

Carolina Review

September 2015

Welcome to Carolina

Restoring the American Dream (4)

Liberal Hegemony (8)

Diversity, Properly Understood (14)

Dear Readers

Welcome, Freshman, and welcome back to all returning Tar Heels! For those beginning their journey here, welcome to four of the best years of your life- four years of studying with the some of the greatest minds on the planet, four years of befriending the most interesting people you will ever meet, and four years of joining and leading some of the most active clubs in the country, including the best conservative journal in the nation (but maybe we're biased). Welcome to four years that will change the way you view the world, for better and for worse. Welcome to Chapel Hill, our home, our school.

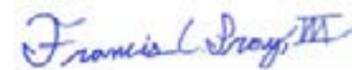
Over the course of your time here, we at the Review hope that you come to love this place as we love it. We hope that you make many memories, continue our Tar Heel traditions, and get involved in the life of our campus. We hope that you make every moment count and leave here prepared for a full and successful life.

We also hope that you prepare yourself to defend your values and ideals from the many liberals here who will seek to convince you that the principles that define you are worth nothing. Your professors will claim to be champions of objectivity, but at every turn, they will attack any view of morality, politics, or society that varies from their own. Your values, and your identity, will be under constant attack from those around you. The liberals on this campus will succeed in forcing you to question why you believe what you do, but fear not.

The doubt they instill in your mind will be crucial in your growth as a conservative here. Because of it, you will be forced to research your beliefs and construct sound arguments to defend them, leaving you as a stronger and better informed conservative than when you first stepped foot on this campus. You will be better off than your liberal classmates who will not have to defend their core beliefs with such ferocity and frequency. With the right information, such as the fantastic articles our writers at the Review churn out monthly, and a whole lot of courage, you will leave this campus armed with the ability to defend your values, no matter the situation.

In this issue, the Staff at the Carolina Review will delve into the liberal bias among our faculty, present conservative tips for succeeding academically, weigh the negative aspects of libertarianism, and speak as to why we know America is the greatest nation on earth. So, without further ado, welcome to Carolina and I hope you enjoy this year's first issue of the Carolina Review.

Lux Libertas,



Frank Pray
Editor-In-Chief

Contents

4 Restoring the Dream
Anonymous Staff Writer

6 The Importance of American Exceptionalism
Richard Wheeler

8 Liberal Hegemony
Alex Montgomery

10 The Un-American Flaws of Libertarianism
David Ortiz

12 Open Letter to a Conservative Freshman
Nathan Cole

14 Diversity, Properly Understood
Alec Dent

15 PC Police on Campus and the Language of "Blaming"
Christopher Arnold

18 Nine Times Conservative Principles Made You a Better Student
Ana Gabriela Delgado

Donations & Subscriptions

To become a subscriber to Carolina Review, give a gift, or change your subscription address, contact us at carolinareview@unc.edu.

Permanent Address

Carolina Review
282 Frank Porter Graham Student Union
UNC-CH Campus Box 5210
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27599-5210

Letters to the Editor

Carolina Review welcomes your comments, criticisms, and suggestions. Letters to the Editor should be submitted via email to fcpr2034@live.unc.edu or mailed to our permanent address. Carolina Review reserves the right to edit letters for length, clarity, and

vulgarity. Please keep letters to the editor below 300 words. Not all letters will be printed. Include your name, year in school, major, and hometown. Professors should include their department.

Join the Staff

Carolina Review always needs new writers, photographers, and layout personnel. Please contact Carolina Review at carolinareview@unc.edu to find out more about our next staff meeting and how you can become a part of the Review. The Review is also looking for advertising salesmen. Contact Jonathan Tugman at jtugman@unc.edu for details.

Cover image credits: The Associated Press

Editor-in-Chief: Francis C. Pray, III / Publisher and Layout Editor: Emily Weeks / Managing Editor: Jackson Valentine / Associate Editors: Alex Montgomery, Alec Dent, Ana Gabriela Delgado / CRDaily Editor: Alex Montgomery / Digital and New Media Editor: Brent Pontillo / Treasurer: Colin Russel / Secretary: Daniel Sifredo / Staff Writers: Timothy Bame, Nathan Cole, Ana Delgado, Hunter Markson, Richard Wheeler, Colin Russel, Grace Timothy, Christina Kresser, Patrick Seelinger, Damian Walker / Editors Emeriti: Charlton Allen, founder; Nathan Byerly, Bill Heeden III, Scott Rubush, James Bailey, Steve Russel, Matt Rubush, Deb McCown, Adam Herring, Fitz E. Barringer, Brian Sopp, Taylor Stanford, Ashley Wall, Bryan Weynand, Nash Keune, Chase McDonough, Kelsey Rupp, David Ortiz

Special thanks to Collegiate Network & Dr. Phyllis Lotchin

LEGAL: Carolina Review is a recognized student group at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and a 501(c)(3), nonprofit, nonpartisan organization. This issue was paid for, at least in part, by student activity fees. All inquiries, letters, and donations should be mailed to 282 Frank Porter Graham Student Union, UNC-CH Campus Box 5210, Chapel Hill North Carolina 27599-5210. Please email carolinareview@unc.edu for more information. First issue is free. All other issues are \$2.50 each.

Copyright 2015 Carolina Review. All rights reserved. Printed in Raleigh, North Carolina by Chamblee Graphics, Inc.

Restoring the Dream

How to Return the Grand Old Party to the Party of Lincoln, Eisenhower, and Reagan



Carolina Review
Staff Member
-anonymous

I was raised a Republican, raised right you might say. Throughout my time in the conservative movement, I have read the great works, Chesterton, Kirk, Goldwater, Lewis, and now Brooks. The ideas presented by these lions of conservatism animate the core of who I am and what I believe.

