

November 2003

PRINCETON TORY

A painting of a hand holding a dollar bill with a red splatter over it. The hand is rendered in black and yellow, with the dollar bill in the center. A red splatter, resembling blood, is smeared over the bill. The background is a textured yellow and black.

Anti- Americanism in the WWS

Baehr on the Woodrow Wilson School

Sahner on Slaughter

Andrews on Krugman

The '07 Rant & more!

None of the Above
including
None of the Above

Above:
Feligious "Art"
in Robertson Ha 99

van - London

THE PRINCETON TORY

November 2003
Volume XX - Issue V

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The Princeton Tory accepts letters to the editor. Direct correspondence to: P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, NJ 08542; or by e-mail: tory@Princeton.edu. Advertisement rates for *The Princeton Tory* are: \$75 for a quarter page, \$150 for a half page, \$250 for a full page, and \$350 for the back cover. Donations to *The Princeton Tory* are fully tax-deductible. Please mail donations to: P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, NJ 08542.

The Princeton Tory is a member of the Collegiate Network. *The Princeton Tory* gives special thanks to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute and Princeton Alumni Viewpoints.

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Notes from the Publisher

Woody Who?

Things for which you can thank Woodrow Wilson: Your precept from hell. Your income tax. The hour-long State of the Union address. Oh yeah, and World War II.

Wilson campaigned for reelection by the motto, "he kept us out of the War." He nevertheless asked Congress to declare war on Germany in April 1917. Imagine how liberals would respond to such a war today. Would the Zimmerman telegram receive as much of the media's second-guessing as British intelligence on African uranium? Would Michael Moore call Wilson, reelected with only forty-two percent of the popular vote, a "fictional President"? Would CNN report a "quagmire" at Ypres?

Once peace was won, Wilson allowed his European allies to impose a punitive peace on Germany. The allies humiliated Germany, forcing her to admit guilt and pay reparations, drastically limiting her defense forces, and crippling her economy. This humiliation caused fierce resentment of the victors and created an environment hospitable to National Socialism. Twenty years later, Adolf Hitler was Chancellor of the Third Reich, and Europe was once again on the brink of war.

After World War II, Harry Truman knew better than to punish the German people with reparations. Instead, he led the U.S. to one of the greatest displays of international goodwill in history. Although at the time, the newspapers were calling the Marshall Plan names very similar to what they are now calling the Iraq reconstruction effort, the Marshall Plan proved effective in rebuilding democracies and preventing Communism from spreading further.

Many Democrats in Congress tried unsuccessfully to impose a more punitive peace on Iraq by forcing the new Iraqi government to take reconstruction loans. Bush's \$87 billion grant package won out. In this sense, Bush is comparable to Princeton, which practices a "no-loan" financial aid policy, and the Democrats are comparable to Yale, which, as we all know, sucks.

Although Wilson agreed to impose a punitive peace on Germany, President Bush understands the need to rebuild a free Iraq. Otherwise, we will have deposed the Kaiser only to see him replaced by the Führer.

What's so great about Woodrow Wilson? It seems odd that Princeton would name a school of public policy and international relations after a President whose major foreign policy effort, the ratification of Versailles, which would form the League of Nations, failed. It failed because Wilson was completely unwilling to compromise with Congress on any of his Fourteen Points, and he lost them all. One of the most uncompromisingly liberal politicians in American history is enshrined as the model for future public servants here at Princeton. With this flawed model, it's little surprise that the Wilson School is the source of perpetual blundering and misguided policy that it is today.

We at the *Tory* have loosely themed this issue on the WWS, giving a few examples of how it undermines basic American values; the criminal "art" on the cover is one glaring example. How an institution that professes to uphold the rule of law could sponsor an exhibit of defaced American currency as an artistic statement is beyond me: The WWS flouts U.S. Code specifically prohibiting cementing bills to surfaces and generally prohibiting defacement like a red spray-painted X. We hope you enjoy the issue.

Cordially,
John Andrews '05



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P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, New Jersey 08542
The editors welcome, and will print, letters on any topic.

