as well as an earlier one from the National Education Association <http://www2.nea.org/he/policy1.html>) is similar. All the statements assert that professors do their jobs best with full freedom of thought and expression, and with job security (largely in the form of tenure). All of the statements also say that colleges should be run with shared governance in which professors have a meaningful say in the way institutions are run.

The AFT statement differs from the AAUP's, however, on a point of policy and in its themes. The AAUP's 1940 statements defines seven years as the standard

amount of time beyond which a faculty member should not work without tenure. The AFT statement has no such limit specified for non-tenured work, and AFT officials said that many of their members who are adjuncts view such a limit as a constraint on their employment, not a protection.

In terms of themes, the AAUP document places the most emphasis on the differences between tenured and non-tenured professors, but with the latter being people on the tenure track. The AFT document is much more focused on the growing ranks of adjunct professors. The AFT statement, not surprisingly, also talks about the importance of having the principles of tenure and academic freedom outlined in collective bargaining contracts. (While the AAUP is a union for some of its members, it is a professional association only for many others.)

While AFT officials said that they didn't see their document as arguing principles that differ from the AAUP, they said that higher education needed an updated statement. "Times have changed," said Arthur Hochner, a Temple University professor who led the effort to draft the statement. "Universities are very different places. They are not ivory tower any more."

Lawrence N. Gold, director of higher education at the AFT, said that the AAUP statement "informs everything we do" and remained a statement of importance. But he said that the AFT document was "uniquely union-like."

Jonathan Knight, who heads the AAUP division focused on academic freedom, said it was "very welcome" to have the AFT statement, and that he did not view it as competing with the AAUP's 1940 statement. As to the differing policies on the length of time by which tenure must be offered, Knight said that the AAUP continued to believe that having a defined time protected faculty rights. He said that the AFT's different stance was "altogether in keeping with the notion that it is a statement issued by one organization, which is focusing on its members and who it thinks are its potential members."

The AFT statement opens with a quote from Kofi Annan, the former United Nations secretary general, who in 2005 defined academic freedom this way: "the freedom to conduct research, teach, speak, and publish, subject to the norms and standards of scholarly inquiry,

without interference or penalty, wherever the search for truth and understanding may lead.”

The document goes on to define different parts of academic freedom.

On teaching, the document says that faculty members, as a collective body, “must have the primacy in designing and approving the curriculum, as well as the methods of instruction, in accordance with accepted professional standards.” In addition, individual faculty members must have “primary responsibility for selecting instructional materials” and “defining course content.”

Professors also must have “full freedom to discuss the subject matter of the course,” even “controversial material relevant to their teaching subjects and methods,” the document says. “Good education ends when instructors have to look over their shoulders to make sure what they say in the classroom meets the approval of people with ideological or commercial agendas — such as politicians, government or the media — rather than consider the professional standards of their peers,” the statement says. “Outside intervention to change classroom readings, or monitor classroom discussions, is to be vigorously resisted.”

Similar principles are suggested for research. “Regardless of how controversial, unconventional or unsettling their subjects, methods and results are, academics need freedom from interference in their research,” the statement says. “They should be able to pursue ideas and knowledge wherever they may lead.” Also, the statement calls for research findings to be open, and not restricted by commercial agreements. “Academic integrity in research,” the statement says, “requires discoveries to be shared and knowledge to be considered primarily as a public good instead of a private possession.”

In a section on the report on “the mechanics of academic freedom,” the AFT identifies three inter-related processes: tenure, peer evaluation, and shared governance. Academics need to judge fellow academics on promotions, curricular priorities, and so forth, and faculty involvement in college management must be meaningful.

The report warns against a number of threats to academic freedom, including “the increasingly

vocational focus of higher education,” the “loss of financial support” for higher education, “corporate style management” of colleges and political attacks.

The growing use of adjuncts is viewed as a problem in that they lack the protections of tenure. But the report stresses that faculties and institutions need to go beyond the tenure question to seek protections for those whose positions don’t have a tenure option.