I believe in the dignity and power of the individual, that every American, regardless of race, creed, color, or sex is capable of great things. I believe in the free enterprise system. I believe in a strong national defense, that peace most effectively is ensured by strength. I believe in promoting our shared tradition, that a successful society must learn from the past to ensure a better future. I believe, as President Reagan so eloquently reminded us, that America is a shining city upon a hill, which must have walls, but that those walls must have gates through which we welcome all who are brave enough to make it here. I believe that the true mark of a great society is how it defends its most vulnerable: the poor, the unborn, the disabled, and the elderly. Finally, I believe in America, and I am not ready to throw in the towel on the greatest experiment in the history of mankind. My party once championed these things, now it is unsure what it believes.

Heading into the 2016 election season, conservatives across the nation were excited about the prospect of our party's brightest emerging onto the national stage to set for a new generation what it meant to be Republican.

We had new lions like Marco Rubio, Ben Carson, Carly Fiorina, and Rand Paul to name a few. They brought with them the ideals of our party in a message that was traditional and fresh, old and new, appealing to older and younger voters alike. It truly seemed as if we were going to have another Reagan moment. Then, Donald Trump emerged.

Using his substantial personal wealth and media savvy, he increased his name recognition by being as outrageous as possible. That strategy worked. While this is good news for Donald Trump, this is terrible news for the party. After gaining this edge, he has gone on to call Mexicans, specifically immigrants, murderers, rapists, and lazy despite the fact that Hispanic culture, in general, places great emphasis on hard work and family values (values we supposedly share).

In a flap of blatant sexism and rudeness, he exclaimed "look at that face" in reference to Carly Fiorina, an accomplished businesswoman. To her credit, Fiorina came out with a campaign ad this week (perhaps the finest I've seen since Reagan's Morning in America) using Trump's own words against him, but her ad alone will not reverse the rise of Trumpism, a new brand of offensive politicking with no real purpose. So, this brings us to one uncomfortable realization.

There is a problem in our party. That problem is not one with our core ideals, but one of our messaging and branding. We have allowed men and

women who do not share in our genuine love for this nation to represent us to the world. Where are those willing to stand and speak to how great this nation is, so great, in fact, that they can understand why millions would leave their homes to come here? Where are those who will simultaneously be tough on crime, but compassionate towards the criminals? Where are those who understand that this shining city on a hill must have walls, but that those walls must have gates through which all people who make the journey here are welcomed? Where are those who will extol the virtues of free markets as being the most effective tool for the alleviation of poverty, but also recognize the need for properly functioning social safety nets? The time when those people were strong enough to speak out was when our party flourished. We

had great leaders like Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, Eisenhower,

the Supreme Allied Commander who saved the free world, and Reagan, the Great Communicator, the man who defeated communism. We can rebuild that party, the Grand Old Party, but it must start with a reframing of our movement and retooling of our messaging.

We can start by taking a look at what Arthur Brooks, the President of the American Enterprise Institute has to say in his new book, The Conservative Heart. He lays out seven lessons to save the movement and the nation. Those steps are: "be a moralist", "fight for people, not against things", "get

happy", "steal all the best arguments", "go where you're not welcome", "say it in thirty seconds", and "break your bad habits".

Brooks contends that, "conservatism at its best is a series of courageous- and, frankly, subversive- moral assertions about what it means to be human." He says that we believe each human being has immense capacity for greatness, "regardless of their circumstances", that "providing pathways to work and holding

people to high moral standards are not acts of condescension, but of brotherly love", and that "the deep principles of justice require far more of us than simply rejiggering the distribution of wealth." Unfortunately, when we go to speak on these deeply moralistic assertions, we use materialistic language while liberals use moralistic language. If we want to win, we must first fix this. Be a moralist.

Next, Brooks admonishes that we must "fight for people, not against things". Every issue is a moral one as we've just established, and we are confident we have the moral high ground. It is leftist policies that are responsible for most human suffering in this nation, and it is our job to show that to the American people. We are fighting to lift people out of poverty and into prosperity, to promote educational opportunity for all people, and to make a government that works, efficiently, for the people, not against Obamacare, against teachers' unions, or against debt. If we want to win, we must set the agenda, fighting for people, not against things.

Third, we must be happy. Think back to Ronald Reagan. You don't ever remember him being legitimately angered do you? No. He was the most joyous man in the room at every occasion, quick with wit and always ready for a laugh. He won his reelection cam-

paign by turning an attack from Walter Mondale about his age into a joke. If we want to win again, we cannot be seen as angry. We must be cheerful warriors for a better America. We must get happy.

Fourth, we must steal all the best arguments. Why do Democrats win? It's simple, they take bad policies, and argue for them using language and ar-

Conservatism at its best is a series of courageous- and, frankly, subversive- moral assertions about what it means to be human.

guments that Americans like. They use words like compassion,

empathy, social justice, and fair. Well, what's very fair about a welfare program that shoves money at someone for 40 years but never actually teaches her any skills to help her out of poverty? Nothing, yet the Democrats win on it anyway. As conservatives, we must steal these arguments to show that our side, the one with the right policies that actually do something to help someone prosper, are the socially just, compassionate, and fair ones. We must steal all the best arguments.

Fifth, we must recognize Brooks' insight that, "people who need converting are not converted when we don't leave the house." We must remove ourselves from the comfort zones of our College Republicans clubs and friend groups and take our message to places that are most hostile to it. Brooks uses this analogy: When a technology company launches a new product, it is not responding to existing demand in the marketplace. It is creating demand by challenging people to think differently. We must do the same in politics. Find the free thinkers, the people who consider themselves independent, and ask them a few questions about whether America is better off now than in 2008. Speak up in your liberal college class, that's where our message is most needed.

Sixth, we must learn to make our arguments short and to the point. Sci-

ence shows that we form a judgment about a topic or person in the first thirty seconds of meeting them. That is how long we have to convey our message in a happy, moral way. In his book, Brooks points to a story of Paul Begala, a Democratic strategist trying to help Harris Wofford get elected. When asked to sum up his health care reform plan, Wofford complained that it was too complex for a soundbite. So, "Begala pulled out a Bible, turned to John 3:16, and asked Wofford to read it aloud." He read: For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whoever believes in Him shall not perish but have eternal life. The Bible verse is only 8 seconds long. Begala told Wofford, "If God can explain Christianity in eight seconds, you can explain your health-care plan." We must become masters of sound bites. While our policies may have complex parts, we must learn to say it in thirty seconds or less.

