

January / February 2003

PRINCETON TORY

SHIRLEY

STRIKES OUT!



A CONSERVATIVE'S CASE

AGAINST THE MORATORIUM

THE PRINCETON TORY

January / February 2003

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Notes from the Publisher

The State of the University

"The central values of civilization are in danger... The position of the individual and the voluntary group are progressively undermined by extensions of arbitrary power. Even that most precious possession of Western Man, freedom of thought and expression, is threatened by the spread of creeds which, claiming the privilege of tolerance when in the position of a minority, seek only to establish a position of power in which they can suppress and obliterate all views but their own.

"... [T]hese developments have been fostered by the growth of a view of history which denies all absolute moral standards and by the growth of theories which question the desirability of the rule of law. ... [T]hey have been fostered by a decline of belief in private property and the competitive market; for without the diffused power and initiative associated with these institutions it is difficult to imagine a society in which freedom may be effectively preserved."

With these words in 1947, the Mont Pelerin Society, including economic giants Hayek, Röpke and Friedman, dedicated itself to opposing the global rise of socialism – and totalitarianism, the political system which inevitably accompanies it.

These immortal words from its charter could also describe the current malaise at Princeton, where undergraduates have developed an acute inferiority complex concerning matters of the intellect. Being taught what, but not how, to think, they find themselves incapable of defending even the substance of their own indoctrination. They gaze with trepidation at global conflicts exploding around them, conflagrations out of their comprehension and control.

It is our intention to show that the epidemics on campus and abroad are engendered by the same pathogen; the so-called "liberal" orthodoxy, which debilitates our future leadership here, also infects our markets, contaminates our culture, and weakens our national defenses.

It is our intention to supply a remedy to this plague, a physic to be administered locally but to affect the entire body of political thought. We fight not by drowning out one dogma with another of our own, but by respectfully submitting a diverse collection of arguments, some of which may not agree with others, to promote the independent thinking which alone is capable of healing our economy, society, government, educational institutions, and life.

It is with these aims and with humble dedication that I take this duty, the office I consider to be the most important at Princeton University. I am particularly grateful to Pete Hegseth, Brad Simmons, and Jenn Carter of the great Class of 2003 for their leadership.



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HAVE AN OPINION ABOUT THE TORY?

Send Letters to the Editor to:

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PRINCETON TORY

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Jennifer Carter '03

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What is Rev. Sharpton saying that stirs Professor West to such deep contemplation? Or is West just bored? Send your best guess to tory@princeton.edu. Creative responses will be published.

CONSERVATISM AND RELIGION

Dear Editors,

I want to congratulate Brad Simmons on a great article that highlights the difficulties inherent in the University's "neutral" stance on religion, and debunks the common misconception that the "strict wall of separation" between religion and politics is not itself grounded in a worldview (secular, atheistic, etc.) that is religiously deep. As a Christian who seeks to ground her political arguments in a Christian worldview, I especially appreciate how Brad points out that being a Christian doesn't "[necessitate] a specific political alliance." One normative way to describe the necessary relationship between religion and politics is this: to be a Christian or Muslim or Jew or atheist is to live life by a comprehensive worldview. To the extent that politics is one aspect of life, a person's worldview should shape her understanding and definition of what is political and what government ought to do. This understanding, in turn, should help her to formulate arguments about particular policy issues.

Having said that, I am dismayed by the "Notes from the Publisher," in which Pete Hegseth talks about the "conservative worldview," "conservatism as a philosophy," and "conversions to the conservative camp."... Pete's language implies that conservatism functions in the same way as does a religion—in other words, conservatism is a comprehensive understanding of the world that you either reject or accept lock, stock, and barrel when you are "converted." When Pete goes on to define conservatism, however, he says that conservatives "support a society in which marriage, family values, and religious faith are encouraged by the public and private sectors." Unless I'm very much mistaken, that is a set of (rather vague) policy directions, not a "worldview" at all. These general propositions about public policy could be supported from Christian, Muslim, Jewish, or other worldviews, but they do not themselves constitute a worldview...

I would urge the Tory's staff not to compound the confusion about politics and religion by elevating political arguments to the status of religion. If a person does choose to align herself with the conservative camp, it should be because she has carefully considered the implications of her worldview for politics, and sees that the conservative arguments about political issues are convincing given her assumptions. It shouldn't be because conservatism gives her life meaning and purpose and guides her in making everyday decisions, because I would argue that politics cannot and should not do that.

Sincerely,
Jen Kwong '03

Pete Hegseth responds:

The author would simply like to add that his use of the phrase 'conservative worldview' was in reference to a philosophy which governs the political sphere of one's life and assists in effecting positive societal and governmental change. Ultimately, all ideas and philosophies—political, economic, and social—should be motivated and grounded in religious faith (Christianity) and the natural law tradition.



TERRORISTS AND CRIMINALS

Dear Editors,

In his last article, "Targeted Killing," Brad Heller constantly asserts without proof, or even argument, that killing terrorists is wrong. He seems to believe that justice requires us to treat foreign military threats with the same standards by which we treat common criminals.

Mr. Heller's confusion is understandable, since some in previous American governments made the same mistake. However, this is not a criminal case; it is war, a distinctly different legal domain. Killing the enemy in wartime is not unusual. [Nor is it] contrary to the American way of war, nor is it inimical to our founding principles. In

fact, killing the enemy in wartime is often a good idea.

With respect to the CIA operation in Yemen, great care and consideration was taken to avoid hurting innocent people. Mr. al-Harithi himself was given a chance to peacefully surrender, an invitation he answered by killing 18 of the Yemeni soldiers sent to arrest him. Would Mr. Heller's conscience be soothed by the death of another 18 of America's allies?

Sincerely,
Ray Yang '04

Bradley Heller responds:

I disagree, in that al-Harethi's crimes are criminal and punishable by American law. I cannot confirm that he did, in fact, kill Yemeni officials trying to arrest him. But even if this is true, he still should have been tried and convicted by a Yemeni court for his crimes and punished before extradition to the United States (in the event he wasn't executed first).

But in the grand scheme of things, if we are going to kill terrorists, we must follow the rules of engagement. Thus, it is unfortunately our burden to prove how they are indirectly engaging us first by actively planning or committing acts of terror. Otherwise, the fight against terrorism will turn into a veritable witch hunt where allied forces are killing anybody suspected of conspiring with an invisible enemy.

Would your conscience be soothed by the deaths of innocent civilians at the hands of American soldiers?

AWARDS FOR LONGEST LETTERS OF 2002

Editor's Note: Each year our email account receives from our loyal readership a few letters lengthier than Tory articles themselves. While we cannot possibly print the letters in any semblance of their entirety or reply to them in any meaningful way, we feel that these prolific epistlers' efforts should be recognized. Thus, we instituted the Professor Woodrow Wilson Award for Extreme Verbosity Bordering on the Pedantic, named after the creator of the modern State of the Union spectacle. The only proviso is that anyone obviously writing only for the sake of receiving a Woody is disqualified. The runner-up and recipient of the 2002 Woody are recognized here, along with their opening paragraphs:

RUNNER-UP: STEVE FEYER '03 (2,044 WORDS)

Dear Pete:

I have just read your latest *Tory*, and I'm even more baffled by your reaction to your homosexuality comment than the comment itself.

Why don't you understand, even for one second, why people have reacted so strongly to your assertion: "the reality that the homosexual lifestyle is abnormal and immoral". Why did this statement begin a firestorm wherein students who normally support free expression called for the *Tory* to be banned? Why is there a new, large, organized, and far from benign group of students working to stop the *Tory* in its tracks (did your latest issue make it inside every door where it was placed? Are you sure?) And why, finally, do you attack a fellow conservative, who happens to be the official voice of the student body, in your latest issue?

The problem lies in your use of the word "reality," when in fact the rest of your statement expressed an opinion only. That it is very much a minority opinion in our age bracket does not mean you shouldn't express it, but you shouldn't portray it as fact when it is a purely social judgment (and therefore cannot be based in facts). One could express a social opinion of the opposite political agenda as fact: "It is a fact that minorities in the United States are at a disadvantage for hiring and education, and therefore it is moral and just to give special privileges to minorities." I'm sure both of us would disagree with this statement, but not necessarily because we don't think minorities are at a disadvantage. We would disagree because a putative author (I think Maureen Dowd written this column lately) used the word "fact."