THE PRINCETON TORY

November 2003

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THE RANT

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Tory

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We’re Not in Athens Anymore

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Evan Baehr '05

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DEAN’S LIST

The following professors have donated \$200 or more to Howard Dean’s campaign this year:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| Andrew Appel (COS) | \$1,000 |
| Anthony K. Appiah (PHI) | 250 |
| Sara Curran (SOC) | 250 |
| Robert Fagles (COM) | 250 |
| Robert Gilpin (WWS) | 500 |
| Eagle Glassheim (HIS) | 250 |
| Suzanne Keller (SOC) | 1000 |
| Peter Meyers (PHY) | 500 |
| Chiara Nappi (PHY) | 1000 |
| Elaine Pagels (REL) | 250 |
| Robert Phinney (GEO) | 250 |
| Bastiaan van Fraassen (PHI) | 250 |
| Frank Von Hippel (WWS) | 500 |

DUBYA’S LIST

The following professors have donated \$200 or more to George W. Bush’s campaign this year:

(source: FEC)

THE RANT

➤ Is the University anti-American? Consider this: While the rest of the United States observed Columbus Day, Dean of Undergraduate Students Thomas Dunne, the USG, and Paul Breitman's Frist Campus Center instead recognized "Indigenous People's Day." They commemorated this occasion with the slogan, "Fighting Terrorism Since 1492." (So much for the University's commitment to Western Civilization. We guess it never occurred to the USG that without these so-called terrorists, there would be no universities in the New World.) Furthermore, Breitman's Campus Center has an interesting policy preventing the display of the American flag: After noticing the large rainbow-striped flags hung in Frist for the LGBT's Gay Pride Week, the *Tory* asked Breitman whether Frist would similarly display other flags for other occasions – namely, the American flag on Veterans Day. Breitman refused to give Old Glory equal treatment. He explained, in part:

As stated in the 2002 edition of Princeton University's Rights, Rules, Responsibilities publication that is provided to every member of the Princeton University community, "Princeton University strives to be an intellectual and residential community in which all members can participate fully and equally, in an atmosphere free from all manifestations of bias and from all forms of harassment, exploitation, or intimidation. As an intellectual community, it attaches great value to freedom of expression and vigorous debate, but it also attaches great importance to mutual respect, and it deplores expressions of hatred directed against any individual or group. The University seeks to promote the full inclusion of all members and groups in every aspect of University life."

In direct support of those ideals, the Frist Campus Center is an inviting, inclusive, and exciting gathering place for the entire campus community. ... Through a diverse array of quality programs, services, and facilities, the Frist Campus Center provides opportunities for all components of the Princeton community to be involved in campus life and to create an atmosphere of mutual respect for individuals and groups to interact and learn from one another. ...

It is in this spirit that the rainbow flags are displayed within the Frist Campus Center during Gay Pride Week, which is a duly registered and sanctioned community annual event at Princeton University.

Something's terribly wrong with this buzzword soup. First of all, flags aren't substantive arguments. They simply demarcate boundaries of allegiance. The rainbow flags are the LGBT's way of saying, "we're in

control here." They shouldn't be protected under RR&R. However, if the LGBT's flags are to be treated as privileged speech, then stated University standards of fairness require that the same privilege be extended to all groups. If the same privilege is not extended to everyone, then these flags are in violation of RR&R, because under Breitman, these rainbow flags are a manifestation of bias: Bias against those who have strong moral and religious beliefs, those who are part of the majority of Americans, and the majority of American legislators, who have defined marriage as heterosexual. This display also constitutes "intimidation" to those who don't toe the University's line on homosexuality. Trust us – if you walk into Frist Campus Center as a conservative freshman, and you see those big rainbow flags officially displayed, you're going to think twice about "participating fully and equally" in this "intellectual and residential community" when it comes to some of the most important policy questions facing society today.

Just as the University twisted the intent of the Robertson family by manipulating the Wilson School's endowment, it's ignoring what Bill Frist, supporter of the Defense of Marriage Act and Marriage Protection Week, would have wanted this Campus Center to become. Future donors, and current patrons of the Frist cafeteria, beware.

All fair-minded and patriotic students should be appalled by the Frist director's Orwellian "equality." You don't really hate veterans, do you, Mr. Breitman?

➤ The fact that the USG is creating an *ad hoc* committee solely to discuss issues relating to gays only furthers student government's image as an organization mostly dedicated to the needs of select, coincidentally often liberal, advocacy groups. But what about the "frightening" discrimination they are facing on Princeton's campus? The better question should be why the issues of this one minority are so much more important than those of the Jews, Catholics, Middle-Easterners, conservatives, or even varsity athletes, all of whom face negative discrimination as well. Of course, this overlooks the more basic matter as to whether the USG, whose Student Life Committee is expected to vote on a "Social Honor Code" requiring students to sign a pledge to act with "respect for others," deserves any relevance in the area of determining what students think about each other.

➤ Well, we hope everyone had a fabulous "Gay Jeans Day." If you didn't read the memo and wore Levi's, you were probably wondering exactly why, on one particular day, you got all those lascivious gazes from members of the same sex. In protest, we're declaring

today to be “Social Conservative Clothing Day.” Therefore, everyone who wears clothing today automatically supports the institution of marriage (that’s one man, one woman) as the foundation of decent, American society. Wow, look how many supporters we have!