Finally, we must break our bad habits. Most of these revolve around communicating in ineffective ways, contrary to the ones Brooks laid out above. Every time we catch ourselves talking about our ideals in an old way, stop, and substitute it with one of the new strategies laid out here. Once you do this a few hundred times (which if you go to a liberal college will happen rather quickly), it will be the new habit and you won't even have to consciously think about it anymore.

If we listen to these seven simple lessons, we can begin to repair the harm done to our movement by men like Trump. We must be, in all situations, ambassadors for conservatism. We must be cheerful warriors for the Republican Party. We can once again return our party to the party that was founded to free slaves, to pass Civil Rights Legislation, and to defeat communism. We can once again promote an America where every individual has the freedom and opportunity to pursue their version of happiness. Please, take these lessons to heart. Please, fight for Americans with me.

The Importance of American Exceptionalism



RICHARD WHEELER
Sophomore
Political Science
Charlotte, NC
richwhee@live.unc.edu

A belief based on the idea of a “city upon a hill,” American exceptionalism is the idea that the United States possesses distinct characteristics that set it apart from every other country that exists currently or that has existed in the past. It holds, in general terms, that America was founded by a deliberate act – an act that established an ideological blueprint for a country in which freedoms are jealously protected, social mobility is a close reality, and multiculturalism in the populous is bound together, not through a common history, but rather through an ideological commitment to certain values. In reference to this ideological cement that holds the American people together, political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset noted, “the nation’s ideology can be described in five words: liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire” (American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword, 1996), the point being that belief in these values, not the fact of having been born within the

United States’ geographical borders, is what draws people together as Americans.

It is precisely these values that give our country the ability to be exceptional; it is these values that set in place the framework for the advancement of human and civil rights at home and abroad. These values have allowed the United States to rise to its current position as a world super power with the most innovative economy and strongest army in the world. However, the deterioration of these values, as well as the idea that it is shameful to be American is prevalent in everyday liberal discourse within our political landscape. Of course, the United States has had its flaws: The deep crimson stain of slavery and the Civil War will never fully fade away, and controversial motives of several wars following WWII have led some to question the United States’ position as a benevolent and democratic world leader. However, the truth is that when one looks into America’s juggernaut economy, fierce military power, and empowering foreign investment, one finds that there is still only one country on Earth that can claim the title

of the greatest: The United States.

In terms of economics, America remains the largest world economy. In the midst of economic turmoil worldwide, and while the euro and pound are losing value, the dollar is gaining strength. As analyst Michael Santoli notes in his article, “Battle of 2015: U.S. economy vs. the world,” “Nearly alone among major nations, the U.S. – which makes up more than 20% of the \$75 trillion global economy – appears to be accelerating.” The dollar is in high demand worldwide as a reserve currency because other nations realize its stability and importance in the global economy. In the domestic arena, businesses added an unexpected 295,000 jobs in February 2015, bringing the unemployment rate down to 5.5 percent. Even in a faltering global economy, the United States proves once again that it has in place the necessary institutions and laissez-faire policies to allow it bounce back from economic downturn.

The American hegemony after World War II led to peaceful conditions and the opportunity for the re-

building of Europe through the Marshall Plan. America’s military power and economic capability allowed for the investment of 13 billion dollars (~160 billion 2015 dollars) in European countries which led to astonishing post-WWII, GDP per-capita growth rates of 6-7 percent. Through solitary military strength, the United States was also able to lead the world in the establishment of multinational peacekeeping institutions, most notably the United Nations. United States-led hegemony is a stable and desirable distribution of power. Nearly 70 years have passed since the end of WWII, and The United States remains the quantifiable world superpower in military strength. This condition sets America apart from other nations and it gives our people the confidence to get up every day and go to work knowing that they are living in the strongest military power on earth.

In addition to its vibrant economy and formidable military, The United States is the

world leader in foreign aid. According to a 2013 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report, The United States is the leading donor of foreign aid at 31.55 billion dollars. That is 13.67 billion more than the second-place nation, the UK, at 17.88 billion. American foreign aid goes to causes such as securing basic human needs for third world countries, promoting democracy in unstable nation-states, and providing money to allies fighting terrorism abroad.

The Puritans who landed on our shores in 1630 sought to create a “city upon a hill,” a nation that others would look to because it was different and exceptional. In his 1840 work Democracy in America, Alexis de Tocqueville pronounced, “The position of the Americans is therefore quite exceptional, and it may be believed that no other democratic people will ever be placed in a similar one.” President Ronald Reagan proclaimed in his 1974 speech, “A Shining City Upon

a Hill,” “You can call it mysticism if you want to, but I have always believed that there was some divine plan that placed this great continent between two oceans to be sought out by those who were possessed of an abiding love of freedom and a special kind of courage.” In closing he remarked, “We are indeed, and we are today, the last best hope of man on Earth.”

In short, the belief in American exceptionalism is essential for the continuance of this nation. The United States has the capability to lead the world in the right direction, but it cannot achieve this goal through perpetual self-criticism and shame. We have our faults, as does any nation, but we are also the greatest force for good that the world has ever seen. Let us hang to the truth that we are indeed exceptional, and let us be propelled to new greatness by this belief.



Liberal Hegemony

The Overwhelming Blueness of Professors on Campus



ALEX
MONTGOMERY
Junior
English and Political Science
Asheville, NC
asmontgo@live.unc.edu

In his famous defense of liberal-arts education, *The Idea of a University*, John Henry Cardinal Newman enumerates the importance of training individuals in literature, in philosophy, and in any abstractive subject for which it is claimed that there is no “practical” benefit in light of the industrial needs of society. In order for citizens to be truly free, Newman argues, they must have intellectually diverse and studious backgrounds so that they may be in any sense self-dependent when embarking upon adulthood. Accordingly, when it comes to the utility of any thorough education – any education that surpasses the dull and insufficient conditions of mere job-training – the idea is that the liberal arts cultivate thoughtful beings who are able to think critically about pressing issues – who are not confined by the limitations of the past, and who stand a

chance of bringing into fruition the sorts of activities, creations, and institutions that build and improve civilization in broad terms.

