

ity and discourse? Those are two very different models, both with strong appeals."

Bollinger's ambivalence toward the speech code might not have made him any friends with the civil-liberties crowd, but it didn't hurt his career. After a brief sojourn as provost of Dartmouth, he was named president of the University of Michigan in 1996. Returning to Ann Arbor, he was greeted by the twin lawsuits known as *Gratz* (charging discrimination under the guise of affirmative action, at the university) and *Grutter* (ditto, at the law school).

The new president's response was to mount one of the most aggressive defenses of affirmative action yet. Bollinger argued that affirmative action was not just one way to make sure minority students get an education, but also the *only* way to achieve the true end of education: diversity. "This principle of [affirmative action] is a deep part of the educational philosophy of American higher education," Bollinger told the *Christian Science Monitor* last year. "Without the diversity it provides, the character and the quality of our great public universities would decline."

It is on this point that Bollinger has staked the life of affirmative action: that education without a racially diverse student body isn't education at all, and, further, that a system of discrimination based on racial preferences is the only means to achieving a racially diverse student body. And it isn't intellectual diversity that the president is talking about, nor is it religious diversity, nor even political. It is simple, unalterable, banal skin color that Bollinger says must be diversified in order to provide students with a worthy education.

A poll conducted by the *Michigan Daily*, the university's student-run paper, found that a majority of students there opposed affirmative action. But elite opinion continues to dominate discussion of racial preferences, and Bollinger's man-of-the-people dealings with undergraduates inoculate him from criticism. In 1997, for example, just a few months after he became president, a large crowd of revelers formed outside his mansion, celebrating

Michigan's football victory over Penn State. Bollinger opened his doors and invited the students—all of them—inside to celebrate.

Bollinger must have a love of strangers who occupy his personal space, because after 30 anti-sweatshop activists stormed his office in 1999 he told the *New York Times* that the activists were "terrific students . . . They're just the kind of students you want on your campus. They were interested in a serious problem, they were knowledgeable about the problem, and they really wanted to do something about it."

The problem with Bollinger's approach to education is that because its focus is on political activity, there's a decline in basic academic seriousness. The *Ann Arbor News* reported that Bollinger's convocation at the University of Michigan last year was significant for such helpful advice as "Be comfortable with your ignorance," "Don't let yourself be trapped by the natural wish for the answer," and "Don't underestimate the benefits of putting things off until the last moment." And when the *New York Times* education supplement recently asked Bollinger what students should get out of college, he replied, "The university is about being able to move intellectually within a whole array of views. . . . It's actually a quite frightening experience. The world will always be for you a more difficult and complicated place than perhaps you would like it to be."

That must have been the message that Bollinger was trying to send when he refused to condemn the heckling and catcalling that greeted Ward Connerly when the anti-preferences activist addressed Michigan students in 1998. Indeed, Bollinger's intellectual and administrative stance capitulates to the Left whenever it is politically expedient. "University presidents should be strong," says Matthew Schwartz, a former editor of the *Michigan Review* who was once a student of Bollinger's. "And Bollinger wasn't." If Lee Bollinger is indeed the future of American higher education, then college students face a future bereft of important principles like freedom of speech and equality under the law. **NR**

Stop, Thief!

The trials of conservative publications on campus

MELISSA SECKORA

ONE day last October, the staff of *The Primary Source*, a conservative magazine at Tufts University, painted the cannon on campus. They did so with the slogans "God Bless America" and "Liberty and Justice for All," in honor of the victims of September 11. Painting the cannon is a tradition at Tufts. Typically, a group paints the cannon, then keeps at least one member nearby, to ensure that the cannon "stays painted" for at least 24 hours.

On this night, Sam Dangremond, the magazine's editor, was standing by—and three members of a student group calling itself the Coalition for Social Justice and Nonviolence sprang him. Two of the hooded assailants wrestled him to the ground while a third scrawled on the image of an American flag painted on the cannon. Dangremond pressed assault charges. A university disciplinary panel handed the three attackers a Probation 1 violation—a slap on the wrist typically given for public intoxication. Two of the assailants appealed and were let off by administrators. Not a hint of wrongdoing remained on their records.

Dangremond's case brought increased attention to *The Primary Source*. Within four months, the magazine lost 4,300 copies to theft and 600 copies to vandalism, worth about \$2,000 in printing costs. "All of a sudden the entire campus was paying attention to what we printed," Dangremond says. "More people took offense, and more copies were stolen."

In recent times, conservative publications on campus have suffered an unprecedented amount of what might be called censorship by theft. And hardly anyone appears to be bothered. Most irritating is the lack of response from

college administrators who apparently care more about political correctness than about the freedom and dignity of students. All over the country, an ugly illiberalism is showing its face.