- Two prominent Democrats stupefy us with their command of astronomy and physics. Explains ex-General Wesley Clark: “I still believe in $E=mc^2$, but I can’t believe that in all of human history, we’ll never ever be able to go beyond the speed of light to reach where we want to go. I happen to believe that mankind can do it... It’s my only faith-based initiative.” However, a recent statement from ex-Governor Gray Davis calls into question the need for visiting far-flung galaxies: “We have people from all planets here in California.” With so many aliens (legal and otherwise), and a time-traveling cyborg protecting the Golden State, why not forget the warp drive and fly to sunny California instead?
- The next contestant in the “weirdest Democratic Presidential candidate” race is Dennis Kucinich. According to his website, “Congressman Kucinich is one of the few vegans in Congress, a dietary decision he credits not only with improving his health, but in deepening his belief in the sacredness of all species.” Click the “Reproductive Rights” link, and you find that he “wholeheartedly support[s] a woman’s right to choose.” It’s nice to know that in Kucinich’s hierarchy of sacredness, the unborn child ranks somewhere between tuna fish and cauliflower (or below cauliflower, if Dennis is hungry). On that same page, we find the following admonishment, “In our society, all women and all men have a right to make difficult moral decisions and make personal choices. But women will not be equal to men if this constitutionally protected right is denied.” Presumably, Dennis would have no objection if abortions were banned for men as well as women? Kucinich concedes that human life is sacred by virtue of its human species, a rationale which draws no distinction between born and unborn, so how does he support abortion on demand?
- The *Tory* had another hearty laugh at the expense of the *Daily Prince*’s editorial board, this one after reading October 20’s “Closeted conservatism.” For the majority of students who don’t subscribe to the *Prince*, we’ll recap. The editorial board cited its unanimous and consistently vocal support for so-called gay rights and noted, “But we were nonetheless surprised, and even concerned, to see that we did not receive a single submission last week criticizing any of the Awareness Week events.” Can you imagine any decent, self-respecting newspaper (say the *Princeton Packet*) whining, “how come nobody writes us letters anymore?” If Austin Starkweather would look up from the Tilghman press releases his staff embellishes to call “news,” to consult his circulation manager, he might discover that

while the student body is growing, student subscriptions are conversely approaching nil. Perhaps the more fundamental whine is, “how come nobody reads us anymore?” To begin to answer this question, let’s return to the editorial, where the editors admitted giving the campus only one side of the issue: “So today, even as we assert our wholehearted support for gay rights, we still urge those who don’t match this full acceptance to speak up. Only when they voice their concerns and reservations in a truly open and free dialogue can latent stereotypes and misconceptions be finally put to rest.” Mr. Starkweather, there are far less condescending ways to say, “stop hiding, so we can blast you.” Also, it’s pretty clear whose side you believe has the ‘latent stereotypes and misconceptions.’ Although the editors of the *Prince* have just declared conservatives to be homophobes, we have a couple alternative explanations. On one hand, it’s possible that so-called closet conservatives have better things to do, like going to church or, God forbid, on dates. But isn’t it just as likely that the *Prince* op-ed page, through unrepentant ideological bias compounded by downright cluelessness and borderline literacy, has alienated conservative intellectuals to the point that they no longer read it?

- Congratulations to President Bush’s re-election campaign on raising close to \$50 million over the past two months. That pile of money consists of many donations, even if they were all the legal maximum of \$2,000 under the unconstitutional McCain-Feingold regulations. However, a few of us at the *Tory* are somewhat disturbed by Bush’s largesse. The fundraising success of all candidates seems to indicate that more and more people view government as affecting (more and more) their livelihoods; thus, the real solution to big-money campaigning is to cut government, and cut it a lot. But that makes too much sense to be taken seriously...
- After one too many draughts from Bazarsky’s fairy fountain, the Center for Jewish Life has decided to form “a Jewish LGBT group,” according to its newsletter. This group is planning “religious activities,” namely “trips to the LGBT shuls in NYC and Philly.” If you happen to be fluent in both Newspeak and Yiddish, you might wonder why the CJL is exporting students to pseudo-synagogues which sanction decidedly un-Kosher practices. Hey guys – don’t forget to stop for cheese-steaks on the way back.
- Outdoor Action was once a beloved freshman trek through the rugged wilderness. Sadly, it has devolved into politically correct sensitivity training, thanks to the new “Cultural Diversity and Social Justice Guide,” developed by “Dialogue@Princeton” and adopted by OA director Rick Curtiss. Intrepid OA leaders are now instructed to teach their frosh about prejudices from “Ableism” to “Xenocentrism.” But the Social Justice Guide isn’t as unprejudiced as it purports to be: “White people” are listed as the sole “Agent Group” responsible

Because Children are the Future...