To the many conservatives who might shake their heads vigorously at such a notion, it would do well to remember the sizable emphasis placed by the Founders, themselves, on the development of quality education in American society. Thomas Jefferson, particularly, thought it absolutely paramount to use the lens of education to reengage the fresh and excited members of each new generation with the virtues of liberty, especially

The purpose of the university is not to churn out emotionless, unaware, and conveniently malleable automatons who are useful in satisfying the demands of the state; the purpose is to empower individuals with the necessary intellectualism to preserve their rights and to keep government in check.

considering the difficulty of regaining individual rights once they have been lost to the Leviathan. But in a larger sense, the point remains as critical to our understanding of education today as it did to enlightenment think-

ers of the late eighteenth-century: The purpose of the university is not to churn out emotionless, unaware, and conveniently malleable automatons who are useful in satisfying the demands of the state; the purpose is to empower individuals with the necessary intellectualism to preserve their rights and to keep government in check.

The blatant question, however, remains: How in the world is this possible if the higher-educational institutions we most prize are also those that most saturate themselves with profound and pernicious bias?

Leftism on campus is pervasive – not simply as a credible option, but as the single outlet for political discourse and activism on campus, such that if you do not bow to its adherents’ wishes, you are likely to find yourself alienated within classes and organizations that make it a point to overwhelm conservative thought. These so-called purveyors of tolerance are excellent in their strangling of dissent, making it a point to effectively assemble and to challenge the lone, right-leaning voice with which they have been presented: From sarcastic professors to pushy students, the

dominant theme is an intellectual homogeneity so stark that it is difficult to find friends who hold similar pre-suppositions as yours.

Indeed, the overwhelming progressive presence is palpable on campuses all over the country, and it is for this reason that we are all behooved to mourn the prevailing absence of diversity in our educational institutions – the inability to have a balanced approach, or to resist from pressuring self-respecting students into a particular political orientation. Under the current system, it is impossible to realize Jefferson’s idealistic model.

But enough with the rhetoric. In order to see whether or not this liberal hegemony has become engrained at UNC-Chapel Hill, I explored the political affiliations of full-tenured, assistant, and associate professors (as indicated on department websites) from each of ten academic departments: African Studies, American Studies, Economics, English, Geography, History, Philosophy, Religious Studies, Sociology, and Women’s Studies. By looking up each professor’s party-registration information in the NC Voter Registrar, one encounter, I discovered, a rather telling picture of the political culture within academia.

Out of the 249 professors included, I was unable to derive specific information for about a third – or, more precisely, 81 – of them, due most likely to their not having registered to vote in North Carolina or to the fact that there wasn’t enough information to isolate their specific registrations in the expansive log. Out of the other 168, though, an astonishing 71 percent (120) were

registered as Democrats, while only 2 percent – yes, only 4 individuals! – were registered as Republicans; 26 percent (43) were listed in the unaffiliated category, and, to round out

Out of the other 168 [professors], though, an astonishing 71 percent (120) were registered as Democrats, while only 2 percent – yes, only 4 individuals! – were registered as Republicans.

the political spectrum, 1 person was registered as a Libertarian.

Still, the numbers grow increasingly bleak: Out of that 26 percent that were unaffiliated, 53 percent had voted exclusively in Democratic primaries, while only 2 percent had voted exclusively in Republican primaries; 7 percent had voted both in Democratic and Republican primaries, 2 percent had voted exclusively in Libertarian primaries, and 35 percent had not voted in any primary attached specifically to a political party. In basic terms, this means that while 29 percent of the original 168 identifiable professor affiliations were not expressly Democratic, about half of them were associated with the Democratic party by virtue of those individuals having had voted consistently in Democratic primaries – indicating, too, a clear liberal bias even amongst those professors who are not registered as Democrats.

Of course, these numbers are not meant to suggest that the university is deliberately excluding Republicans or conservatives in the hiring process – nor are they meant to confirm in some vague sense that all of the professors registered as Democrats are actively sabotaging conservatism in their

classrooms. They are meant, rather, to indicate that there are institutional biases lodged within academia – political biases that may lead to a tendency to fail in providing a balanced approach to UNC-Chapel Hill’s prevailing intellectual culture. As such, it may be difficult not only for conservative students to find professors with whom they can identify completely, but also for liberal students to have access to well-rounded philosophies: If they are not feeling significant pressure from both sides of the

political aisle during their education, how can they claim to have any sort of intellectual diversity in their back pockets? How can they appropriately serve the functions of a liberal-arts education, discussed by John Henry Cardinal Newman in *The Idea of a University*?

The simple answer is that it will be difficult for them to do so, having been deprived in many ways of viewpoints that are popular among many educated, political elites. However pernicious, the real tragedy of the situation lies in the extent to which such an academic mindset fails to live up to its own standards of tolerance and diversity – flouting Jefferson’s maxim as it elevates progressivism with familiarity, and casts aside with impunity the precious traditions which underlie an American nation. Indeed, we all ought to ponder the dim realization that most of today’s youth attend college as a way of confirming their rigid political assumptions instead of as an opportunity to steep themselves in “the best which has been thought and said.”

The Un-American Flaws of Libertarianism



DAVID ORTIZ
Editor Emeritus
Classics and English
 Rockville, MD
 dortiz@live.unc.edu

One often hears of the rise of libertarianism in American politics: that Libertarian candidates purportedly will capture the millennial vote, or that they will garner support among both Left and Right. Indeed, increasingly, libertarianism seems to combine popular elements of both liberal and conservative platforms: Let's cut the budget, legalize weed, let live and let loose. The mantra is minimal government, maximum liberty. And, for young conservatives in particular, the allure of libertarianism is strong – for being fiscally conservative and socially liberal is popular these days, and we all love to be popular.