“Under the new conditions of a shrinking tenure track and hostile external interests, however, higher education faculty and instructional staff need more than just a reiteration of basic principles,” the AFT statement argues. “We need to go further in fighting for them. This means not only advocating for an increase in tenured positions, but also fighting for parity pay and benefits for contingent faculty and instructors, achieving more professional treatment for contingent faculty and instructors, and extending peer review, shared governance and due process rights to cover all faculty and instructional staff. Contingent faculty and instructional staff need real academic freedom backstopped by real job protections and real rights.”

*Insidehighered.com*, October, 29, 2007. □

### **NO IDEOLOGUE LEFT BEHIND THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS DEFENDS INDOCTRINATION**

*David Horowitz*

In its latest response to complaints about the politicization of higher education, the American Association of University Professors has embraced a novel view: “It is not indoctrination for professors to expect students to comprehend ideas and apply knowledge that is accepted as true within a relevant discipline.” Under this precept, put forth in the AAUP’s recent report “Freedom in the Classroom,” teachers are no longer held to standards of “scholarly” or “scientific” or “intellectually responsible” discourse, but to whatever is “accepted as true within a relevant discipline.” With this formulation, the AAUP jettisons the traditional understanding of what constitutes a liberal education and ratifies a transformation of the

university that is already well advanced.

Since the 1960s, many newly minted academic disciplines have appeared that are the result not of scholarship or scientific developments but of political pressures brought to bear by ideological sects. The discipline of Women's Studies, the most important of these new fields, freely acknowledges its origins in a political movement and defines its educational mission in political terms. The preamble to the Constitution of the National Women's Studies Association proclaims:

Women's Studies owes its existence to the movement for the liberation of women; the feminist movement exists because women are oppressed. Women's studies, diverse as its components are, has at its best shared a vision of a world free not only from sexism but also from racism, class-bias, ageism, heterosexual bias--from all the ideologies and institutions that have consciously or unconsciously oppressed and exploited some for the advantage of others. . . . Women's Studies, then, is equipping women not only to enter society as whole, as productive human beings, but to transform the world to one that will be free of all oppression.

This is the statement of a political cause not a program of scholarly inquiry.

The AAUP has issued its defense of indoctrination fully cognizant of the fact that these new academic disciplines view their mission as using the classroom to instill an ideology in their students. These programs include, in addition to Women's Studies, African American Studies, Peace Studies, Cultural Studies, Chicano Studies, Gay Lesbian Studies, Post-Colonial Studies, Whiteness Studies, Communications Studies, Community Studies, and recently politicized disciplines such as Cultural Anthropology and Sociology. At the University of California Santa Cruz, the Women's Studies department has actually renamed itself the "Department of Feminist Studies" to signify that it is a political training facility. It has done so without a word of complaint or caution from university administrators or the AAUP.

Under the AAUP's new doctrine, these sectarian creeds are shielded from scrutiny by the scientific method. In the new dispensation, political control of a discipline is an adequate basis for closing off critical debate. The idea that political power can establish "truth" is a

conception so contrary to the intellectual foundations of the modern research university that the AAUP committee could not state it so baldly. Hence the disingenuous compromise of "truth within a relevant discipline."

Some years ago, Robert Post of Yale, a member of the AAUP subcommittee that drafted the report, summarized the principles that have informed university governance for nearly a century. A "key premise" of the AAUP's classic 1915 "Declaration of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure," Post wrote, "is that faculty should be regarded as professional experts in the production of knowledge." Post explains, "The mission of the university defended by the 'Declaration' depends on a particular theory of knowledge. The 'Declaration' presupposes not only that knowledge exists and can be articulated by scholars, but also that it is advanced through the free application of highly disciplined forms of inquiry, which correspond roughly to what [philosopher] Charles Peirce once called 'the method of science' as opposed to the 'method of authority.'

The method of authority is precisely the method now recommended by the AAUP--the authority of the discipline. Virtually every Women's Studies department throughout the university system teaches a curriculum premised on the controversial thesis that gender is "socially constructed." Women's Studies presents and explores this doctrinal claim as though it were an established truth, and students in Women's Studies are expected to apply it as knowledge.