You're probably going to respond that your statement is a fact, based on religious doctrine. Here there must be a disconnect in our respective conservatism — I believe yours is based on fundamentalist Christian ideals, while mine is based on a conviction about the proper way to structure our society. Within the stricture of orthodoxy, such ideas as you expressed are absolutely acceptable norms for community behavior. But these ideas are not "reality" in any sense. If you accept the Old and New Testament, or even just one testament, as a guiding document for living one's life, you surely have noticed the extreme disconnect between many things G-d or G-d's representatives declare. How can you "love thy neighbor" if he is a Baal worshiper, worthy of death? ...

WINNER: MATTHEW NICKOLOFF '04 (2,365 WORDS)

Dear Editors,

Being as I am also a conservative from New York, and a practicing Lutheran, I felt moved to defend not only our special status as gurus on political ideology, but also to, in the spirit as well as the letter of the Scripture, point out where a brother has stumbled. I may denote you all as brothers in some sense I hope. With that said, I must make a confession; being as I AM a conservative, and one from upstate for that matter, I decided that the conventional approaches to rhetoric and taste could easily be flaunted, a technique I have often learned about by examining the leaves of your publication. It is quite evident that this IS in fact the 21st century, for as an English major (shudder), I see all the aspects of modern writing within, not the least of which is the lack of any real purpose beyond that of gaining hype by making outrageous and overblown convolutions about snippets and phrases spoken by others and their views. While St Augustine does the mackaerna [*sic*] in his grave, Gorgias is smiling at your own response; how can any of us fail to miss that it is indeed "a shining example of clarity and force of thought."

But literary criticism aside, for who listens to English majors anyway, really, what do we really do for this campus, I decided that as this was a modern publication, I could read it as a modern, even a postmodern reader, and decided to read backwards, to show my liberal friends that I too could bend the conventions of tradition. And to be honest, I was impressed with Mr. Simmon's article on The Christian Right, and thought it was an excellent commentary on a very real problem on campus. I thought that finally, the *Tory* was really making some good points in a well thought out and eloquent way, and that the Rant had been kept to two pages, rather than 19.

One of the key issues of Mr. Simmon's issues is the idea of tolerance. Not wishy washy tolerance such as the liberals of this campus expound, a kind of faceless pluralism which causes our individuality to be lost in a sea of individuals trying to be such. Rather, I think back to Locke, to Kant, to Plato, dare I mention it, the Bible, and the lessons taught there about what it really means to accept others and entertain their views. One thing this campus lacks in many dialogues is the basic desire to extend beyond one's own individual viewpoint to truly understand and consider another person's view, belief, and ultimately, their soul, as much as we can possibly do. But this is not so that we can immediately turn around and hold hands and forget about the importances of being the same, but rather, we might truly celebrate our diversity by engaging in constructive and meaningful dialogue, and from exploring our differences in the service of the Truth, we might not only come one step closer to a better understanding of the world, even if it means reforming the views we cling to dogmatically when they prove to unravel. We should be like Socrates, and not like Singer in these issues. And in doing so, we fulfill our own individuality as well, for then our beliefs MEAN something, they become very real points of view which others take seriously and understand, even if they do not choose to accept them or agree with them. ...

THE RANT

- Fact of the month: The University of Michigan index would rank a black or Hispanic applicant with a 3.4 GPA and a 1,010 SAT score ahead of a white or Asian applicant with a 4.0 GPA, a perfect 1,600, and a legacy preference. (Stuart Taylor, *National Journal*)
- President Tilghman and her University may sign on to an *amicus* brief supporting the University of Michigan's discriminatory admissions policy against a 14th amendment legal challenge. The University's stance is simply wrong. The Michigan affirmative action policy, designed to increase diversity on campus, and supposedly to increase diversity of experience on campus, does no such thing. Instead, it simply gives applicants an extra 20 points (out of 150) for being of the right race. Such policy, based not on experience but on skin color, is reminiscent of the discriminatory policies used prior to the Civil Rights Act.
- While Tilghman considers taking the immoral action of supporting such a discriminatory policy, the *Prince* should be ashamed of itself for context-dropping in the article about the decision (Jan. 20). While the *Prince* notes the 20-point bonus for minorities, they forget to mention how this stacks up compared to points based on merit. The most a student can get at Michigan for a good SAT score is 12 points. The *Prince* article also mentions that Tilghman wants to support the prior ruling in *Bakke v. Board of Regents*. However, in that ruling, the Supreme Court stated that colleges were only allowed to use race as essentially a tiebreaker; that if a college had a minority and non-minority student who were equal in all other respects, the college could prefer the minority. Giving a student more credit for the color of his skin than his SAT scores makes race a primary consideration in admissions, not "one of many considerations." This should be obvious to *Prince* writers and to Tilghman. We hope President Tilghman will do the right thing and oppose a policy that gives some people an advantage solely because of the color of their skin.
- While we're on the subject of race and admissions, the *Prince* quotes former President Bowen's claim that race-neutral policies would lower the overall chance of admission for an African-American applicant from 42% to 13% at top colleges. We may have missed something, but last time we checked, 42% was a bit higher than the average admission rate at America's highly selective universities. Just one more reason why race-conscious admission policies are simply wrong.
- Speaking of the *Prince*, do you read it? If not, you're hardly alone. According to an internal memorandum circulated by one Senior Writer, "Our readership is in the gutter." In another, a *Prince* editor estimates that readership has, over the past five years, fallen by half. The senior writer suggested an ad campaign proclaiming, "The *Prince* is Back," but it will take more than slogans to restore the *Prince's* once-Fitzgeraldian reputation. Frequently, the *Prince* is a running dog for the Tilghman administration, eating out of the hands of its special interest groups. For example, according to one source in the administration, *Prince* writers frequently submit articles on homosexuality at Princeton to the LGBT Student Services Coordinator for "pre-publication review," a practice that columnist Stephen Hayes of *The Weekly Standard* denounces as "contrary to the fundamental philosophy of independent journalism." For another, the *Prince's* coverage of two of the most important issues of the past year, the athletics moratorium and *Gratz vs. Bollinger*, has been little more than a recitation of President Tilghman's polemics. The liberal orthodoxy, unfortunately, is neither exciting nor edifying, and it is understandable that readers have turned elsewhere when confronted with its regurgitation. We sincerely wish the editors of *The Daily Princetonian* the best of luck in restoring not the image, but the substance of their newspaper through analytic and independently written reporting.
- Oh, the irony of it all. Trent Lott failed to be an effective moral and political leader of the Senate. Good man or not, his step down is a welcome step forward for Republicans. But wasn't it just a little ironic that a man castigated for segregationist remarks felt compelled to apologize for them on Black Entertainment Television, an openly segregationist television network?
- This mess hasn't come without its pleasantries. Incoming Senate majority leader Bill Frist '74 is the future of the party: an experienced physician with an understanding of business, full of religious and moral conviction, strong on defense and tax reform, and unabashedly pro-life. Eat your heart out, Princeton: William Frist, M.D., a man truly in the nation's service.
- The Grinch (alias Dean of the Chapel Thomas Breidenthal) stole Christmas again this December. Remember *Joy To The World!*? The traditional "let earth receive her King" was Grinched into "let earth its praises bring." Those patriarchal and phallocentric (according to

the feminists) pronouns *He*, *His*, and *Him*, referring to Jesus, were nixed on thirty occasions. The *Father* and *Son* also got the axe. (Well, Reverend, two out of the Three ain't bad.) The Grinch even got *Lord* – perhaps the word recalled painful memories of feudalism? It doesn't take a theologian or a Christian to realize that since God's incarnation into human form is a mystery central to Christianity, when you abstract and androgynize Jesus, you detract from that mystery. Strangely, words like *dark* and *citizens* were also censored – perhaps concessions to blacks and illegal immigrants? Fortunately, the citizens of Princeton (a.k.a. Whoville) kept singing their carols the way they learned them, and so will we.