I wish to point out as problematic the flawed understanding libertarians have of their goal: namely, radical political liberty. Not only is that

goal itself problematic, but, furthermore, the libertarian commitment to such liberty is – in my view – deeply un-American. As we will see, such autonomy is not the quality seen as foundational by our Founders. Taken to extremes, libertarian liberty will actually erode what our Founders saw as central to American political life.

Libertarians such as

It is not the protection of individual autonomy within the private sphere that is the great end of the United States, but the protection of individual (and therefore communal) virtue.

Robert Nozick argue for the reduction of the state's role to a minimum. Federal and state governments would only carry out functions that aimed at the protection of individual liberty, such as national defense. Within the sphere of "private morality," each individual would be autonomous – empowered to select their own moral beliefs and practices, aided only by communal institutions such as churches. Importantly, the government – and

the legal system – would be morally neutral so far as possible, for the sake of maximizing individual autonomy.

Yet, as *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) pointed out, the American government is emphatically a government of laws, in which laws are the highest authority. Nor, furthermore, did the Founders conceptualize the end of the American polity as liberty simplistically understood. Rather, as the authors of *The Federalist Papers* argued, virtue is both the foundation and the end of our political system, which encompasses the laws that dominate government. It is not the protection of individual autonomy within the private sphere that is the great end of the United States, but the protection of individual (and therefore communal) virtue.

Before proceeding further, however, we must examine a counter-argument. Libertarians could accept the previous paragraph, but argue that, since lib-

erty is necessary to virtue, the latter best flourishes within an atmosphere of liberty. And indeed they would be correct. As Madison wrote, liberty is to virtue like air to fire. Why, then, is the libertarian argument for minimal government damaging to virtue?

For the answer to this question, I would direct the reader's attention to Aristotle's *Ethics*. There Aristotle argues that laws must prescribe "the nurture and practices" of the young, in addition to the instruction of parents and other social institutions. Neither parents nor other individuals have the same power that law has to compel, since law is reason that "derives from a sort of practical wisdom" (all translations are by C.D.C. Reeve, 2014). The instructions of parents lack the requisite force to compel human nature towards virtue. Without laws serving such a function, individuals live "Cyclops-fashion, laying down the law for children and wife" – which is the definition of autonomy, or "self-rule."

Consider the example of legal prostitution to see the impact of Aristotle's argument. Despite the influence of various religious communities, legal prostitution flourished for thousands of years. In

It is not liberty alone nor liberty unbounded that makes virtue prosperous.

America, prostitution thrived despite widespread social disapproval, even well into the 20th century. In places such as Nevada where it remains legal, it is alive and well, even though it has documented negative social effects. The inescapable conclusion is that, given human nature, if certain negative practices such as prostitution are legal, they will not be stamped out by social institutions and family mores. It would be ideal if they were; but, demonstrably, they are not.

The criminalization of prostitution, however, forced the industry into the underground. Although it continues to run a brisk business, no doubt, it no longer has the widespread vitality it once did (consider medieval Europe, with a brothel in every town). This effect proceeds from the connection between laws and customs: what we choose to make legal or not, in the public consciousness, tends to become habitual or not. And habit, as Aristotle teaches, is as crucial to virtue as liberty.

Although compelling virtue at gunpoint is not fully the practice of virtue, often we do require force, of varying degrees and kinds,

to overcome problematic human nature. Libertarians who would deny this fact in the name of minimal government ignore large problems in the fostering of the virtue that our Founders saw as critical to the survival of America. It is not liberty alone nor liberty unbounded that makes virtue prosperous. There are considerable limits upon individual freedoms, and those limits ought to be reflected within law – since law alone has the necessary force to actualize those limits.

There are several other problems for libertarianism. How far does a practice's effects have to be removed in order not to harm another (consider pornography)? How do we unify a country of some 350 million incredibly diverse individuals? I have chosen to focus in this article on the problematic relationship between law, liberty, and virtue because it reveals the deeply un-American nature of libertarian thought. As Madison knew well, virtue, not liberty, was the source and summit of the American polis.

Open Letter to a Conservative Freshman

Advice from a Conservative Senior



NATHAN COLE
Senior
History
Wake Forest, NC
nrcole@live.unc.edu

I remember my freshman year here at Carolina. I was fresh out of my strongly conservative household, and ready to take on the last liberal bastion of the South. I'm sure all of my conservative freshmen feel the same way. It's you against the world here in your history classes, where Ho Chi Minh is referred to as "Uncle Ho," and Mao Zedong is the "liberator of China," – at least that's how my first history class went.

I thought I was going to be able to voice my opinion and I

would be fine. It's free speech, right? The professors and TAs will be respectful in my classes, right? Wrong.

I'm sure you've heard of the freshman that wrote the piece on orientation this past summer. From my experience, that was a perfect description of my orientation. Even among the discussion groups that mostly

"You may think that you need to make a big splash on campus as the outspoken champion of free enterprise and conservative values. Please don't."

included students, it was hard for me to say anything without my opinion being discredited simply because I was a straight white

conservative male. For example, my group was having a discussion on racism and white privilege, and I made the point that certain systems that are geared towards minorities begin to set a precedent of judgment based on skin color rather than the content of their character. Another freshman immediately jumped in and said something along the lines of, "Well you're white and male and white is the race in power, and males oppress non-males, so you need to check your privilege." I guess some things never change.

As a conservative, you will also find that while professors here at Carolina can be generally reasonable about opposing viewpoint,

many TAs seem to have a hard time entertaining ideas that don't conform to their views. My first history class was on the revolutions in East Asia and Cuba during the late 1900s, and I made the mistake of challenging the TA on Che Guevara – not a very smart move on my part. Even though I knew more than he did about Guevara – he never even offered an argument to counter what I was saying – he just dismissed me with, "Well I don't know how reliable that is" and proceeded to ignore whatever I said for the rest of the recitation.