The social construction of gender, however, is merely academic nomenclature for the primacy of nurture over nature, an idea that is essential to an ideological movement--radical feminism--that proposes the use of political means to reshape social relations. But the claim itself is contested. It is contested by the findings of modern neuroscience, and evolutionary psychology, and biology (as readers of Steven Pinker's *The Blank Slate* know). To force students to accept as true a doctrine that is controversial among biological scientists is precisely what is meant by indoctrination.

At the time its report was finalized, a new edition of the AAUP's official journal, *Academe*, featured two articles defending the feminist indoctrination of university students. The first was "Impassioned Teaching," by AAUP chapter president Pamela

Caughie, head of the Women's Studies department at Loyola University. Caughie wrote: "I feel I am doing my job well when students become practitioners of feminist analysis and committed to feminist politics." This is the attitude of a missionary seeking to ground her students in feminist dogma, not a professor seeking to educate them about women. In the second article, Professor Julie Kilmer of Olivet College describes the need to publicly expose and intimidate students who "resist" such indoctrination and suggests how to do this. The publication of two such articles can hardly be regarded as coincidental. It reveals the slope on which the AAUP now finds itself.

It is a slope slippery in more ways than one. The doctrine of "truth within a relevant discipline" opens the university to political factions. Suppose antagonists of Darwin's theory of evolution were to establish the academic field of Intelligent Design Studies. What academic principle would prevent them from teaching their contested theories as truth? The same would apply to 9/11 conspiracy theorists, or animal rights activists, or racists--in fact, to any ideology that was able to take control of a university department and structure its curriculum as a new academic "discipline."

Some defenders of the AAUP's position say indoctrination is not really indoctrination if the student can object to a professor's classroom advocacy without fear of reprisal. But how would students know that there was no penalty for refusing to embrace a professor's political assumptions? How would they deal with Professor Kilmer's threats to "expose" them and break down their "resistance" or with the pressure implicit in Caughie's "impassioned teaching"?

Even the very term "impassioned teaching" is a significant departure from an older understanding of higher education. The AAUP's 1940 statement on academic freedom, which is part of the template of most modern universities, states that scholars and educators should be "restrained" rather than impassioned, and should show appropriate respect for divergent views: "As scholars and educational officers, . . . [professors] should at all times be accurate, should exercise appropriate restraint [and] should show respect for the opinions of others."

Under the old guidelines, professors had an obligation to hold back their ardor, to teach students to be

skeptical, to assess the evidence, to respect opposing views, and to support the pluralism of ideas on which democratic culture rests. It was their professional duty to provide students with materials that would allow them to weigh more than one side of controversial issues, and so learn to think intelligently and to think for themselves. It is that central purpose of the university that the AAUP would now betray.

David Horowitz is the author of *Indoctrination U: The Left's War Against Academic Freedom* and the creator of the online magazine *FrontPage*.

*Weekly Standard*, vol. 013, issue 9, November 12, 2007. □

## **BROCK UNIVERSITY: ACADEMIC FREEDOM**

November 20, 2007

Dr. Jack Lightstone  
President  
Brock University

Dear President Lightstone:

I am writing to you as president of the Society for Academic Freedom and Scholarship. We are a national organization of scholars whose goals are to promote academic freedom in teaching, research, and scholarship and to uphold the merit principle as the basis of academic decision-making regarding students and faculty. For further information, please visit our website at: [www.safs.ca](http://www.safs.ca).

I am writing with regard to Professor Murray Miles of your philosophy department, against whom a complaint has been brought under the "Respectful Work and Learning Environment Policy" of the Collective Agreement.

At this time, we would like to stress just two of our concerns. The first and foremost is the threat to Professor Miles' academic freedom, and hence to that of all professors at Brock University. As you will appreciate, what constitutes respectful behavior is open to varying interpretations. These are sometimes complicated by personal and political considerations. It is of the utmost importance that the formal adjudication of any complaints of this nature explicitly

recognizes the academic freedom rights of the respondent to express his academic opinions, including the right to criticize his university's policies or colleagues' views on academic matters. It is likewise of the greatest importance that questions concerning academic freedom and its limits be adjudicated by members of the academic profession competent to do so (full-time tenured professors) rather than by non-academic staff members.