At Tufts, *The Primary Source* has been the subject of repeated harassment. Eighteen separate complaints were filed against it and its staffers in the last school year. For example, the magazine poked fun at the Student Labor Action Movement (SLAM) and its feminist leaders, for wearing tight, revealing tank tops as their official uniform. Iris Halpern, the leader of SLAM, filed a sexual-harassment suit against the *Source*. A hearing was held before the Committee on Student Life, where Halpern claimed—citing Tufts policy—that the magazine had “the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with [her] work or academic performance or of creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive environment in which to work or learn.” The committee had the backbone to dismiss Halpern’s charges. But that was not the end of it.

Letters from students immediately appeared in the *Tufts Daily*. “[I] will not allow the *Source* to degrade and harass women while hiding behind the mantle of free speech,” wrote one student. “As a person of color, I am fearful how this lack of discretion may affect the minority community on campus,” wrote a Wendy Tang. The Tufts Feminist Alliance went so far as to distribute flyers that read: “Warning: *The Primary Source* Is Violent Towards Women.” Dangremond believes that it was Halpern and her cohorts who defaced 600 copies of the *Source* with “Imagine a Campus Free from Sexism” stickers.

After the *Source* published an issue on affirmative action—against—the Pan-African Alliance, another Tufts student organization, began a campaign of theft. In an e-mail obtained by Dangremond, the group’s president essentially described a meeting where members planned to steal thousands of copies. Although campus police were able to verify that the group was in fact guilty, the only reaction from university officials came in the form of a mass e-mail sent by president Lawrence Bacow: “While I will defend the right to publish, I believe that a line can be drawn

between legitimate criticism of an individual’s ideas and personal invective designed to hurt.”

At the University of California, Berkeley—home of the vaunted Free Speech Movement—the situation is little different. Last February, 3,000 copies of *The California Patriot* were stolen from a storage space located in the office of the Berkeley College Republicans. At issue was an article in which the *Patriot* referred to MEChA, a “Chicano” organization, as a “student-funded hate group.” The article publicized MEChA’s mission statement, which includes a desire to reclaim the American Southwest for the “Aztecs” and decries the “gringo invasion of our territories.” While MEChA has denied involvement in the theft, *Patriot* staffers have been harassed by its members, and a few have received death threats.

■
**All over the country,
an ugly illiberalism is
showing its face.**
■

Kelso G. Barnett, the magazine’s publisher, says that he doubts the case is still being investigated despite the fact that an eyewitness places MEChA leaders at the scene of the crime. And aside from a sympathetic statement released by the university’s chancellor, Robert Berdahl, Kelso hasn’t heard a thing from the administration since early March. “Thugs breaking into our office and stealing our conservative—to them dangerous—magazines was just another example of how Berkeley has gone from upholding free speech to squelching it,” says Barnett.

Shortly after the Berkeley incident, theft and vandalism hit the campus of Arizona State University. Staffers of the *Collegiate Conservative* discovered that a portion of their press run had been burned in a garbage can. “We’ve only printed five issues, and already burning the paper has happened twice. Papers also go missing too quickly,” says Daniel Moody, the paper’s editor. He argues that since the *Conservative*’s November 2001 debut, ASU has

attempted to shut it down. It started when the vice provost for administrative services, Mernoy Harrison, gave janitors permission to throw stacks of the *Conservative* away if they found them sitting on the ground. Moody found this frustrating given that there is no rule against stacking papers on the ground, instead of in distribution bins, for easy pickup. “The university even admitted to me that there is not a rule against stacking papers on the ground.” What’s more, an official within the student media department told Moody that the school would not sanction the *Conservative* because doing so would “take away from our advertising revenues”—revenues ASU earns by selling ads for the *State Press*, a so-called “independent morning daily” that is actually one of the school’s “auxiliary departments.”

Over to Florida. On March 27, several hundred copies of *The Gator Standard* were stolen from the main distribution bin at the university in Gainesville. The same thing had happened the week before when Adam Guillette, the *Standard*’s managing editor, was distributing the paper on campus with his co-workers. “A bunch of neo-hippies called us names— ‘Adam’s a fascist, Adam’s a neo-Nazi,’” says Guillette, a libertarian Jew. “They were tearing up our papers, slapping them out of people’s hands.” One *Standard* distribution bin was found across town a couple of weeks later. It appears that the “neo-hippies” took issue with a March 11 story Guillette ran on the university’s Democrat-heavy poli-sci department.

University officials took issue, too. Guillette says that one of his reporters tried to interview a political-science professor about the Middle East. “My comments may be too liberal for *The Gator Standard*,” were the words the professor’s secretary passed along to the reporter. When a second reporter tried to interview another poli-sci professor, she was informed, “I don’t have anything against your paper, but the department told me I am not allowed to talk to anyone from *The Gator Standard*.” Guillette is reluctant to provide names—and for good reason. He explains, “I will say on the record that

members of our staff have said that their political-science professors clearly were not thrilled with our actions, and as a result, some staff members have been forced to hide the fact that they are involved with the paper from their professors."