- Our Publisher Emeritus Pete Hegseth met College Democrats' President Owen Conroy on the field of honor in a paintball duel to the death. Under the supervision of the Princeton Dueling Society, Hegseth and Conroy each turned and fired three times. Hegseth hit his man three times, while Conroy hit his none at all. Pete's third hit caught Conroy "on the fly," so to speak, and was declared a mortal wound by the judges. All of this goes to show that the Dems don't know anything about gun control – or about "reproductive rights".
- Speaking of Democrats and loins, the College Dems can't stop writing about theirs. First, it was their "frozen testicles" and the campus intellectual climate. Now, it's "crotch shots" and the *Tory*. Is there some insecurity you want to discuss with us, guys?
- Speaking of Democrats and insecurity, the College Dems have settled nicely into their new nation-wide role as the party of reaction. They devoted most of their last paper to criticizing the *Tory*, and the remainder to bashing Republicans and their policies – the war on terror, faith-based initiatives, etc. Like their puppet-masters in Congress who got flayed in November for the same reason, the College Dems are incapable of creating original ideas, but can only react to the now-progressive (how sweet it is!) Right.
- Oh, deer. The New Jersey Fish and Game Council has blocked an equally determined Princeton Township from ridding its sprawl of the pests, which cause property damage, accidents, and deaths. The state has succumbed to animal-rights activists like Peter Singer and Joyce Carol Oates, who protest the inhumanity of the methods used by contract hunters. Instead, Singer recommends giving the deer birth control. Go figure. Never mind if the same deer, fertile or not, continues to threaten drivers, whose lives Singer is less inclined to consider due to their humanity. Local sportsmen are dismayed by the lost opportunity to engage in their time-

honored activity while saving human lives. We at the *Tory* propose an alternate, more humane solution: let's issue each deer a copy of Oates' novel *Beasts* and let the animals drift off to sleep...

- The *Nassau Weekly* paid us a compliment in its own special way. Louise Alexander, in "The *Tory* Bashes Everybody," expressed her shock at the *Tory*'s audacity in criticizing our traditional allies, including free-speech advocates and the College Republicans. Thanks, *Nass*. We at the *Tory* are proud of our record of non-discrimination. You won't find our magazine engaging in profiling, unlike a certain weekly paper that picks its targets by race (white), religion (Christian), sex (male), and class (middle).
- Reality TV sure seems to be coming into its own. From the Bachelorette to Joe Millionaire to the Osbournes, millions of viewers are watching "real life" happen before their eyes. The reality surge is a reflection of larger societal trends—namely the triumph of "how it is" over "how it ought to be." The shows are amusing, we admit; however, they absolve themselves of any higher responsibility. While sitcoms are not perfect, at least they make attempts to show functioning families and ethical choices. We're not asking for "Leave it to Beaver" (well, maybe some of us), but primetime could be much more family-friendly than it currently is. As long as people tune in, "reality" shows will rule the airwaves, but what does that say about American culture?
- On January 28th the New York Times described Secretary of State Colin Powell as the newest "Hawk" in the administration. On the contrary, Secretary Powell has finally reached the conclusion it has taken others, namely "old Europe", too long to reach. Iraq is in defiance of the world, and if the UN won't enforce its own resolutions, the United States will do it for them. Secretary Powell was correct in steering Bush to the UN in September and is correct once again. Hopefully all the liberals who see Secretary Powell as the "voice of reason" inside the administration will take a look at themselves.
- Democrats are lining up for a long shot at Bush in 2004. Our pick: the Rev. Al Sharpton, who, despite having never served in public office, claims to be the most qualified of the Party's contenders. After examining the records of the more experienced candidates, we're inclined to agree with him. No matter who "wins" the nomination, we'll pass.

-- Compiled by the Editors

COLLEGE SPORTS & EDUCATIONAL VALUES

The Athletics Debate Reconsidered

Jennifer Carter '03

Much more than blatant unfairness, misused statistics, and 23 percent of the academic year is at stake in the debate over the Ivy League Presidents' June 2002 declaration of a mandatory seven-week rest period ("moratorium") for all varsity athletes.

The philosophy behind the new policy comes from the findings of *The Game of Life: College Sports and Educational Values*, co-authored by former Princeton president William Bowen. Bowen and co-author James Shulman are now President and Financial and Administrative Officer, respectively, of the Mellon Foundation, which gave \$15 million in grants to Ivy League schools in 2001.

The book has come under heavy criticism from scholars and social scientists, and I would refer interested readers to those critiques. Many are methodological in nature, challenging, for example, the authors' unexplained assumption that high school SAT scores and college GPAs are good predictors and quantifiers, respectively, of academic success in college.

I wish to offer a different sort of critique here, one that gets at the heart of the ideology underlying President Bowen's work and presents evidence that there are more profound issues at work here. *The Game of Life* largely ignores its subtitle, drawing plenty of quantitative conclusions about college sports but declining to confront head-on the qualitative merits of the educational values at stake. Still, the authors throw enough sidelong glances in this

direction that we can make some significant observations.

For example, central to the book's argument are the conclusions that athletes arrive at selective colleges less academically prepared than their non-athlete peers, and that they underperform in college relative to their non-athlete peers.

The attack on athletes is part of a culture war pitting conservative values against liberal values.

If we accept these conclusions (and there are certainly good reasons to), let us consider this truly remarkable passage from *The Game of Life*: "Look first at the message sent to the athlete. She or he may well be confused as to the true reason for the offer of admission. Even if she had an excellent academic record, she might rightly conclude that she was admitted because she is an outstanding athlete. This cheapens her academic accomplishments and suggests that her athletic achievements in college will be more highly regarded than anything she accomplishes academically."

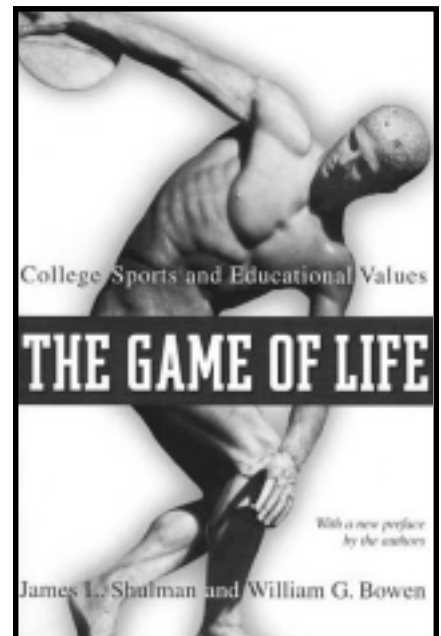
Now substitute "Black" or "Latina" for "athlete" in that paragraph, and you have one of the most frequently cited criticisms of affirmative action admissions policies for underrepresented minorities.

Ironic? Yes. Coincidence? No. In 1998, President Bowen, along with former Harvard president Derek Bok, published *The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions*. And the parallel is unmistakable:

both athletes and minorities are actively recruited by Princeton University; both seem to be underprepared for Princeton and underperform at Princeton despite special opportunities.

We must ask, then, why does Bowen frown upon affirmative action for athletes in *The Game of Life* but not for Blacks and Latinos in *The Shape of the River*? The answer he offers in *The Game of Life* is unsatisfactory. Bowen insists that minority students bring something extra that is of value to the educational mission of universities but implies that athletes do not.

A better explanation comes from Harvard Law professor Hal Scott:



Playing games with students' lives: Fmr. President Bowen's views on minorities and athletes contradict each other.

“In important respects, the attack on athletes is part of a culture war pitting conservative values against liberal values, professional values against academic values, competitive values against communal values, the blue collar against the privileged and so on. This battle has been waged around athletics for a long time.”

Affirmative action for minorities has long been a liberal value, while conservatives are committed to judging not “by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” Academics like Bowen deny any intrinsic value of collegiate athletics, but a business school admissions officer quoted in his book “always liked athletes” because they were “confident, team-oriented, and had the interpersonal skills to do well in a corporate environment.” Bowen distinguishes between knowledge for its own sake (the usual liberal arts aspiration) and education for leadership (“Princeton in the nation’s service”). And the moral relativism so prominent in the modern academy is at constant odds with the athletic community’s measures of winning and losing, success and failure.

The prominence of liberal political values among the Ivy Presidents is self-evident, but the following finding in *The Game of Life* comes as more of a surprise. The authors note that both men and women athletes are more politically conservative than non-athlete peers from similar backgrounds, and their relative conservatism is increasing over time.

The authors also note that athletes’ values differ in one more significant way: male athletes are much more likely to believe that it is very important to “be very well off financially.” Female athletes, however, are less likely than non-athlete women to value financial success. This observation leads to the book’s most puzzling paradox. Conservative male athletes who see college as “a means to an end” are criticized for their “concomitant ambition to maximize their earnings potential.” Conservative female athletes who do not share this drive are singled out for their lesser likelihood to work full-time during their childbearing years.

The clash of values here is, as

Professor Scott noted, profound. It is not so simple as liberal presidents pitted against conservative student-athletes; rather, it gets at the heart of what an Ivy League education is supposed to mean.