A second serious concern is that the administration of the policy must be carried out under the terms specified in the policy itself. It is our understanding that there have been several violations of the policy, including the following:

- a) Although "complaints must be initiated within six (6) months (120 working days) of the incident occurring" the majority of incidents that are being considered as part of the complaint predate this period.
- b) According to the Policy "The investigation shall be completed within eight (8) weeks (40 working days). As of today, the investigation has proceeded for about twice that time period. We understand that the time frames may be extended upon mutual agreement of the parties. However, no such agreement has been reached.
- c) No attempt to resolve this issue informally was offered to Professor Miles, although the Policy encourages informal resolution.

Thus, we are gravely concerned that Professor Miles has not been adequately protected against abuse of the Policy by those responsible for its administration. Accordingly, we respectfully ask that you clarify how his academic freedom is protected, in practice, under the "Respectful Work and Learning Environment Policy" and why the investigation has been allowed to proceed in the face of serious and unambiguous procedural violations of which you have been made aware.

We look forward to hearing from you. We will post this letter and your response on our website.

Sincerely,

Clive Seligman, President

cc: Murray Miles, Philosophy Department  
Carol Merriam, President, BUFA  
Carol Sales, Grievance Officer, BUFA

## President Lightstone's response to SAFS

December 11, 2007

Dear Mr. Seligman:

Thank you for your memorandum of November 20, 2007.

While I have noted your concerns, given the investigation process has not reached resolution, it is not appropriate for me to become involved in this matter at this time. As to your second set of concerns, if it turns out that in Dr. Miles's view errors in the process resulted in a judgment that is inappropriate, he can certainly appeal.

Finally, I assure you that Brock would never undermine Dr Miles's or anyone else's academic freedom.

Yours truly,

Jack N. Lightstone, President & Vice-Chancellor

cc: Murray Miles, Carol Merriam, Carol Sales,  
Lynne Bubic ☐

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## WHAT ABOUT LARRY?

### COMPARE CHEMERINSKY'S TALE WITH ACADEMIA'S BASHING OF EX-HARVARD CHIEF SUMMERS

*David E. Bernstein*

The saga of controversial liberal law professor Erwin Chemerinsky's on-again, off-again deanship at the new UC Irvine law school was highly unusual in two ways. First, the pressure to enforce political orthodoxy at Chemerinsky's expense came from the right, not the left, and second, academic freedom and 1st Amendment values won a resounding victory when Chemerinsky was ultimately rehired. A more typical example of how academic freedom remains in jeopardy across the country is the UC Board of Regents' treatment of Larry Summers, the former president of Harvard University.

The regents had invited Summers to be the keynote speaker at a dinner tonight in Sacramento. They then uninvited him last week after some UC faculty protested that "inviting a keynote speaker who has come to symbolize gender and racial prejudice in academia conveys the wrong message to the university community and to the people of California."

What did Summers, a distinguished economist and a liberal Democrat who served in the Clinton administration, do to deserve such obloquy? In 2005, he suggested that it's worth researching whether, among other factors, innate differences between men and women may play a role in the greater prominence of men in the sciences -- a hypothesis that has some support in the relevant scientific literature.

Summers desperately tried to make amends, issuing an abject apology for even raising the subject. Nevertheless, and despite strong support for him among Harvard students, he was drummed out of the Harvard presidency by the Cambridge academic equivalent of a lynch mob.

Apparently his sins against feminist orthodoxy were so grave that he's still not welcome to give so much as a dinner speech to the UC Board of Regents more than two years later.

The hostility to Summers reflects the growing

influence of professors who see their primary mission not as advancing human knowledge but as promoting a "progressive" political agenda.