THE '07 RANT

for racism, and “Christians” constitute the only group listed for “Anti-Semitism.” (Maybe Curtiss and Dialogue@Princeton’s Fleurette King should take a nice, long hike through Saudi Arabia.) Likewise, sexism is strictly the domain of males. King is also responsible for such neologic atrocities as “Lookism,” “Transgenderphobia,” and “Sizism.” The Tory would like to create a word of its own: “wussification.” It’s now mandatory for each incoming freshman – oops, I mean “first-year.”

➤ What’s up with people giving me dirty looks when I tell them that I’m conservative? Yes, I’m African-American and no, there’s no unspoken rule that says that all minorities must be liberal. The conservative agenda makes sense to me while the majority of the liberal agenda simply enrages me, so is there any reason why I should be liberal? If a person, race or ethnicity aside, does not agree with liberal political beliefs, then that person has the right to be conservative. Trust me, conservative and minority are not mutually exclusive. I’m a minority. I’m a conservative, and I’m proud of it.


➤ During freshman week, the new Butler College Master, Lee Mitchell, made some rather interesting remarks. In a speech on “civility” he insulted Rush Limbaugh by citing him as an example of how “incivility” has begun to permeate our modern society. Apparently, Mitchell believes that he is more “civil” than that nasty Rush Limbaugh and those who listen to him. Secondly, Mitchell extolled the virtues of drinking, citing how alcohol can change the way you think, and after all, University life should be all about thinking in new and different ways. He failed to mention that, for his audience, this behavior is illegal. So, the Princeton administration endorses underage drinking and disdains conservatives. The stereotypes were right!

➤ Speaking of Rush and rushing... The most meritocratic thing in this country is professional sport, right? Wrong. Rush Limbaugh is even now at the center of a firestorm of race-baiting over his statement that Donovan McNabb is being cut slack because, as a black athlete, there are people with vested interests in his success. We all remember how fast Vinny Testaverde was dropped after his dismal start. Mr. McNabb has backups just as viable as Chad Pennington. It’s not results — A.J. Feeley went 4-1. It’s not fan base — Philadelphia fans were just as vocal for Koy Detmer and Mr. Feeley. They even started a chant during the Eagles’ second loss of this season for Mr. Feeley. It would be nice to say that this sort of thing is an isolated occurrence. But anyone who witnessed the earlier kerfuffle

over Steve Mariucci’s move to Detroit knows that this is not the case. Mr. Mariucci had for a long time been the number one pick for the Lions’ new coach. But the Lions, complying with NFL requirements, had attempted to pursue interviews with several black candidates, who, quite rightly, refused to participate in the charade. And now the Lions are being barbecued on Jesse Jackson’s grill. Rev. Jesse, football isn’t your business.

➤ Let’s hear it for the majority of one. The *Prince* is hardly alone this month as it blames Bush for using up America’s “reservoir of good will” with other countries and suggests that “perhaps the solution that would most quickly make the world happy [is to] bring back Bill Clinton,” before going on to make fun of the way Bush talks (which interestingly does not include existential questions on ‘what the meaning of “is” is.’) It’s not clear that there ever was true good will towards America, because unprosperous and unfree countries didn’t stop being jealous of us after 9/11, so when did world opinion (commonly known as peer pressure) become the motive for America’s foreign policy? International politics is a constant power struggle, and decisive action asserts America’s sovereignty. I, for one, am proud that our President can “stand up for what is right, even when standing alone,” which is the mark of a true leader.

➤ Correct me if I am wrong, but the market clearing price of Pepsi has nothing to do with gun control or hating George Bush. Yet, pose such a question to one of Professor Reinhardt’s students, and they would be hard pressed to realize there is a distinction between Microeconomics and Bush-hating. Reinhardt clutters our minds and in-boxes with the latter. Already, he has sent a number of articles, mostly from *The New York Times* - denouncing Bush’s economic and foreign policies. Many of my classmates, perhaps wondering if these remarks will be tested on the final, unquestioningly accept them as if Jim Jones were up there teaching. Pass the Kool-Aid.

➤ Once again, free markets outperform the government. Health Canada recently paid millions to establish a legal supply of medicinal marijuana. The official product is as unappealing to Canadians as ketchup-flavored chips are to us. According to lab tests, it was low in THC (marijuana’s active ingredient) and high in contaminants. One man receiving the first batch of government-approved pot said that it was “unsuitable for human consumption.” Maybe the government should have asked drug dealers for advice. We’ll pass... 