The liberal academy is in crisis. It is caught between past and present, between the liberal-arts project of total education and the postmodern dearth of moral values. Princeton University finds itself clinging to the liberal arts, resisting the trend toward becoming a professional or trade school, but it is hard to see what is so special about the liberal arts tradition when its traditional moral component is removed.

Student-athletes have been made the scapegoats for what is a much larger problem in which all members of

the University community have a stake. Indeed, the debate over athletics and the debate over anti-intellectualism go hand in hand, and we would do well to recall the words of former University of Chicago president Robert Maynard Hutchins: “If the curriculum were rational and intelligible, the students might not run from it in such large numbers to devote themselves to extracurricular activities.” Princeton students clearly find something of more value, more applicable to the challenges of the real game of life, in athletics.

President Tilghman’s responses to criticisms of the moratorium policy have utterly failed to address the question of educational values.

(Continued on Page 15)

Shirley at the Bat

(with apologies to E. L. Thayer)

The outlook isn’t brilliant for the Princeton nine this year,
As creeping Ivy tendrils drain the youthful Laurel sere,
And fogies old and presidents bold forget their misspent youths,
And kick us from our batting cages to bibliolatrous truths.

Bill Bowen popped up to center. Hal grounded out to first.
Were it not for mighty Tilghman, then the crowd would fear the worst,
But lo! five thousand undergrads stout-heartedly stood pat
For Shirley, mighty Shirley, was advancing to the bat.

And now the issue, tangible, came hurtling through the air,
Whether her appointments be political or fair,
But of this pitch to open-mindedness, she would have none.
“Conservatives? In faculty? Not on my team.” “Strike One!”

With scientific smugness, she turned back to the plate.
With microscopic vision, she scrutinized her fate,
And as the second pitch to fairness to the catcher flew,
“Race-blind admissions? How absurd.” The umpire called, “Strike Two!”

With dawning doubt, she realized that she would have to hit.
Her eye, at last, upon a more appealing target lit:
“I’ll knock you athletes out of the park, accursed varsity!”
She swung, and to the silent crowd the umpire cried, “Strike Three!”

Oh, somewhere in Collegia the fans chant loud and clear,
But our unpracticed Tigers only draw a weak Bronx cheer.
Outside the pompous Ivy League, they meet with endless rout,
And there is no joy in Princeton – mighty Shirley has struck out.

- J.A.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

The Sacred and the Profane Join Forces at Princeton

John Andrews '05

This article is the second in a series on the University's Office of Religious Life. The first, Peace in Our Time?, appeared in the December Tory and can be accessed at www.princetontory.com.

As covered in last month's *Tory*, Dean of the Chapel Thomas Breidenthal climbs the pulpit to issue condemnations like, "The whole of Christian tradition stands against the policy this [Bush] administration is pursuing." As argued last month, such statements are patent nonsense if nothing more malignant.

Breidenthal would be much less contradictory to evidence if he were to preach instead, "The whole of Christian tradition stands against homosexual unions." Of course, he would not be permitted to preach such a sermon even if he wanted

to. Although Jesus said that no one can serve two masters, Breidenthal must serve both God and the secular University. The latter of these masters enforces "non-discrimination," which in the chaplaincy translates to discrimination against hiring those who might voice orthodox beliefs against the University's liberal counter-orthodoxy.

It would be nice if the aims of these two masters always coincided. However, both the Tilghman and Breidenthal administrations have consistently supported LGBT programs which offend against fundamental tenets of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. For example, this fall's "The Joys and Toys of Gay Sex" promoted behavior which vio-

lates both letter and spirit of the Torah, the New Testament, and the Koran. Even liberal Breidenthal would take issue with last year's program entitled "The Road to Gay Marriage," because even Breidenthal objects to the concept of same-sex marriage on theological principle.

Without the Office of Religious Life's financial support, these egregious programs could never have taken place. According to a source in the University administration, an endowment from Breidenthal's Office of Religious Life pays half the salary of the LGBT Student Services coordinator. This endowment, which was crucial to the creation of the coordinator's position in the early eighties, enables the coordinator, Ms. Debra Bazarsky, to direct these programs. In

logia for the legal and sexual actions of President Clinton, he brings up the logical fallacy and traditional heresy of antinomianism – the idea that because of God's grace, believers are exempted from the law of Moses as well as the legal and moral standards of their society. It is "the attempt to use God's forgiveness as a pretext to excuse moral wrong," and it "rejects moral law as a relevant part of Christian experience." The forgiveness granted by antinomians, including those of the Office of Religious Life, is in Bennett's words, "without admission of guilt, without apology, without repentance. Forgiveness is becoming a synonym for lax standards and tolerance for transgressions." Quoting theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, he writes that "this cheap grace amounts to justi-

The secular Office of Religious Life alienates students who take religion seriously and whose spiritual needs it is the duty of the Office to fulfill.

exchange for its financial support, however, Breidenthal receives no oversight or veto power over the programs she produces, even when these programs are inimical to the beliefs of Orthodox Jews, Catholics, Evangelical Christians, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and other "homophobic" religious groups on campus.

Why does Breidenthal cite the orthodox doctrine of just war under politically correct circumstances, while turning a blind eye to the sodomitical excesses his own department promotes and his corresponding alienation of religious students?

William J. Bennett got it right in his 1998 book, *The Death of Outrage*. Discussing liberal religious leaders' apo-

fictionation of the sin without justification of the repentant sinner... It is the grace we bestow on ourselves."

If you've had many religious discussions with advocates of "gay rights," you've probably encountered their litany of "You can't judge me!" and "You can't impose your morality on me!", a distinction between moralities (plural) that Bennett dubs "soft-core moral relativism." You might have even heard a few sound bytes from the Gospels: "Judge not, lest ye be judged" (which turns out to be an injunction against hypocrisy, not judgment) and "Let he who is without sin cast the first stone" (although outside the sound byte, Jesus goes on to tell the woman to leave her life of sin).

Indeed, Bennett notes, judgment itself is getting a bad reputation these days; “tolerance” has practically replaced it as the moral standard of American society. And by tolerance, the so-called “liberal” University means permissiveness only of certain classes of expression pre-ordained as acceptable – a philosophy which, as Brad Simmons noted in the previous *Tory*, is a judgment and a faith-derived orthodoxy in itself.

Concerning this failure of judgment in the Office of Religious Life, the more surprising aspect is not its failure to exercise moral judgment, but rather its failure to exercise common sense. Regardless of one’s personal views on religion, morality, and homosexuality, one cannot help questioning the competence of collar-clad bureaucrats who unjustifiably decide to gratify a protected minority viewpoint at the offense of the defenseless orthodoxy among religious students.

For a common-sense example, consider that on April 6, the Office of Religious Life and the LGBT will be holding “Pride Sunday” in the University Chapel in place of the regular morning service. This title, along with the Pride Shabbat at the Center for Jewish Life, epitomizes the Office of Religious Life’s willingness to sell out its religious principle for political correctness. Do the benighted souls who name these events not understand that “Pride” is generally considered the greatest of sins?

Such arguments are lost on the administration. Bazarsky defends Pride Sunday by saying, “I do think it is powerful for LGBT students to hear an affirming voice from the pulpit.” Bestowing meretricious grace upon herself, she fails to understand the difference between the noble purpose of affirming someone as a human being and hence a

child of God, and antinomianism - granting that someone a dispensation to commit acts held to be immoral without fearing the judgment of his peers and his Creator.

Defying common sense and compounding its own irrelevance, the Office of Religious Life maintains a strong record of sponsoring programs having that either have nothing to do with religion or are anti-religious: The Office helps finance a publication devoted to the spread of secularism and named (ironically) *CommonSense*. The Office also finances the free-coffee house under Murray-Dodge, described by one regular as



A Match Made in Hell?
Dean Sue Morrow violated Methodist canon, marrying two atheist male alumni in the Chapel.

“bohemian in ambiance,” which has refused performing rights to Kindred Spirit, the Christian *a capella* group, while welcoming the secular *a capella* groups. *Tory* columnist Hans Leaman '00 noted that despite the Office’s stated mission “to foster and support... the various religious witnesses on campus,” the Office instead “prevented a religious witness and free expression altogether.” Consistently, a glance through the *Daily Prince* will consistently yield multiple ads for non-religious events which receive the Office’s sponsorship (“A Girlfriend’s Guide to Princeton’s Eating Options” is a current one). Often, the sponsored events are not only entirely secular but blatantly political. The Office recently abandoned any pretense of moral authority and political neutrality when it helped bring Scott Ritter, former Chief UN Weapons Inspector, to join in Breidenthal’s anti-Bush diatribes despite Ritter’s alleged implication in a child sex sting. While the

Office also engages in responsible sponsorship, such as that of excellent and frequent performances of sacred music in the Chapel, the instances in which it has abused its resources in either non-religious or anti-religious manners are myriad.