Entire academic departments are often overtly ideological and politicized, even at schools not normally thought of as hotbeds of activism. Loyola Marymount's women's studies department, for example, proclaims as its mission "to call attention to the androcentric nature of society, propose alternatives and strategies that honor women's human rights, and promote a vision of society where gender hierarchy, as well as other forms of social injustice, are eliminated." In universities across the United States, conservative scholars are about as welcome, and as rare, in women's studies programs as Nazis in B'nai B'rith.

Students also suffer from academic intolerance. Undergraduates frequently report to researchers that they feel intimidated into endorsing the political positions advanced by their professors. Many U.S. universities, though banned by the courts from enacting overt "speech codes," nevertheless enforce severe restrictions on freedom of expression under the guise of "anti-harassment" policies. UC Santa Cruz, for example, bans any speech or writing that "maligns another individual or group of individuals on the basis of age, creed, ethnicity, race, gender, gender identity, physical ability, political views, religion, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status or other differences."

Primarily because of such policies, the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, a nonprofit that promotes civil liberties in higher education, has ranked 16 of the 19 California state colleges it measured "red" -- the lowest rank -- for freedom of expression.

Students who criticize the wisdom, utility or morality of the massive racial preferences prevalent in university admissions are especially likely to face hostility from the powers that be. University administrators at many campuses, including UC Irvine, have shut down satirical "affirmative action bake sales," at which customers are charged differing amounts based on their race or sex. Only the fear of lawsuits keeps such censorship somewhat in check.

The Chemerinsky episode, disturbing though it was, should not distract us from the primary challenge facing academic freedom in American universities: the rise of an academic far-left establishment that seeks to

use universities as a base for political activism, and is perfectly willing to violate accepted standards of academic freedom to achieve that goal. Anyone concerned with the future of American higher education has the duty to defend the values of scholarship and open debate against authoritarian political correctness. Unfortunately, by disinviting Summers, the UC regents failed miserably.

David E. Bernstein is a professor at the George Mason University School of Law and author of *"You Can't Say That! The Growing Threat to Civil Liberties from Antidiscrimination Laws."* He blogs at volokh.com.

*L.A. Times*, September 19, 2007. □

## AS A REPUBLICAN, I'M ON THE FRINGE

*Robert Maranto*

Are university faculties biased toward the left? And is this diminishing universities' role in American public life? Conservatives have been saying so since William F. Buckley Jr. wrote "God and Man at Yale" -- in 1951. But lately criticism is coming from others -- making universities face some hard questions.

At a Harvard symposium in October, former Harvard president and Clinton Treasury secretary Larry Summers argued that among liberal arts and social science professors at elite graduate universities, Republicans are "the third group," far behind Democrats and even Ralph Nader supporters. Summers mused that in Washington he was "the right half of the left," while at Harvard he found himself "on the right half of the right."

I know how he feels. I spent four years in the 1990s working at the centrist Brookings Institution and for the Clinton administration and felt right at home ideologically. Yet during much of my two decades in academia, I've been on the "far right" as one who thinks that welfare reform helped the poor, that the United States was right to fight and win the Cold War, and that environmental regulations should be balanced against property rights.

All these views -- commonplace in American society and among the political class -- are practically verboten in much of academia. At many of the colleges

I've taught at or consulted for, a perusal of the speakers list and the required readings in the campus bookstore convinced me that a student could probably go through four years without ever encountering a right-of-center view portrayed in a positive light.

A sociologist I know recalls that his decision to become a registered Republican caused "a sensation" at his university. "It was as if I had become a child molester," he said. He eventually quit academia to join a think tank because "you don't want to be in a department where everyone hates your guts."

I think my political views hurt my career some years back when I was interviewing for a job at a prestigious research university. Everything seemed to be going well until I mentioned, in a casual conversation with department members over dinner, that I planned to vote Republican in the upcoming presidential election. Conversation came to a halt, and someone quickly changed the subject. The next day, I thought my final interview went fairly well. But the department ended up hiring someone who had published far less, but apparently "fit" better than I did. At least that's what I was told when I called a month later to learn the outcome of the job search, having never received any further communication from the school. (A friend at the same university later told me he didn't believe that particular department would ever hire a Republican.)