Just as I thought, you may think that you need to make a big splash on campus as an outspoken champion of free enterprise and conservative values. Please don't be THAT freshman who calls out the professor in his or her history class. No one likes a show-off, whether it's the kid in POLI 100 asking questions after everything the professor says, or if it's you, the annoying conservative freshman challenging everything the former Berkeley professor says about Reagan. For the sake of all of us conservatives at Chapel Hill, don't be that guy...

Please. You'll make a bigger impact speaking

"Stand firm behind what you believe to be true, and don't let anyone talk down to you because you hold a minority viewpoint."

out when it truly matters.

This isn't to say you shouldn't be vocal about your beliefs. Stand firm behind what you believe to be true, and don't let anyone talk down to you because you hold a minority viewpoint. Just don't go out of your way to be obnoxious or disruptive about why Hillary should be thrown in jail, or why Obamacare was bound to fail from the beginning. That's for the protestors in Baltimore and Ferguson, not you.

Take the Ted Cruz approach. Listen to the other ideas. Let other people speak their minds if they want to. You don't have to agree with or concede to them, but listen to them and respond to them with respectful arguments. Neither side benefits from shouting back and forth until everyone is left with bad feelings and ill will. However, both sides benefit from a calm and respectful exchange of ideas,

in which no one uses the terms "ignorant" or a "racist" or a "communist." I can't tell you how many times I've gotten into discussions with people that have all but devolved into shouting matches about who hates America or who hates minorities more.

These next few years at Carolina are going to be hard on your conservative values. You are going to be challenged every time you open your mouth in order to defend conservatism. You will be shouted down and called a host of names just because you don't conform to the left-leaning views of the campus, and that's okay. Use this time at Carolina to strengthen your conservative views and hone them against arguments you may not have heard before. But above all, don't let this campus ideology intimidate you. Just because someone is louder than you, or is more comfortable speaking in front of people, or has more letters after their names than you do, doesn't mean that they're always right. Hold on to what you believe during these next four years, and you'll be a stronger and better person come graduation.

Diversity, Properly Understood



ALEC DENT
Sophomore
Journalism
Lumberton, NC
alecdent@gmail.com

Welcome (back) to the University of North Carolina! College is an exciting period, but it can also be an uncomfortable time if you're a conservative. Universities are overwhelmingly liberal, from the faculty to the student body itself. Studies have shown that the average college student becomes more left-wing in their political views over the course of their college career. University attendees routinely showed a higher level of support for gay marriage, abortion, and other leftist stances. UNC is no different from other institutes of higher learning, with an almost palpable air of leftism on campus.

If you take a look at everything going on at Carolina, it's really no surprise students become more liberal. William F. Buckley hit the nail on the head when he stated "Liberals claim to want to give a hearing to other views, but are then shocked and offended to discover that there are other views." While spouting words like "diversity," "open mindedness," and "acceptance," UNC makes it clear certain views are unacceptable.

This indoctrination starts early, as Carolina students are told to adopt supposedly progressive views at orientation, or (as I discovered) risk being ostracized. Once you actually start classes, it only gets worse. According to North Carolina College Finder, the faculty at UNC are overwhelmingly liberal, with a rating of "very unbalanced" in terms of registered Democrats versus registered Republicans on staff (see the article by Alex Montgomery in this issue entitled Liberal Hegemony). The rating means that Democrats outnumber Repub-

licans by a ratio of 5:1 or greater. This disproportionate ratio has also leaked into the classroom—professors, naturally, find it difficult to separate their personal opinions from their courses. Though Chapel Hill offers a wide variety of classes in all departments, unfortunately many of these courses have a very left-wing bent. "Literature of 9/11" is one such course, a first year seminar with a reading list that exclusively shows the point of view of terrorists, seemingly to sympathize with militant extremists. Another first year seminar titled "Justice and Inequality", places the Occupy Wall Street and LGBT movements on the same level of importance as the civil rights and feminist movements, with the course description saying they were all important and influential in creating equality.

But it's not just in the classroom—UNC hosts a number of left-wing clubs as well. Ranging from Young Democrats, to various feminist organizations, to an LGBT club specifically for dental students, it all comes together to create a hostile environment for conservatives and non-leftist beliefs.

In a place as vocally liberal as Chapel Hill, there is an immense pressure to conform, and sadly many who enter college as conservatives do. Many students feel alone in their beliefs as it seems everyone around them doesn't just disagree with them, but actively mocks and degrades their beliefs, calling them old-fashioned, bigoted, or just dumb (The Daily Tar Heel, not particularly known for being friendly to conservatives in the first place, recently published a comment "having College Repub-

licans on campus is basically having a club dedicated to defunding itself").

Fortunately, as a conservative on campus you are not actually alone. Conservatism on campus is very much alive (much to the chagrin and annoyance of many), and various groups provide an opportunity to keep strong in your conservative beliefs, and an outlet to help show others the light. Conservative clubs act as life preservers in a sea of liberalism. You can join the UNC College Republicans or the UNC

Conservative clubs act as life preservers in a sea of liberalism.

Young Americans for Liberty (the libertarian with a small 'l' group), or get involved in clubs that focus on specific conservative causes, like the pro-life club, Carolina Students for Life, the pro-Israel club, Christians United for Israel, and the pro-marriage club, Carolina Love and Fidelity. Being around likeminded individuals, who agree with and support your political beliefs, reassures and strengthens your own belief foundation, and can help prepare you for the inevitable: defending the conservative side of controversial issues in the face of staunch liberals.

In order to perpetuate conservatism on campus we must reach out to our peers. So, I would encourage you to join a club and be active with your involvement. Be the lone voice of dissent in classroom conversations. Encourage debate and critical thinking. Explain your beliefs to others on campus, and help UNC actually reach its call for diversity. Help keep conservatism alive at UNC!

PC-Police on Campus and the Language of "Blaming"



CHRISTOPHER ARNOLD
Grad Student
History
Braunfels, Germany
charnold@live.unc.edu

If you have been paying any sort of attention to the current events that take place across our nation, you have likely heard or read about the attempt of the student council at the University of California at Irvine to ban the American flag from their campus. The flag – and other flags – they argued, "construct paradigms of conformity." The worst of all flag offenders, our beloved Star-Spangled Banner, is accused of potentially acting as a "trigger" for students, allegedly representing "nationalism" and "colonial oppression," which are antithetical to the "inclusive" environment student council members prioritized. They did not comment on whether they also found American money offensive and intended to ban the use of American dollars from the UC-Irvine campus in order to resort to a bartering economy.