Such abuses are the result of an ill-defined mission for the Office of Religious Life, a mission that ought to be reformed. According to Vice President for Campus Life Janet Dickerson, the Office of Religious Life endowment that finances the LGBT coordinator’s office takes its justification from the instructions “and such activities as will... further the aims of Princeton University.” These instructions do not distinguish between the secular aims of Princeton, which might include the construction of a new sidewalk, and the sacred aim of the spiritual edification of her students. Thus, Religious Life has *carte blanche* to sponsor anything that might be construed by liberal administrators as benefiting any aspect of Princeton life, to the neglect and detriment of religious Princetonians.

At this very moment, Dean Breidenthal has a tremendous opportunity to improve religious life at Princeton. For at least five years, *The Princeton Tory* has called for the resignation of Associate Dean of Religious Life Sue Morrow. Morrow recently satisfied the *Tory* by announcing that the coming semester would be her last. Breidenthal

With Morrow’s departure, Dean Breidenthal has a tremendous opportunity.

would do very well to heed the needs of the Princeton religious community by appointing a replacement who will take his own faith and position of employment seriously.

Though you wouldn’t learn it from the *Daily Prince*’s bland eulogy, Morrow is so radical that her actions produced a rare backlash against homosexual unions, resulting in more “homophobic” policies in the Chapel. Be-

fore her infamous ceremony, the Chapel had no precedent of homosexual “marriages” or clear policy against them. Rather than submit the question to reason and discourse in the Princeton community, Morrow determined it by fiat. In flagrant violation of the *Book of Discipline*, the rule book for United Methodist clergy such as Morrow, she declared Mr. Michael Beer ’95 and Mr. Jason Rudy ’97 joined in holy matrimony.

Princeton soon realized that Morrow had orchestrated the event as a provocation rather than an earnest religious ceremony: It became known that Beer and Rudy were self-proclaimed atheists, yet they insisted on having the ceremony in the Chapel to make a political statement at the expense of campus religion. Dean Morrow was more than happy to sacrifice faith for politics. But where was the sense, asked Princetonians, in declaring two persons united before God when these persons denied His existence? Thus, the reaction began. The University soon changed its policy, refusing to recognize homosexual marriages and forbidding homosexual couples from signing the Chapel’s marriage register.

Morrow’s preference for fiat over dialogue demonstrates the Office’s abuse of public reason in the imposition of a secular counter-orthodoxy and its hypocrisy in so doing. Like Morrow’s

fiat, the incoherence of the programs and institutions sponsored by the Office of Religious Life reflects the rational and moral bankruptcy of a bureaucracy that has abandoned any pretense of pursuing its intended mission. However, while offering no rational justification for its dissolution, it continues to level accusations of irrational fear or “phobia” at conscientious objectors to Religious Life policy regarding homosexuality. As evinced by Dean Morrow, bureaucratized homosexuality has neither intention nor capacity to win the hearts and minds of Princeton. Rather, it rules by Dionysian demonstration of bureaucratic clout.

It is bad enough that students



William J. Bennett served as President Reagan’s Secretary of Education.

at Princeton are subjected to a religious leadership whose ministry is hamstrung by a radical interpretation of the University’s non-discrimination policy. Worse, by financially sponsoring Basarsky’s antinomian saturnalia and other anti-religious or non-religious programs, the Office of Religious Life is alienating those students who take religion seriously and whose spiritual and intellectual needs it is the true duty of the Office to fulfill.

William Bennett points out that without imposing their moral judgment on others, Americans would have never put an end to slavery, child labor, or segregation. There are times, he says, when it is both right and necessary to judge others: “If we do not confront the soft relativism that is disguised as virtue, we will find ourselves morally and intellectually disarmed.”

Five years ago, Princeton found itself at a moral nadir. President Clinton betrayed his sacred duty through perjury and obstruction, and Dean Morrow betrayed hers by subverting public reason to political statement.

Now, Princeton finds itself at a possibility for moral improvement. Clinton received his comeuppance at the hands of moral visionaries like Bennett and political leaders on both sides of the aisle. Dean Morrow has yet to receive hers. Now, it is time for Princetonians to impeach the Office of Religious Life.

The Joys and Toys of Conservative Thought

princetontory.com

MANUFACTURING MEN

Examining the Amorality of Human Cloning

Brad Heller '05

“The protection of personal rights and freedoms are two of the most important pillars of American democracy.” Such reasoning defends the right of law-abiding citizens to bear arms while ensuring our right to life. While the National Rifle Association works to maintain our second Amendment rights, American conservatives fight on a different front for the protection of the unborn. The basis of pro-life advocacy nationwide is the belief that life begins at conception, so influencing the development of a human embryo is just as wrong as manipulating a baby’s development after birth. Although some conservatives choose to deconstruct the pro-choice platform on religious terms, the same pro-life view is equally tenable under purely secular reasoning. But such versatility of thought is not present in the related issue of human cloning, a controversy complicated by the validity of both secular and spiritual arguments.

A thorough understanding of the cloning process is required to understand the arguments that surround it. The process of mammalian cloning begins with the isolation of a single egg cell in the lab and the subsequent removal of its nucleus in which almost all genetic information is contained. Then, the nucleus of a cell from the cloned parent is introduced into the egg. The re-nucleated egg is then stimulated to commence division either chemically or electrically before introduction into the female host for development. The cloning procedure really does substitute for natural conception

where millions of sperm cells compete for entry into the egg and division begins as a result of the dynamic in vivo environment.

This substitution means that the scientist is responsible for and fully capable of determining exactly when and how conception begins and life starts. We can no longer apply the same terms

Man has a duty to sustain and protect human life and has developed the field of medicine to carry out this most honorable task. Choosing exactly when life begins and when it ends, though, are two decisions that no doctor should have to make. Surely, the goal of any venerable scientific endeavor is to learn more about the world around us, but the practical

implication of this altruistic quest is the increasing ability to control the world around us as well. Thus, as scientific progress continues, society has an obligation to act responsibly in putting new technological advances into practice. After all, what might initially begin as a benevolent attempt to ameliorate the human condition could end up becoming a twisted mission to artificially reconstruct mankind through genetic manipulation. Human cloning is one such technological advance that presently challenges society to find a way to utilize it within a proper ethical construct. However, there is no situation in which cloning a human is correct. There is no moral context in which this process is ethical.

Most unfortunately, the notion of perfecting the human race is not new. Ethnic cleansing historically manifested itself in genocide, as in the atrocities of the Holocaust, the Yugoslavian civil war, and Pol Pot’s Cambodian regime. Even today, North Korea prohibits its handicapped population access to the capital city of Pyongyang so that they will not mar its beauty. A more dated philosophy of the late nineteenth century called eugenics sought to increase the expression of favorable human traits in a gene pool by literally breeding a new population through mating control. The cloning of humans is not much different than any

Princeton Weekly Bulletin



Attack of the Clones

Might Princeton’s embryonic Genomics Institute be used to engineer the perfect college applicant?

of our conveniently secular view of abortion to human cloning because science now has the God-like ability to create life. The uneasiness associated with the fact that a single man is powerful enough to initiate life from nothingness is not easily described without at least one allusion to Genesis. Truly, only one entity is able to withstand such a responsibility, and He is surely not a human scientist. The most obvious moral concern at this point is whether science has the moral capability to undertake this responsibility. Undoubtedly, it does not.

of these other attempts to create a better race because it could, for instance, use DNA from a corpse to resurrect great minds from the past and re-use their brilliance in a different temporal context. Truly, this is just another cleverly disguised effort at a different sort of racial refinement in that it is still an attempt to create "better" individuals. Recycling genius is certainly not the same as selectively killing people based on their race or status, but a depraved form of intellectual cleansing nonetheless. Such is one of many hidden dangers lurking behind the insidious concept of human cloning.