Now there is more data backing up experiences like mine. Recently, my Villanova colleague Richard Redding and my longtime collaborator Frederick Hess commissioned a set of studies to ascertain how rare conservative professors really are, and why. We wanted real scholars to use real data to study whether academia really has a PC problem. While our work was funded by the right-of-center American Enterprise Institute, we (and our funders) have been very clear about our intention to go wherever the data would take us. Among the findings:

Daniel Klein of George Mason University and Charlotta Stern of Stockholm University looked at all the reliable published studies of professors' political and ideological attachments. They found that conservatives and libertarians are outnumbered by liberals and Marxists by roughly two to one in economics, more than five to one in political science, and by 20 to one or more in anthropology and sociology.

In a quantitative analysis of a large-scale student survey, Matthew Woessner of Penn State-Harrisburg and April Kelly-Woessner of Elizabethtown College found strong statistical evidence that talented conservative undergraduates in the humanities, social sciences and sciences are less likely to pursue a PhD than their liberal peers, in part for personal reasons, but also in part because they are offered fewer opportunities to do research with their professors. (Interestingly, this does not hold for highly applied areas such as nursing or computer science.)

Further, academic job markets seem to discriminate against socially conservative PhDs. Stanley Rothman of Smith College and S. Robert Lichter of George Mason University find strong statistical evidence that these academics must publish more books and articles to get the same jobs as their liberal peers. Among professors who have published a book, 73 percent of Democrats are in high-prestige colleges and universities, compared with only 56 percent of Republicans.

Despite that bad job-hunting experience I had, I doubt that legions of leftist professors have set out to purge academia of Republican dissenters. I believe that for the most part the biases conservative academics face are subtle, even unintentional. When making hiring decisions and confronted with several good candidates, we college professors, like anyone else, tend to select people like ourselves.

Unfortunately, subtle biases in how conservative students and professors are treated in the classroom and in the job market have very unsubtle effects on the ideological makeup of the professoriate. The resulting lack of intellectual diversity harms academia by limiting the questions academics ask, the phenomena we study, and ultimately the conclusions we reach.

There are numerous examples of this ideological isolation from society. As political scientist Steven Teles showed in his book "Whose Welfare?," the public had determined by the 1970s that welfare wasn't working -- yet many sociology professors even now deny that '70s-style welfare programs were bad for their recipients. Similarly, despite New York City's 15-year-long decline in crime, most criminologists still struggle to attribute the increased safety to demographic shifts or even random statistical variations (which apparently skipped other cities) rather than more effective policing.

In my own area, public administration, it took years for bureaucracy-defending professors to realize that then-Vice President Al Gore's National Performance Review (aka Reinventing Government) was not a reactionary attempt to destroy government agencies, but rather a centrist attempt to revitalize them. Most of the critics of the academy are conservatives or libertarians, but even the left-of-center E.D. Hirsch argues in "The Schools We Need and Why We Don't Have Them" that academics in schools of education have harmed young people by promoting progressive dogma rather than examining what works in real classrooms.

All this is bad for society because academics' ideological blinders make it more difficult to solve domestic problems and to understand foreign challenges. Moreover, a leftist ideological monoculture is bad for universities, rendering them intellectually dull places imbued with careerism rather than the energy of contending ideas, a point made by academic critics across the ideological spectrum from Russell Jacoby on the left to Josiah Bunting III on the right.

It's odd that my university was one of only a handful in Pennsylvania to have held a debate on the Iraq War in 2003. That happened because left-leaning Villanova professors realized that to be fair they needed to expose students to views different from their own, so they invited three relatively conservative faculty members to take part in a discussion of the decision to invade. Though I was then a junior faculty member arguing the unpopular (pro-war) side, I knew that my senior colleagues would not hold it against me.