-- Compiled by the Editors

CHRISTIANS AND TIGERS

Unequal Protection for Princeton's Catholics

Duncan C. Sahrner '06

Imagine that you walk into a University building and you see an art exhibit in the foyer. Being a cultured and curious Princetonian, you decide to take a closer look at these pieces, whose bright colors and mixed media intrigue you from a distance. The wall plaque explaining the display says that the artist's experiences as a post-September 11th American inform his work; the pieces express the anguish and fear underlying daily life after the terrorist attacks. Most of these pieces are unremarkable as far the statement they make: the themes of paranoia and horror are not so unique. But then, you notice one canvas has a series of crescents-and-stars, symbols of Islam, arranged like a chain around a picture of the destroyed World Trade Center. The title beneath the canvas is "Shackles of Terrorism."

Are you outraged? Disturbed? Sickened? A great number of people on this campus would cite those as their immediate reactions to this hypothetical piece. Interestingly enough, however, very few people felt such indignation when the Woodrow Wilson School mounted a display last spring with three blatantly anti-Christian pieces, two of which, more specifically, used Roman Catholic objects: the rosary, the crucifix, the Sacred Heart, and the priest's robe. The display, by New York artist Juan Sanchez and entitled "Ricanstructions," was ostensibly an expression of his frustration with the social problems plaguing Puerto Rico, his cultural home. The Wilson School has its own art curator who selected and then arranged the installation of the exhibit. It was put up in the late spring and an uproar immediately followed. Several members of the Aquinas Institute, Princeton's Catholic fellowship, approached Anne-Marie Slaughter, Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School, and voiced their complaints.

The three pieces drawing the students' ire were not subtle in their use of



Jan Luiken, illustration, *T. J. van Braght's Martyr's Mirror*, 1685.

Christian imagery. On one canvas Sanchez arranged naked female torsos in the shape of the cross. Another piece featured at its center a torn picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The third piece—which inspired this article's introduction—concentrated the viewer's attention on several Catholic devotional objects under the title "Shackles of the AIDS Virus."

The term "desecration" means the irreverent use or destruction of sacred objects or symbols. Simply, Sanchez employed images and objects sacred to Christians in a way that contradicted the character and spirit of their use, and was thus guilty of desecration.

It is not the purpose of this article to suggest that a private individual should be forbidden from such behavior. Rather, the argument concerns the artwork's financial sponsorship and public exhibition by the Woodrow Wilson School, which, as a department of Princeton University, is required to observe certain standards of fair treatment.

So what did Dean Slaughter do when the Aquinas representatives brought their objections before her and requested that she remove the offending works? Ap-

parently, Slaughter saw an opportunity for "dialogue."

Now, "dialogue" on this campus always deserves a wary approach. As this magazine has repeatedly argued, dialogue requires open-mindedness and willingness to accept reasonable arguments, and the liberal orthodoxy is rarely willing to meet the heretic halfway. Thus, at University events variously described as dialogues, forums, orientations, or information sessions, the University responds not with reason but with dogma.

True "dialogue" is not bad; indeed, it is useful in producing substantive, well-advised change. But the discussion that Dean Slaughter set up, entitled "Sacred Symbols, Artistic Expression, and Public Space: A Fruitful Tension?", unfortunately went the way of previous, disingenuous pseudo-dialogue.

Many faculty members attended the debate, along with the artist Juan Sanchez. Most of the students present were members of Princeton's Christian fellowships, in particular the Aquinas Institute. Reverend Thomas Mullelly, Aquinas' chaplain also attended.

(Continued, **TIGERS**, page 14)

REASON ON A THURSDAY AFTERNOON

Freshman Orientation Normalizes Promiscuity

Christian Sahner '07

"This might be *the* night," confided the freshman blonde, "it's our second date." *Sex on a Saturday Night*, the mandatory freshman orientation drama, gave Princeton's new arrivals the official perspective on the nature and frequency of sexual relationships on campus.

The story itself revolves around Joe, a somewhat bookish, naïve upper-classman, who has scored a big date with Frances, an attractive freshman from psychology class. His two sex-savvy, quick-witted friends encourage him to drink and to bring the girl back to the room at the end of the night. They offer condoms, wax poetic about intercourse, and offer Joe the keys to a secluded single on campus.

Meanwhile, Frances and her gang of freshman galpals prepare for their night out as well. Like their male counterparts in the other room, they can hardly wait for the revelry to start—especially the sex.