Despite the fact that cloning poses a significant societal hazard, its potential of becoming one of the most revolutionary medical technologies is unquestionable. Six months ago, The President's Council on Bioethics published an official report entitled *Human Cloning and Human Dignity* as an ethical inquiry into this new biomedical frontier. The Council mentions several special advantages of perfecting this technology and putting it into use. Specifically, they cite cloning's ability to help newborns avoid genetic disease in the event that both parents are recessive for a certain ailment, the ability to bring back people from the dead as newborns, and for the creation of perfect organ transplant donors for extremely sick or dying people. Clearly,

the prospect of such advancements in the field of medicine becoming a reality is overwhelming. But as extraordinary as these benefits of human cloning are, they deify the scientist by conferring him the right to almost bring back deceased individuals to life while fostering a new industry in organ farming by human manufacturing.

Being able to create unrejectable organs for transplant would clearly become a most profitable industry if the

market for cloned organs is not only insatiable but also willing to pay almost anything for an essentially guaranteed second lease on life. But how can one possibly feel comfortable cloning himself and then forcing the clone to give up its organs – wouldn't a clone have rights, too? Without doubt, it is certainly unethical to create a copy of oneself and then perform a procedure on the clone that might directly result in his death. But perhaps one may think that a clone is the property of its parent, like a slave, and must capitulate to the will of his master. These are just a few of the most challenging questions that face our generation at this revolutionary time in biomedical research.

Furthermore, there are plenty of other ethical concerns involving human cloning. For one, the cloned individual serves both as the subject and product of the procedure. Of course, human experimentation is highly unethical and in this case it is impossible to say at exactly which point the experiment stops and the product begins. In other words, whether or not the synthetic conception of cloning serves as the beginning or end of the experimentation process is simply a matter of point of view. On one hand, the process involving the swap of genetic material occurs before the egg is artificially stimulated and so before life has begun. On the other hand, whether or not the

Despite cloning's significant societal hazard, its potential of becoming a revolutionary medical technology is unquestionable.

last technological and ethical obstacles preventing human cloning for this purpose are cleared. Significant numbers of patients die simply waiting for a transplant. In fact, according to the *United States Scientific Registry for Transplant Recipients*, the year 2000 saw almost 15 percent of patients waiting for a heart and as many as 11 percent of prospective liver recipients die before even receiving an organ in this country. And once an organ is transplanted, the recipient's immune system recognizes it as a foreign body and actively attacks it. So if an organ is secured, the transplants can fail anyway even in the presence of immunosuppressive drugs. Thus, the

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genetic material is processed correctly during development is a completely different stage of testing where a human subject is most definitely involved. And because the process of cloning a human has not been perfected, the rate of birth defects is several times that for naturally conceived humans. So in a matter of speaking, the entire cloning process from nuclear injection into the egg to birth is hit or miss because it is impossible to say whether or not the newborn will be handicapped as a result of the procedure.

Professor Lee Silver of the Woodrow Wilson School and the Department of Molecular Biology agrees that cloning is definitely unethical at this stage due to the inherent risk to the baby. He explains that this risk is caused by an inability of certain chromosomal proteins in the clone to properly regulate genetic expression. At this time, it is difficult to say whether or not further research can fix this problem, but Professor Silver believes that a solution might just be on the horizon. As a leading bioethicist, he is against the use of cloning for any other reason than for the creation of children for a couple that may not be able to conceive naturally and in the case where both parents are recessive for a disorder, it is not possible for them to have a healthy baby without an external source of DNA. But even in this reasonable scenario that seems to support a judicious use of this technology, cloning is still wrong because it gives man control of a natural process best left alone.

Although the religious overtones of the argument suggesting a complete prohibition of human cloning seem irrelevant to some, it is a stance to be recognized nonetheless. Even in the "therapeutic" case of cloning a parent to prevent the inheritance of a genetic disorder, it is not the place of science to control the natural course of birth in order to decide who gets born when and how in an effort to create fewer handicapped children. In truth, the handicapped do not represent a marginal population in society meant to be eliminated. On the contrary, unique physical traits that some may deride as imperfections make us who we are. Accepting all people and succeeding as a team, united as a

race, is part of what it means to be human.

There is a fine line between curing disease and unethically preventing it, and human cloning falls into the latter category. In a way, this pre-natal discrimination against the disabled is not that much different than North Korea tossing their physically challenged citizens aside while groping for their own perverted vision of a utopian society. We must, as a race, accept that perfection is impossible and that human cloning is simply just another amoral attempt to offer equal opportunity only to those who deserve it.

(Athletics, from Page 9)

Instead, she defers to *The Game of Life's* academic-underperformance theory while asserting her own hypothesis that athletics differs from other time-consuming extracurricular pursuits in its aspect of psychological coercion.

While this paternalism is touching and says much about how the Ivy Presidents view their role, it contradicts more than thirty years of Princeton history. Before William Bowen's presidency, Princeton saw its role as educating men of character, not just men of intellect. Since the radical Bowen years, the University has abandoned *in loco parentis*, and with it the (now conservative) notion that a liberal-arts education should cultivate the mind, the body, and the spirit.

Today's Princeton is a place where the University closely governs students' academic life but gives them free rein in every other aspect of their campus existence. Ivy League athletics is already highly restricted, but the moratorium policy is unprecedented: not in thirty years has the administration legislated its values so directly into the day-to-day affairs of student life.

President Tilghman, you have brought us to a crucial juncture and it is time to take a stand regarding the proper role of the academy. If you wish to unilaterally decree what Princeton's values are to be, please do so and let those who disagree flee to Stanford and Duke. If you wish students to share the same set of values, please choose a new Dean of

Admissions who will handpick a new generation of homogeneous, unquestioning Princetonians. If, on the other hand, you are committed to the liberal arts tradition, please do not hesitate to hire faculty who would not keep silent about moral values. If you believe in the diversity that you preach, please give the students of Princeton University the freedom to define and pursue their own values and play their own version of the game of life.

CONFERENCE OF EVIL

C.R. Mrosovsky '04

President Bush's State of the Union announcement that the United States would lead an international coalition against Saddam Hussein with or without United Nations approval was but the latest and clearest indication of the United Nations's declining relevance. There's no need to weep for the legitimacy of any US military action. Rather, we should fear far more for the legitimacy of the United Nations. Starting in May, Iran and Iraq will jointly chair the U.N. Conference on Disarmament. Despite the ongoing efforts of the UN's own inspectors to disarm Iraq, the Conference Chair rotates among all member states in alphabetical order and no exception is planned for two out of three members of the Axis of Evil.

Fred Eckhard, a spokesman for UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, assures the world that this absurd irony has "no political significance," because the Conference on Disarmament operates by consensus and has no explicit powers. Nonsense! *No* organ of the UN has real power. The organization is supposed to be the arbiter of international legitimacy. In legitimizing Iraq and Iran - ruthless, bloodthirsty states bent on acquiring weapons of mass destruction - the United Nations has delegitimized itself. It will be a long time before anyone more concerned with the spirit than the letter of international law will be able to take the UN seriously again. Libya is already chairing the UN High Commission on Human Rights. Meanwhile, back in Pyongyang, Kim Jong-Il wonders: "what's next?"

HEARING BETWEEN THE LINES

The Moral Implications of Music Lyrics

Julie Toran '05

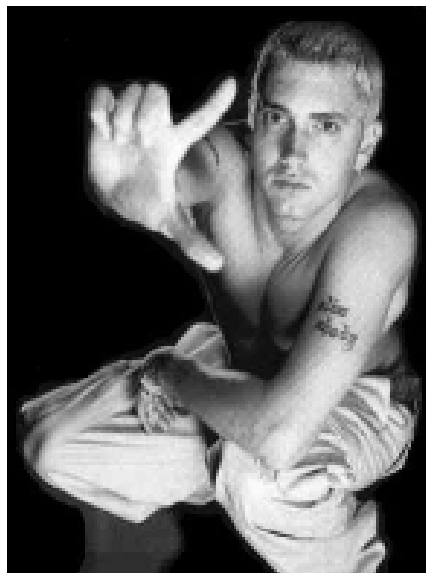
"I knew a girl named Nikki, I guess you could say she was a sex fiend/ I met her in a hotel lobby masturbating with a magazine..." These scandalous lyrics to Prince's "Darling Nikki" incited nationwide controversy in 1984, culminating in the founding of the Parents' Music Resource Center (PMRC) by Tipper Gore and her fellow Washington women. The PMRC proceeded to tirade the entire music industry, drawing up a list of the "Filthy Fifty" most inappropriate singles and eventually creating and implementing the system of parental advisory for explicit lyrics.