Yet a conservative friend at another university had an equal and opposite experience. When he told his department chair that he and a liberal colleague planned to publicly debate the decision to invade Iraq, his chair talked him out of it, saying that it could complicate his tenure decision two years down the road. On the one hand, the department chair was doing his job, protecting a junior faculty member from unfair treatment; on the other hand, he shouldn't have had to.

Unfortunately, critics are too often tone deaf about the solutions to academia's problems. Conservative activist David Horowitz and Students for Academic Freedom, a group he supports, advocate an Academic Bill of Rights guaranteeing equality for ideological minorities (typically conservatives) and ensuring that faculty are

hired and promoted and students graded solely on the basis of their competence and knowledge, not their ideology or religion. That sounds great in theory, but it could have the unintended consequence of encouraging any student who gets a C to plead ideological bias.

Ultimately, universities will have to clean their own houses. Professors need to re-embrace a culture of reasoned inquiry and debate. And since debate requires disagreement, higher education needs to encourage intellectual diversity in its hiring and promotion decisions with something like the fervor it shows for ethnic and racial diversity. It's the only way universities will earn back society's respect and reclaim their role at the center of public life.

Robert Maranto is an associate professor of political science at Villanova University and co-editor of "*Reforming the Politically Correct University*," to be published in 2008.

*Washington Post*, December 9, 2007. □

### BALCH WINS NATIONAL HUMANITIES MEDAL

**Stephen Balch, president of the National Association of Scholars**, was awarded a National Humanities Medal at a White House ceremony on November 15, 2007. In presenting the award, President George W. Bush said the medal was for:

*"his leadership and advocacy upholding the noblest traditions of higher education. His work on behalf of scholarship and a free society has made him a proponent of reform and a champion of excellence at our nation's universities."*

*Stephen Balch* is a SAFS member and was our keynote speaker at the Annual General Meeting, May, 2005. □

#### BEQUEST TO SAFS

Please consider remembering the Society in your will. Even small bequests can help us greatly in carrying on SAFS' work. In most cases, a bequest does not require rewriting your entire will, but can be done simply by adding a codicil. So please do give this some thought.

Thank you

*Elive Seligman, President.*

### BRAVE NEWARK WORLD

*Mike S. Adams*

The University of Delaware has just become one of the most Orwellian campuses in America. Students in its residence halls are now being subjected to a re-education program that is actually dubbed – in the university's own tax-payer funded materials – as "treatment" for students who have incorrect attitudes and beliefs.

Delaware now requires nearly 7,000 students in its residence halls to adopt specific public university-approved (read: government-approved) views on issues ranging from race, to sexuality, to philosophy. The Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (see [www.TheFire.org](http://www.TheFire.org)) is calling for the total dismantling of the program. Readers of this column should call (302-831-2111) or write [president@udel.edu](mailto:president@udel.edu), to Patrick Harker President of The University of Delaware asking him to do the same.

It is not at all uncommon for a university to establish official views and try to force them on students in the residence hall environment. Students living in the university housing complexes are often required to attend training sessions, floor meetings, and one-on-one meetings with their Resident Assistants (RAs).

But, at Delaware, the RA who facilitates these meetings has already received his own training, including a "diversity facilitation training" session. There, he is taught that "[a] racist is one who is both privileged and socialized on the basis of race by a white supremacist (racist) system. The term applies to all white people (i.e., people of European descent) living in the United States, regardless of class, gender, religion, culture or sexuality."

The Delaware RA is also taught that the term "reverse racism" is created by whites to deny their privilege. An official Delaware training manual says that "those in denial use the term reverse racism to refer to hostile behavior by people of color toward whites, and to affirmative action policies, which allegedly give 'preferential treatment' to people of color over whites." Then, after defining the term "reverse racism" the manual claims that "there is no such thing as 'reverse racism.'" Later, it says the non-existent term

“reverse racism” is an example of “racism.” Lewis Carroll would have been proud.

The university also suggests that during one-on-one sessions with students, the RA should ask intrusive personal questions such as the following:

“When did you discover your sexual identity?” “When was the last time you felt oppressed?” “Who was oppressing you?” “How did it feel?”