At the University of Texas, the conservative journal *Contumacy* is stolen with appalling frequency. "Every time we publish we lose 30 percent of our papers," says editor Robert Jung. "We've filed complaints and police reports. We even gave the university leads to people we thought might be involved. Nothing ever came of it. We're losing a lot of money." Jung says that, along with theft, shouting down speech is part of a long-running tradition of censorship at UT.

One striking example of this can be found in *Contumacy's* coverage of an incident involving Justice for All, a pro-life group that had a permit to hold a rally on campus in January, and a professor, Dana Cloud, who showed up with a bullhorn to disrupt the group's speaker. Jung and four other students representing conservative groups on campus immediately went to get help and were told that nothing would be done to stop Prof. Cloud. "We didn't find President Larry Faulkner, but I was able to speak to his deputy, Jim Vick," says Jung. "I spoke with him about our concerns that the free-speech guidelines weren't being enforced and that what the liberal activists were doing was against the rules. He told me 'a policy decision had been made' not to enforce the guidelines."

In the last twenty years, on campuses across the country, there have been hundreds upon hundreds of cases of censorship and harassment of conservative points of view. Stealing newspapers is only one of the many tactics employed by students on the left who believe that the right to free speech is the right to suppress what they view to be the wrong ideas of unreasonable people. Students on the right see things a bit differently. For these conservatives—remarkably cheerful participants in the war of ideas—the right to speech is the right to make their case for any number of things. They will keep doing it—thrift and intimidation and all. **NR**

Plucking on My Mbira

The ultra-relativist world
of ethnomusicology

JASON STEORTS

IMAGINE a college music department and all the familiar images come to mind: practice rooms containing Steinway pianos, orchestras playing Mozart and Beethoven, harmonic analyses of Bach chorales scrawled across chalkboards. What will not come to mind, unless you spend time in such places, is students discussing topics like "Music and Globalization," "Cultural Studies, Feminist Theory, and the 'New Musicology,'" "Performance and Popular Culture in South Africa," or "The Music of Bebo."

Yet discuss these things they do. Welcome to the world of ethnomusicology, sire of the courses named above. Ellen Koskoff, president of the Society for Ethnomusicology and a professor at the Eastman School of Music, defines her field as "a discipline that looks at all musics from all over the world and tries to understand them in their own contexts." And she means "all" literally: Ethnomusicologists study both non-Western music and the West's popular and folk tunes—Chinese opera and Willie Nelson and everything in between.

Interest in such music is not limited to the academy. According to the composer and author Patrick Kavanaugh, it has also infiltrated the worlds of composition and performance. "All I have to do if I want to get a piece of music out there," he says, "is study for about twenty minutes another culture, lift a mantra from some musical society, use it in the piece, be sure to put it in the title—call it the *Gamelan Symphony*—and I'm rich and famous."

That may sound far-fetched. It is

Mr. Steorts is a senior at Harvard University.

not. Philip Glass's official website reports that, at the behest of the city of Melbourne, Australia, the composer has completed a "new work for organ, didgeridoo and narrator with text drawn from Aboriginal myths." Luciano Pavarotti continues to subject himself to the annual embarrassment of his "Pavarotti and Friends" concert, which in past years has found him singing alongside such luminaries as the Spice Girls and Meat Loaf. And who can forget the spectacle of Yo-Yo Ma, at work on his Silk Road Project, jamming with Kalahari bushmen?

But the intellectual support for such projects issues from the academy, where the champions of ethnomusicology are found. While the study of classical music still composes the bulk of music curricula, few music departments lack a sizeable number of "ethno" courses taught by resident specialists. Many universities boast ethnomusic groups—Eastman has student ensembles devoted to the Balinese gamelan and the Zimbabwean mbira—and some schools, such as UCLA and the University of Washington, even offer undergraduate degrees in ethnomusicology.

Much of this effort is praiseworthy, and it would be wrong to deny outright the value of looking beyond the Western classics. Jeffrey Babcock, dean of Boston University's School of Fine Arts, says, "I think there is a good deal to be learned about harmony, about rhythm, about melodic construction, about every part of music from what has happened in indigenous cultures throughout the world." And indigenous music has, at times, influenced Western composers. Debussy became enamored of the gamelan; American folk tunes inspired Dvorak; Puccini used pentatonic melodies in his operas; and contemporary microtonal composers find affinity with the music of northern India.

But ethnomusicology does not limit itself to the reasonable claim that culture influences music; rather, it holds that music cannot be understood as anything but a cultural phenomenon. Koskoff explains: "In order to understand what's important within a specific [musical] system, you have to do

Copyright of National Review is the property of National Review Inc.. The copyright in an individual article may be maintained by the author in certain cases. Content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.