Nearly 20 years later, the questions central to this episode of pop politics remain: Should artists be held responsible for the moral content and implications of their lyrics? Do they have a moral responsibility to censor what they sing, given the knowledge of the young average fan base in America? Are we, as young adults, subject to any desensitization by listening to the rap and pop music, specifically with references to gang violence and unprotected sex? Given that the average teen listens to 4.5 to 5 hours of modern music each day, exploring the implications of these questions can be personally relevant and enlightening.

Questionable lyrics blare everywhere we go at Princeton—the gym, the dorms, and particularly the Street. These songs are an integral part of my life and yours, and, at least in my case, a part that I enjoy very much and indulge in voluntarily, with excitement. Further, at the age of nineteen, I have generally been exposed to most of the controversial topics that crudely and melodically

emerge in my favorite songs. But what about the impressionable and naïve 10-year old who is attracted to Eminem's "beat" and style? What about my little cousin? Is she being subconsciously and negatively brainwashed?

A sophomore who shares my views on the subject noted that, "These lyrics probably do not have a negative impact on me, or on any of my friends. Afroman's 'Because I Got High' is just funny—it doesn't make me want to smoke up. When Eminem said that 'you don't wanna f*** with Shady, cause



Shady dealings, but slim alternatives: Eminem and his ilk are tools not of record labels but of the music market.

Shady will f***ing kill you,' again, I thought it was funny, but it didn't make me want to kill the next person that 'messed' with me. When Dave Matthews tell us to 'take a drink, sit back and relax,' it was more poetic than anything else—it didn't make me want to go out and get trashed."

Nonetheless, when 10-year-olds girls run around yelling that they're

going to 'take my thong off and my ass go BOOM,' I think we do have a problem. A lot of these songs are poetic, but many are only safe for more mature audiences. Sort of like R-rated movies." Thus, young adults are, or at least think they are, capable of interpreting, rather than internalizing, the lyrics with a dash of sophistication.

The same argument lies behind age restrictions on tobacco and liquor consumption. Whether or not adults are actually mature enough to resist the temptation to abuse the substance, they are at liberty to choose their own consequences. A problem arises, though, when these consequences affect other individuals who had no say in the purchase, consequences known among economists as negative externalities. Such an individual might be injured by a secondhand smoke or killed by a drunken driver, to use the same analogy.

Thus, how can our society ensure that secondhand effects of this music do not inadvertently subject ten-year-olds to the messages in these lyrics? While older teens and adults may be able to tune out the "bad" part of a song while enjoying the beat or style, young and impressionable listeners are becoming more comfortable with ideas such as murder, rape, drugs, sex, and the like. For instance, after 16-year-old Britney stormed on to the MTV scene and, in mere weeks, was baring her midriff on the cover of Rolling Stone magazine in nothing but a black push-up bra and hot pants, my twelve year-old sister and her friends were suddenly engaging in sit-up and exercise binges, showing off their prepubescent abs in little more than sports-bra attire and belting "Hit Me Baby One More Time" all the while.

Here, desensitization was very real. Renee Gardner '05 enlightens us as to why such may be: "Try watching

Good Will Hunting a few times—not only will you wish you had a Boston accent, but you’ll be dropping the f-word like its a staple of your vocabulary. We are influenced by what we watch [and listen to]—whether we like it or not—and it’s necessary to be aware of that, so that we can resist the attitudes that we see, but don’t share them...” Given the overwhelming volume, visual bombardment, and hormonal charge of pop culture, a pressure Plato never had to face, is it possible to resist the insinuations of MTV by sheer strength of reason?

Blake Robinson '05, a member of Princeton’s Agape Christian fellowship, comments that, “The tenet of Christianity teaches that the thoughts in ones head greatly affect the actions one makes... Vivid portrayals of illicit sexual and violent acts serve to impress upon a listener that this type of heinous behavior is to a small degree acceptable. Though the artists never advocate that their listeners participate in their antics, the fact that they speak about those things in their songs sends an affirmative message to children whose minds might not be solidified on important issues such as sex and violence.”

Conservatives often avoid meeting pop culture head-on because it seems a losing proposition. It seems that the ideals I hold, a free market and family values, are at odds with each other. If I side with the forces of “free expression,” I risk being called a corporate tool and a corrupter of children by the “pro-family” side. If I side with the concerned parents, I court accusations of censorship and fascism. Confounding conservatives further, the negative externalities of pop culture seem to flout the principles of Economics 102: in this case, competition does not result in societal benefit. Rather, competition between record labels, cable networks, reality TV shows, and other pop fixtures results in a race to the bottom, where he who can rattle off obscenities the fastest, or she who can wear less clothing in her videos, wins.

Ultimately, though, the blame rests not with the economics but with the consumer. Under negative externalities,

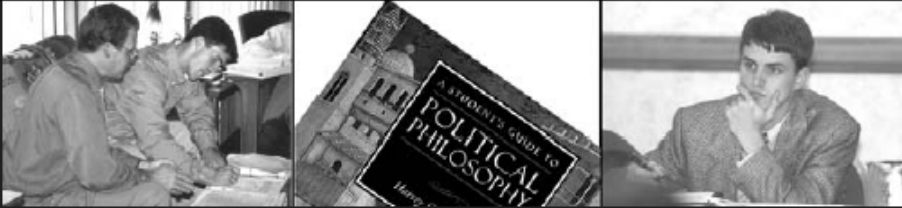
the consumer feels free to indulge in the purchase of the good although it may be detrimental to others, but he objects when the combined effect of millions making the same decision creates an adverse environment that infringes upon his rights. I sympathize with Bill O’Reilly, who blames “Eminem and his corporate masters” for perpetuating a cycle of poverty by rapping about poor life choices. But who raps about getting a good job and prospering through hard work? It wouldn’t sell, except as a novelty. Rap used to be cleaner -- remember the Fresh Prince? But record execs aren’t in cahoots to corrupt your kids, they’re in competition to do so, making the buyer to blame for encouraging the race to the bottom.

Whether deliberately or not, rappers and other musicians influence our youth through the words that they sing.

Is it really up to the artists themselves to assume some responsibility and censor what they preach? Ideally, they should make a concerted effort to do so. However, America is above all a country of freedom; as long as it is profitable to do so, artists will continue to manufacture and sell sex and violence in their lyrics.


As the move towards explicit violence and sexuality in music is economically driven, it is up to the fundamental consumer unit, the household, to break the cycle. The responsibility to properly educate impressionable youth on issues of scandal and intrigue ultimately lies with the parents. Only then when a child hears ODB (that’s Ol’ Dirty Bastard, for the un-hip) or Snoop hype murder in their beat will he or she have the forethought to say, “Murder of the First Degree?” Sweet song, bad idea.”

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SCIENTIFIC HERESY

How Environmentalists Stifle Science in the Twenty-First Century

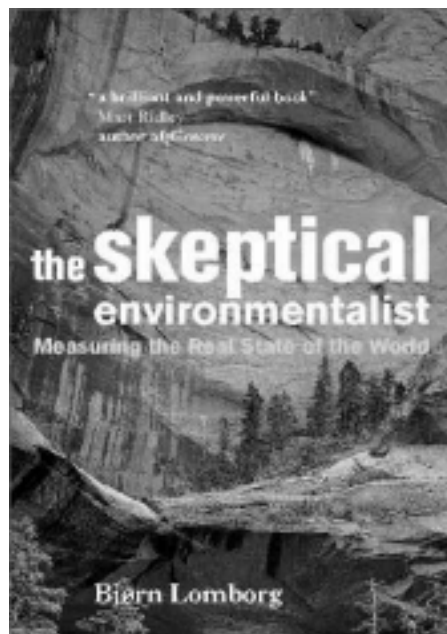
Brian Beck '05

A memorable and ominous scene in Ayn Rand's novel *Anthem* is when the main character, a somewhat nameless and self-taught scientist, (assigned by a communistic society to work as a street cleaner,) presents his invention of a light bulb to a world council of thinkers and scientists. Rather than accept the progress and applaud the scientist, the council calls for the destruction of the light bulb. It would wreck the plans of the world council, destory the candlemakers trade, and cause ruin, so it must be destroyed.

Of course, *Anthem* was a fictional story about a dystopia, and such a reaction to scientific inquiry couldn't happen in the modern age, right? Well... no. Environmentalists continue to stifle research that would indicate that there are other solutions to environmental problems than their command-and-control government mandates. This stifling of scientific inquiry is a great threat to scientific progress.