After a sad string of crude, adolescent jokes on masturbation, condoms, and hook-ups, nearly every character ends up either getting intoxicated, hopping in bed with another, or in the sad case of Frances, losing consciousness and subsequently being raped on the floor of the Cannon Club (resurrected for dramatic purposes). The take-home lesson from this shallow story of sexual dynamics at Princeton, interspersed with birth-control and seduction techniques, is that one oughtn't to be raped.

At some point in a student's pre-college life, he or she receives "the talk," usually from a parent, grandparent, or guardian, including all the substantive content of *Sex on a Saturday Night* and hopefully including some moral guidance. Public schools provide the former, while often omitting the latter. Let's leave aside the questions of whether, in the twenty-first century, incoming freshmen really need to be warned about rape or instructed in contraception, and of whether it's in good taste for Princeton to condescend

to them or waste their time in this fashion.

Instead, let's explore whether *Sex on a Saturday Night* is accurate in its disclaimer-free portrayal of Princeton's sex life, and if not, whether its dramatic license is justifiable, morally or practically.

Before going further, one would be wise to ask, "How sexually active is Princeton's student body?" The answer may surprise you.

Princeton is among the least sexually active schools in the country, at least according to a 1998 *Daily Prince* poll. Only 56 percent of the student body reported having had sex before, in contrast to a 1995 Center for Disease Control Study which fixed the national average at 83 percent. Princeton's numbers paled in contrast to other Ivy League institutions, for example Yale and Penn, which boasted averages of 73 and 74 percent, respectively. Of course, in terms of promiscuity, no campus can compete with the couples of *Sex on a Saturday Night*, who boast a perfect 100.

If only 56 percent of students, including upperclassmen, have had intercourse before, it seems as good a guess as any that most incoming freshmen are virgins and will remain so throughout their first year. Clearly, freshmen are not getting the whole truth.

Dr. Thema Bryant-Davis, the psychologist who directs the sexual assault and harassment counseling center on campus, SHARE, is in charge of *Sex on Saturday Night*. She finds the drama to be representative of student life; in fact, in order "to be more accurate and inclusive in [its] description of the social scene on campus," she included an interracial couple and the play's first homosexual couple. However, even while including

these rarer groups, the drama does not give so much as a nod to the vast percentage of abstinent students on campus. Even the play's stereotyped "good guy," who resists his girlfriend's explicit advances in one scene, instructs his friends on the use of a "make-out CD" — which he describes as the fastest track to getting the girl in bed. Such was the closest the play offered to a truly abstinent character. Clearly, Bryant-Davis's view of campus sexuality, perhaps gained by counseling students who are by definition victims, is at great odds with the actual student culture.

So what, if Bryant-Davis is wrong on the amount of sex going on at Princeton? Isn't it better for the freshmen to be over- than under-prepared?

Well, *Sex on a Saturday Night* creates two impressions in the freshman mind:

First, there's the predictive description of the campus sex life. The play fixed several alarming generalizations in the minds of the vulnerable audience. For one, it stereotyped upperclassmen as sex-crazed fiends whose targets of choice are naïve, smitten freshman girls. We are led to believe that a predatory dynamic exists between the two groups, no doubt unsettling many of the girls in the audience. By extension, freshmen should expect their friends, roommates, and "significant others" to seek and engage in this sort of activity. Of additional worry, with each character in the play so focused on sex, the play makes it appear that not a decent guy or girl lives on campus; "forget about dating here," they seem to say, "cause unless you're into drinking or one night stands, you're out of luck." Disturbingly, the drama implies a high degree of sexual experience among all classes of students;



Love is patient:
Almost half of Princeton students,
and most freshmen, are virgins.

most of its freshman girls, we conclude, had been sexually active in high school. What message do these sexually active young women send to the incoming freshman virgins? "You're behind already!" (And classes haven't even started.)

This reaction hints at the second, and even more troubling, impression the play leaves in the freshman mind: a normative description of sex at Princeton,

involving alcohol, sexual abuse, and the cold; however, the administration hardly expressed the same concern for student welfare in *Sex on a Saturday Night*, for the play sidestepped the mental and physical dangers of so-called safe sex. The Residential Advisers, who accompanied (and sometimes dragged) students to the performance, are themselves required to provide condoms on demand and sexual counseling

to their advisees, but are not trained in any comparable abstinence counseling. So what is the university

to seduce the girl as she consumes alcohol? Such hypocrisies abound in the wake of the Tilghman administration's retreat from traditional University standards of morality. Indeed, the play presented no discernable moral message, only a practical albeit unnecessary caution that excessive drinking might lead to morning unpleasanties. Like much of the new, enlightened Princeton, *Sex on a Saturday Night* reeks of moral relativism.