What makes this motion even more mind-boggling is the fact that it garnered over 1,200 signatures, including those of 60 pro-

fessors.

This motion, though it was later vetoed and declared illegitimate, is an indication of a growing culture of hypersensitivity and a growing mentality that encourages people to make unfounded assumptions and unreasonable inferences. One might tie it to academia's sacred ideology of poststructuralism, which dictates that nothing has any inherent meaning, but that we give things subjective, unhinged, and fluid meaning. Using that logic, it might be perfectly plausible to argue that people can legitimately assume that the flag symbolizes some form of oppression or xenophobia.

What this decision to remove the flag functionally comes down to, however, is a rising obsession with political correctness. Students felt justified in removing the American flag because some people might interpret it as symbolizing something that they find discomforting, and people are increasingly interpreting this discomfort as grounds for the removal of the source of that discomfort from public space. If something has the

potential to make anyone uncomfortable, therefore, these people believe that it is fair to remove (or silence) it. Indeed, one can only imagine the possibilities, considering that what a human might arbitrarily interpret as "discomforting" or "offensive" is limited only by the imagination.

In general, college campuses increasingly are becoming preoccupied with stifling the exchange of ideas by limiting expression, silencing potentially "offensive" voices, and removing allegedly discomforting symbols and names from the public view. The Foundation for Individual Rights Inside Education has also noticed this growing trend. They conducted a study counting the number of "disinvitations" of commencement speakers across American universities from 2000 to 2014, finding a steady rise in disinvitation incidents (successful and unsuccessful attempts to disinvite the speaker). From 2000 to 2002, there were 8 incidents; 2006-2008 witnessed 15 incidents. 2012-2014, meanwhile, saw a whopping 26 incidents (though complete data for 2014 was not yet available). Corresponding to the anti-conservative campus environment,

perceived conservative speakers are also far more likely to either face formal disinvitation or face an organized attempt to prevent them from speaking at a commencement ceremony than are speakers who are recognized as liberal (133 conservatives faced opposition, 45 liberals endured the same). Four of these incidents occurred here at UNC-Chapel Hill, which is tied for fourth place in the nation.

Most of the disinvitation incidents occurred because speakers were perceived to hold certain views that were deemed “offensive,” disqualifying them from public discourse. These “offensive” views revolved around such issues as immigration, Israel, the War on Terror, abortion, Islam, and civil liberties. Most sensible people would agree that there are different perspectives on each of these issues that deserve consideration in the marketplace of ideas. But to the PC-police on campus who want to shield college students from contrarian opinions and, more often than not, erect an insulated bubble of liberal uniformity around them, certain views on these ideas are, frankly, intolerable. It is bullying at its best – a form of ideological repression that should shame any respectable educational institution whose lofty “mottos” ironically include “light and liberty,” “let there be light,” and “the wind of freedom blows.” These are

mottos espousing principles of liberty and enlightenment; their universities are falling woefully short of their ostensible goals.

In an article asking whether American students are lazy by international comparison, an editor of *Inside Higher Ed*, Scott Jaschik, recalls a former professor writing him: “...the biggest difference I notice with domestic and international students was the ability to handle criticism. Domestic students tended to be very defensive when pointing out what can be improved.” This inability of many (younger) Americans to handle blunt, honest criticism retards our intellectual and personal development. After all, occasional failure is the key to success and one can hardly overstate the importance of learning from one’s mistakes. But if we cannot handle even being made aware of these mistakes in the first place, and if professors begin to increasingly accommodate this sensitivity to sugarcoat a student’s failures in euphemistic terms, the question remains: Are we really learning from our failures?

It is not unreasonable to conclude that this is merely another symptom of our growing culture of hypersensitivity, spurred by the proliferation of political correctness and the belief that we somehow have a “right” not to be made uncomfortable. It is also related to another worrisome ten-

dency in our society: the tendency to infer meaning in words that is entirely disconnected from the intended meaning someone was trying to convey. In layman’s terms, it generally amounts to “missing the point.” Unfortunately, this tendency to “miss the point” and to infer one’s own meaning instead of accurately interpreting the speaker’s intention is a mental model flourishing at our educational institutions.

But nothing, perhaps, better symbolizes this tendency to “miss the point,” to infer one’s own meaning, thereby misinterpreting someone’s message, than does the “language of blaming.” Let’s talk sexual assault, for example. Recently, a piece in *The Daily Tar Heel* made the astonishing argument that advocating for concealed-carry on campus – particularly for women – so that they could physically protect themselves from potential predators – “would only further place the blame for sexual assault on victims.” Identical accusations are lobbed against the idea of encouraging women to take self-defense training courses, because apparently encouraging women to defend themselves is comparable to “blaming” them for being sexually assaulted. Similarly, when one encourages women to be vigilant, to make wise choices, and to try to avoid situations in which they might be vulnerable to despicable people who could try to sexually take advantage of them, one is

accused of “victim-blaming.”

Illogical, oversimplified arguments like this clearly miss the point. They rob an issue like sexual assault of its multi-causal complexity and actively and shamefully end up discouraging common-sense solutions that would serve to protect women (and men) from harm. All crimes are multi-causal acts that are rooted in our fallible human nature and a host of other factors. Promoting a variety of sensible ways to combat sexual assault has nothing to do with victim-blaming; it has everything to do with compassion and common sense.

This “victim-blaming” campus mentality is reinforced by the media, which is guilty of similar nonsense on a daily basis. Some months ago, for example, renowned pediatric neurosurgeon Ben Carson commented on a string of recent police shootings, arguing that one might relate these to a culture of crime that has grown out of a complete breakdown of the traditional family unit among lower socioeconomic classes. The correlation between originating from a broken home and eventually getting involved in crime is overwhelming, and numerous studies have established the causal link between these two. Carson posited that growing up without a father – as he did – can produce a lack of respect for authority, which is a reasonable and, indeed, evidenced claim. Carson accurately placed

the origin of this breakdown of the family unit, meanwhile, in the 1960s, with the rise of the radical feminist movement.