The most important and recent example is in the field of environmental studies. This story begins with the economist Julian Simon, who made a career of debunking environmentalist claims that the world was running out of resources, and showing that the world was not dying due to human action. Then, in the 1990's, the Danish environmentalist Bjorn Lomborg decided to do his own research to debunk Simon's claims. To his surprise, he found that Simon was correct, converted to a more conservative form of environmentalism based on a realistic assessment of environmental danger, and wrote a popular book, *The Skeptical Environmentalist*. In that book, he put the lie to the pessi-

mism of left-wing environmentalism, and presented a hopeful view that the environment was reasonably self-healing. As libertarian environmentalist Ronald Bailey said, "Lomborg doesn't have a clue what's about to happen to him."



The environmentalists struck hard and fast. The website www.anti-lomborg.com sprung up to discredit Lomborg; *Scientific American* published a one-sided critique of Lomborg's book, and protesters threw pies at him. The Danish Committees on Scientific Dishonesty published their 16 page report claiming that the book, "falls within the category of scientific dishonesty." Of course, the book could actually be dishonest. But is it?

That question is easy to answer—the book is not dishonest. The sources are all legitimate, and the arguments are all logical. It may be flawed, but that is a scientific question. On the other hand, the leftists have gone even further than just criticism. When

Lomborg dared to write a point-by-point reply to *Scientific American's* criticism on his website, *Scientific American* threatened to sue Lomborg for copyright infringement. Yes, a scientific magazine threatened legal action against a scientist for defending his views. While criticism is a fundamental part of the scientific process, not allowing a scientist to defend his views is antithetical to scientific inquiry.

Why, then, do scientists try to suppress Lomborg's inquiry? Let's allow one of Lomborg's scientific critics, Stephen Schneider, to explain: "...we need to get some broad-based support, to capture the public's imagination. That, of course, entails getting loads of media coverage. So we have to offer up scary scenarios, make simplified, dramatic statements, and make little mention of any doubts we might have. ... Each of us has to decide what the right balance is between being effective and being honest." Got that? The most important thing for environmentalists to do isn't seeking the truth, but delivering scary scenarios and frightening opponents into submission.

The environmentalists even succeed in squelching dissent in the academy and the public schools. Children all over the country learn about the dangers of global warming, air pollution, the thinning of the ozone layer, etc.—but without any opposing view. Michael Sanera, head of the Center for Environmental Education Research at the Claremont Institute in 1998 said that, "With few exceptions, textbook treatment of environmental issues is influenced by an ideological view that presents human beings as evil and blames the United States in particular and Western industrial societies in general for every environmental ill." You can probably remember an example from your

high school when you were taught about the unequivocal good of recycling, the unmitigated dangers of DDT, or the dangerous future due to environmental degradation. You may have been made to read the picture book *Just a Dream*, where a young child dreams of a future ruined by environmental destruction which convinces him to plant a tree and recycle. I was.

The net effect of this is students who don't think critically about science as it relates to the real world. Rather than question the need for recycling, or the existence of global warming, and forcing their teachers to back up the argument with actual evidence, environmental degradation is taken as a given. Then, when these children come to Princeton and go into the WWS department, they can take the Science and Public Policy course and be exposed to yet another one-sided reading list, which such goodies as reports from the National Resources Defense Council, a left-wing environmentalist outfit.

But even if you've never seen any opposition to environmentalist policies, it still exists. You may know that DDT hurt some animals when it was used as an insecticide—but you probably don't know that malaria cases dropped to almost none in India after its introduction, and skyrocketed again after the ban. You may know that recycling saves trees; but you don't know that 90% of trees used for paper production are essentially farmed and grown for that purpose. When politicians then claim to be concerned about the environment, and propose various command-and-control policies that fail to work, the voters cannot assess the efficacy of those programs.

In the meantime, in the scientific field, numerous ideas are not explored because of the command-and-control orthodoxy. On global warming, more research is done on finding way to decrease carbon dioxide emissions than on the concept of carbon sinks, where carbon dioxide can be removed from the atmosphere. Rather than exploring ways to use advanced technol-



Lomborg faces the environmentalist inquisition.

ogy to clean up the environment, we would rather try to stifle progress with such policies as “sustainable growth,” which keep people in poverty. We glorify the third-world countries where people starve to death because they do not use as much resources as the West,

making the case that we should be less successful and starve ourselves.

So, instead, I propose a simple solution. The issue of the environment is a scientific one. Rather than using legal threats against dissenting scientists, or monopolizing the discourse in the academy on environmentalism, allow open scientific inquiry. Man is not just the animal with the greatest negative influence on the environment—he is also the only animal that can actively clean the environment. The best way to do that is to use our brains to find definitive evidence of which problems are real, and then come up with new technologies that can clean up those problems. We should not take the leftist model of offering up scare stories to spur action on problems that may not exist. One would think that this is obvious. However, as long as alarmism is valued over truth, there is no hope of pursuing a sensible agenda that will help both the environment and humanity.

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7 reasons why global warming

is a scam

By Joseph L. Bast

1 Most scientists do not believe human activities threaten to disrupt the Earth's climate

More than 17,000 scientists signed a petition circulated by the Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine saying, in part, "there is no convincing scientific evidence that human release of carbon dioxide, methane, or other greenhouse gases is causing or will, in the foreseeable future, cause catastrophic heating of the Earth's atmosphere and disruption of the Earth's climate."

2 Our most reliable sources of temperature data show no global warming trend

Satellite readings of temperatures in the lower troposphere (an area scientists predict would immediately reflect any global warming) show no warming since readings were begun 23 years ago. These readings are accurate to within 0.01°C.

3 Global computer models are too crude to predict future climate changes

In order to get their models to produce predictions that are close to their designers' expectations, modelers resort to "flux adjustments" that can be 25 times larger than the effect of doubling carbon dioxide concentrations. Richard A. Kerr, a writer for *Science*, says "climate modelers have been 'cheating' for so long it's almost become respectable."

4 The IPCC did not prove that human activities are causing global warming

According to *Climate Change 2001*, the latest report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), "The Earth's atmosphere-ocean dynamics is chaotic: its evolution is sensitive to small perturbations in initial conditions. This sensitivity limits our ability to predict the detailed evolution of weather; inevitable errors and uncertainties in the starting conditions of a weather forecast amplify through the forecast. As well as uncertainty in initial conditions, such predictions are also degraded by errors and uncertainties in our ability to represent accurately the significant climate processes."

5 A modest amount of global warming, should it occur, would be beneficial to the natural world and to human civilization

Temperatures during the Medieval Warm Period (roughly 800 to 1200 AD), which allowed the Vikings to settle presently inhospitable Greenland, were much higher than the worst-case scenario reported by the IPCC. The period from about 5000-3000 BC, known as the "climatic optimum," was even warmer and marked "a time when mankind began to build its first civilizations," observes James Plummer and Frances B. Smith in a study for *Consumer Alert*. "There is good reason to believe that a warmer climate would have a similar effect on the health and welfare of our own far more advanced and adaptable civilization today."

6 Efforts to quickly reduce human greenhouse gas emissions would be costly and would not stop Earth's climate from changing

Reducing U.S. carbon dioxide emissions to 7 percent below 1990's levels by the year 2012—the target set by the Kyoto Protocol—would require higher energy taxes and regulations causing the nation to lose 2.4 million jobs and \$300 billion in annual economic output. Average household income nationwide would fall by \$2,700, and state tax revenues would decline by \$93.1 billion due to less taxable earned income and sales, and lower property values. Full implementation of the Kyoto Protocol by all participating nations would reduce global temperature in the year 2100 by a mere 0.14°C.

7 The best strategy to pursue is "no regrets"

The alternative to demands for immediate action to "stop global warming" is not to do nothing. The best strategy is to invest in atmospheric research, and to invest in reducing emissions only when such investments make economic sense in their own right. This strategy is called "no regrets." It positions us to respond quickly to bad news while avoiding the mistake of spending too much, too soon, preparing for a threat that never materializes.

Joseph Bast is president of The Heartland Institute, a nonprofit research organization based in Chicago, and coauthor of several books, including *Eco-Sanity: A Common-Sense Guide to Environmentalism*, which has been called "perhaps the best single environmental volume currently available . . . a gem." The book and Heartland's monthly newspaper, *Environment & Climate News*, debunk environmental myths and lay out a common-sense agenda for protecting the environment.

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