“Can you think of a time when someone was offended by what you said?” “How did it make you feel?” “How do you think it made them feel?”

Students who express discomfort with the questioning often meet with disapproval from the RA, who often writes a report on the student and delivers it to a superior. One student was identified in a write-up as the “worst” one-on-one session stating that she was tired of “having diversity shoved down her throat.”

According to the university materials, the goal of residence life education is for students in the university’s residence halls to achieve certain “competencies” that include statements like: “Students will recognize that systemic oppression exists in our society,” “Students will recognize the benefits of dismantling systems of oppression,” and “Students will be able to utilize their knowledge of sustainability to change their daily habits and consumer mentality.”

In other words, the student can become competent by becoming a Marxist. Fortunately, Delaware stops short of requiring the student to wear a “Hillary 2008” t-shirt. But that may well change soon.

Presently, students are actually pressured or even required to take actions that outwardly indicate agreement with the university’s official ideology, regardless of their beliefs as individuals. Such actions include displaying specific door decorations and committing to reduce their ecological footprint by at least 20% and fighting for “oppressed social groups.” (There is no indication that one of these groups is made up of University of Delaware residents who are oppressed by RAs who can’t stop asking “how do you feel?”).

In the Office of Residence Life’s internal materials, these programs are described using a chilling language

of ideological re-education. In a manual relating to the assessment of student learning the residence hall lesson plans are actually referred to as “treatments.”

President Harker must be made aware of the United States Supreme Court’s decision in *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943). Writing for the Court, Justice Robert H. Jackson declared, “If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.”

There is little question that the Barnette case applies to administrators at Delaware. Anyone can see that if these officials are not high, they are certainly petty.

*Mike Adams* is a criminology professor at the University of North Carolina Wilmington and author of *Welcome to the Ivory Tower of Babel: Confessions of a Conservative College Professor*.

*Townhall.com*, October 31, 2007. □

## **MORE MEN NEEDED IN POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS DECLINING ENROLMENT A LONG-TERM WORRY FOR SCHOOLS**

*Janice Tibbetts*

OTTAWA -- Universities and colleges could offset a potential enrolment slump over the next quarter century by tapping into a "reservoir" of young men who are passing up higher education, Statistics Canada says.

In a report Wednesday on post-secondary enrolment, the federal agency created three scenarios for projecting post-secondary attendance until 2031.

The first "status-quo" scenario predicts that enrolment will continue to grow for another decade at the wholesome levels of the last few years, then decline as the last of the echo boomers -- the children of baby boomers -- graduate and enter the workforce.

Under that scenario, post-secondary enrolment would

grow steadily until 2012-13, peaking at 1.3 million, and then decline until it reaches a "trough" by 2025-26.

The second scenario also projects that enrolment will peak in the next 10 years, but that it will level off after that, rather than plummet. This premise is based on the theory that universities and colleges will be successful in casting wider nets for attracting students to make up for a declining population of post-secondary age.

A third scenario assumes that a slump will be avoided by universities attracting more young men. Over the past 20 years, women have increasingly outnumbered men on campus and the gender imbalance is now almost 60-40.

"Raising the university participation rates of men could offset some of the potential enrolment deficits that would result from a decline in the size of the university-age cohort," said Statistics Canada.

Another study earlier this year, by the Canadian Millennium Scholarship Foundation, also predicted that enrolment would continue to grow for another five or six years and then tumble, unless universities find ways to otherwise increase their numbers beyond their traditional pool of students.

Some institutions are already seeking ways to avoid emptying classrooms, including attracting more under-represented groups, such as the poor, aboriginals and even men. Although more men than ever are going to university and college, the increase in women has been even greater over the past 20 years.

"Universities need to increase participation rates, not only to increase enrolment, but to help drive labour-market growth, to help drive prosperity," said Herb O'Heron, senior adviser with the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.

Mr. O'Heron said it is hard to predict university enrolment beyond the next decade because there are too many unknowns.

"We don't know what will happen because it's too far out," he said.

*CanWest News Service, November 21, 2007. □*

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