If Princeton applies strict ethical standards in the classroom and on the playing field, why is it afraid to censure social behaviors, as well? Apparently the University would rather exercise a hands-off policy (in the presence of condoms and consent) than assume any responsibility for sexual morality on campus. So much for *in loco parentis*.

So what is SHARE's advice to freshman on dating success at Princeton? Hook up "responsibly," use a condom, and drink so long as it doesn't land you passed out in the Woody Woo fountain. Indeed, *Sex on a Saturday Night* contained only a mild warning against sexual assault, and instead became a tacit celebration of imagined campus promiscuity. This was my introduction to integrity at Princeton. ■

By misleading freshmen about the actual sexual climate of Princeton, *Sex on a Saturday Night* is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

where apparently consent and condoms are the necessary and sufficient conditions for sex to be "healthy," and given "healthy," sex is upon no grounds objectionable. To argue otherwise exceeds the scope of this article, but suffice it to say that this attitude is at great odds with the moral convictions of most freshmen and the parents who entrust them to the University's care. If freshmen take its normative message to heart, *Sex on a Saturday Night* is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In 1999, the university banned the Nude Olympics for alleged health risks

really saying through all this? Its message seems tinged with hypocrisy: that it is simultaneously unacceptable to engage in certain practices for fear of various injuries, but at the same time, promiscuity is acceptable and without consequences.

Or consider that the drama glorifies seduction with alcohol, but not rape. Each constitutes a subversion of the rational will of the target who, at some level, "knows better," and the agent knows that the target doesn't really want sex, otherwise seduction or rape wouldn't be necessary. So why is it laudable for the guy



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WE'RE NOT IN ATHENS ANYMORE

Searching for Meaning in the Wilson School

Evan Baehr '05

Entering the Woodrow Wilson School as a junior, I looked forward to the real-world approach to public policy. Since “drawing on no one department” was central to the Wilson School, I anticipated that a multifaceted approach was finally going to give me a stronger, more practical understanding; I would be able to leave the theory of abstract, philosophic concepts such as democracy, rights, and justice behind, and grapple with the challenges facing today’s politicians.

My expectations were soon verified by my task force, which is on coordinating welfare services for the poor. We were to “put aside one’s big picture” and “focus on the technical debate.” Since most valuable debate happens in the aisle — that is, on the *ideological* middle ground of Congress — all debate happening far left or right of the aisle isn’t worth anything. We would master the nitty-gritty, able to resolve the conflicts that are barriers to successful legislation.

Once I realized what I was getting into, I reacted violently: Students in the Wilson School are required to set aside the larger questions, such as human rights, human nature, and morality, in order to study the intricacies of, for example, “coordinating welfare, child card, and food stamps for low-wage welfare recipients who are working and have children.”

My class addressed the issue in the context of existing legislation as complex, and perhaps as dry, as the striated layers of the Grand Canyon. Everything I had learned from my “non-applied” (read: meaningful) classes went out the window.

If we are really to learn how to effect change in the real world, assuming complete power of fiat and ignoring prac-

tical issues does indeed seem naïve. A WWS professor characterized politicians’ greatest folly as “falling back on ideology instead of being constructive.” Indeed the diatribes of Sen. Byrd or Sen. Thurmond probably had little role in “constructing” policy.

However, this would seem to argue that only practical, constructive means contribute to policy-making. When we consider the idealism of Martin Luther King, Jr. or Ronald Reagan it is obvious that being “ideology-neutral” is not a precondition for effecting change.

The criteria for Wilsonian policy-making are efficiency, pragmatism, and utility. Each of these can be scored almost numerically, and each is an end in itself. Program evaluation isn’t so much about meeting the objectives of the policy, but rather working in that direction very efficiently.

Pragmatism describes the Middle 10% Theory: if we were to put on a spectrum all of the positions held regarding a certain policy and number them 1 to 100, then only the arguments in the range of 45 to 55 are relevant, because the final compromise will likely be a *reversion to the mean*; arguments at 30 or 70, much less 10 or 90 (think Sharpton or Helms) are superfluous.

Theodore Marmor, a social welfare expert, calls this process “incrementalism,” painting a picture of various factions pulling back and forth in an ideological tug-of-war. He argues that this process is the necessary evil of pluralist politics. For Marmor, however, this middle-ground is ideal. He complains, “Our programs are never ‘modified’ or ‘adjusted.’ They are ‘overhauled,’ ‘re-



The Parthenon, it's not: Civic virtue

vamped,’ ‘replaced,’ or ‘totally reconstituted.’ This is hardly surprising, of course. We are thus, to credit this rhetoric, perpetually in the throes of one or another major reorientation.” He would argue that major reform never allows programs to be fully implemented, much less evaluate their long-term efficacy.