As a result, the media – led by the epitome of honest journalism, the *Huffington Post* – promptly accused Carson of simply “blaming feminism for police shootings.” At its core, such a silly generalizing statement exhibits little beyond a lack of discernment and a disingenuous attempt at journalism. Carson spoke to a causal relationship between young boys growing up without fathers (as a result of the breakdown of marriage as a sacred institution and the massive increase in out-of-wedlock births) and the likelihood of them eventually turning to a life of crime. He was making an observation that is supported by a vast array of social-scientific evidence. And yet all the *Huffington Post*, among others, is capable of deducing from his statements is that he somehow “blames the feminist movement.” In other words, instead of evaluating his intended message for its validity, they missed the point, misinterpreted his message, and mocked him in the process because they took offense at his comment about a harmful side-effect of the 1960s feminist movement. It was a perfect example of how the “language of blaming” is used to oversimplify and misconstrue important issues: Until we can put aside the ignorant analytical lens of “blaming,” we are not going to

be able to have productive conversations about controversial subjects.

In short, we do not have a right to not be offended. We also do not have a right to never be made uncomfortable. These developments are damning for our society as a whole, but particularly for any respectable university’s mission to its students. We learn best when we are challenged in our beliefs. We learn most effectively – about our world, our communities, and about ourselves – when we are confronted with ideas that either outright clash with or at least do not entirely overlap with our own. Unless American universities realize this basic, elementary pedagogical fact and acknowledge that the hypersensitivity that runs rampant in our culture is a serious problem, we will continue to silence speech, to remove the most remotely controversial topics from public spaces, and to encourage ideological uniformity. Universities, meanwhile, will continue to churn out ideologically narrow graduates who cannot grasp the sublime value of freedom of speech, conscience, and belief. From then, it is only a matter of time until our individual liberties are forgotten, America is fundamentally transformed, and our legacy of free speech, the single most important founding principle of our nation, becomes a relic of the distant past.

Nine Times Conservative Principles Made You A Better Student



ANA GABRIELA DELGADO
Sophomore
Mathematics and Political Science
Waxham, NC
agdb@live.unc.edu

Welcome back to campus, classes of 2018, 2017, and 2016! And a warm welcome to all the new first-years and transfers. We are all happy to have you join the Tar Heel family. The Carolina Review hopes you have had a great first week and taken advantage of all that this wonderful campus has to offer. But the end of syllabus week certainly means the commencement of late nights at the UL and energy drinks. As you strive for that 4.0 this fall (hope you all drank from the Old Well on FDOC), keep in mind a few conservative habits that will help you succeed...

1. When you planned a study schedule: Conservatives always put a strong emphasis on personal responsibility. Think of the Republican stance on fiscal responsibility and compare balancing the budget to balancing time spent per course.
2. When you did research outside of what was assigned: Taking a personal initiative outside of the classroom to further your learning compares to allowing states to make decisions on their own. A single institution, neither a single professor nor the federal government, can take on that big of a challenge, and if they do, someone is certainly missing out.
3. When you stimulated others' thoughts (and others stimulated your own): Conservatives are a minority at our liberal arts institution. Yes, Carolina, we still love you... especially when we get to share our ideas with fellow Tar Heels. Historically, conservatives have a higher voter turnout rate than liberals because of greater political involvement. Us UNC College Republicans carry that into the classroom: we are proud of our beliefs, we have done our research, and we are eager to share!
4. When you chanted, "Go Heels, Go America:" Nothing says patriotism like apple pie, Ronald Reagan, and a Tar Heel victory.
5. When you taught yourself material you didn't understand in class: Republicans are huge believers in the empowerment of individuals to solve problems. Stances against government assisted programs and encouragement of job creation and small business growth prove that.
6. When you asked for help after you didn't understand a topic: Choosing to be well informed is crucial in any political sense, and conservatives do it best!
7. When you and your best friends encouraged each others at the UL or at Davis during finals week, thus resulting in all of you getting A's: Free market economies are more efficient than any other economies in fulfilling public demand. Studying in groups works similarly. When you are all focused on figuring out the simplest way to calculate a vector's force, the best idea comes out on top- and benefits all!
8. When you didn't give someone the answers even though it made you feel bad because you knew that they would benefit in the long-run: It's hard to be anti-government assistance for things like welfare, but at the end of the day, conservatives do it because, "give a man a fish and you feed him for a day, teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime."
9. When you studied for countless hours and missed entire nights of sleep to make the Dean's list: conservatives are known for their hard work and persistence.

THE COLLEGIATE NETWORK
THE HOME OF INDEPENDENT COLLEGE JOURNALISM SINCE 1979

THINK · WRITE · INSPIRE

The Collegiate Network supports independent student publications on college campuses nationwide with financial assistance and journalism training. Our members seek to promote liberty on campus with in-depth reporting and thoughtful commentary on the ideas that sustain a free society.

Make your voice heard by joining the staff of a CN publication! Receive FREE benefits such as:

- Professional journalism training
- Trips to all-expenses-paid journalism conferences
- Academic resources such as books and journals
- Support for campus events, lectures, debates, and seminars
- Paid internships at major media outlets

ISI **CN** | The CN is a program of ISI (www.isi.org). For more information, contact us at 302-652-4600 or cn@isi.org, and visit us online at: www.collegiatenetwork.org.

The
**CAROLINA
REVIEW**
Online Blog

Visit
crdaily.com

**CAROLINA
REVIEW ONLINE**

carolinareview.org
crdaily.com

Daily News and
Commentary,
Discussion Forum,
Blog Posts



MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups.

Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world—contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.

We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.

We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.

We believe the University is an important battleground in the “war of ideas” and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.

We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.

We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.