One could argue that even if this approach is the “real-life” found in Washington, the Wilson School is part of academia and therefore should not be bound by real-world impediments such as political feasibility. If the psychedelic-art-adorned walls of the Robertson basement do not offer a surreal world where radical and unique approaches to policy can be offered, then escaping the “conservative” Washington might be impossible.

In the end we might ask what meaning, if any, comes from ideology-neutral, practical policy-making. Something that came back to me from one of those “non-applied” courses gets right at the point:

Yet the exchange of one fear or pleasure or pain for another fear or pleasure or pain, which are measured like coins, the greater with the less, is not the exchange of virtue... Is there not one true coin for which all things ought to exchange? And that is wisdom; and only in exchange for this, and in company with



takes a back seat in Robertson Hall.

this, is anything truly bought or sold, whether courage or temperance or justice. And is not all true virtue the companion of wisdom, no matter what fears or pleasures or other similar goods or evils may or may not attend her? (Plato, Phædo.)

Such an “exchange of coins” metaphor aptly describes trading efficiency points for utility points. Behind all of these discussions lie truths which we perceive in shadows on the wall: matrices of numbers and statistics.



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The university used to instill morality, although doing so now would be considered an invasion of various privacy rights, and now has gone so far as to reject moral considerations. A professor was recently discussing the Nude Olympics saga and pointed out that the University made no claim as to the morality of nude Olympics, as to whether it was appropriate, respectful, or good, but instead wholly justified its prevention on the basis of risk of bodily harm. In the discussion, we might imagine a newly-hired administrator (let’s say from the South) asking, “can’t we prevent it because it’s wrong?” “Well,” a veteran administrator responds, “we cannot risk being discriminatory against the Liberated Athletes Club, whose mission is to free all formerly-bound joggers of the oppression of clothing.” That is, the University was unwilling to take a normative stance against it.

Incorporating normative evaluation schemes does seem equally removed from Washington as from the Wilson School. However, why is Washington the standard by which we judge our evaluative approach? It is the most practical one, so that when we leave the Wilson school we can ‘talk-the-talk’ in Congressional committees. But is this what we aspire to be? Are we satisfied with the red-tape bounds of Washington?

The Wilson School would have us believe that decision-making in Washington is essentially analytic, even though the federal legislature is elected by the American people, most of whom are motivated by strong moral convictions. This decision to avoid taking moral stances is itself a moral stance. But moral questions aside, is this really how Washington works?

“Task forces do not make you experts in a field, but teach you to write as if you are. I fear that this creates a group of highly motivated people who ‘walk-the-walk’ but will fail to see the implications of all that they do,” offered Alicia Clermont, a recent graduate of the Wilson School who now works in a US Embassy. To answer claims that the Wilson School’s approach is appropriately real-world, Clermont argues, “It’s a bad approach in that is superficial. In the real international sphere you are dealing with the experts. It is not enough to use big

words and be able to write long papers if you do not fully understand the issues. You will get burned.” Not only does the approach neglect morally-informed arguments, the “real-world” approach is shot down once actually in the real world.

Perhaps we could even dress like bureaucrats: grey suit, white shirt, red tie... at the very least, we can have the chain necklaces and embossed WWS name badges. Then we could really pretend to know what’s going on!

Even if all we care about is making it big in Washington, we need to learn more than the jargon, because the real world demands our substantive understanding.

So the WWS fails to adequately teach the laws of the State. But is there an even greater failing in the Wilson School? Should it bar consideration of laws higher than the ones man writes on paper or chisels into stone?

A critical *Tory* reader is apt to wonder whether or not these higher “values” or “morals” upon which one might base evaluations of policy are necessarily religiously informed. Well, take an excerpt from a recent controversial prayer offered by Rev. Joe Wright before the Kansas State House of Representatives:

Heavenly Father, we come before you today to ask your forgiveness and seek your direction and guidance... We have lost our spiritual equilibrium and inverted our values. We confess that we have ridiculed the absolute truth of your Word and called it moral pluralism. We have worshipped other gods and called it multiculturalism.

We have endorsed perversion and called it an alternative lifestyle.

We have rewarded laziness and called it welfare.

We have killed our unborn and called it choice.

We have shot abortionists and called it justifiable.

We have neglected to discipline our children and called it building esteem.

We have polluted the air with profanity and pornography and called it freedom of expression.

We have ridiculed the time-honored values of our fore-fathers and called it enlightenment.

(Continued, ATHENS, page 17)

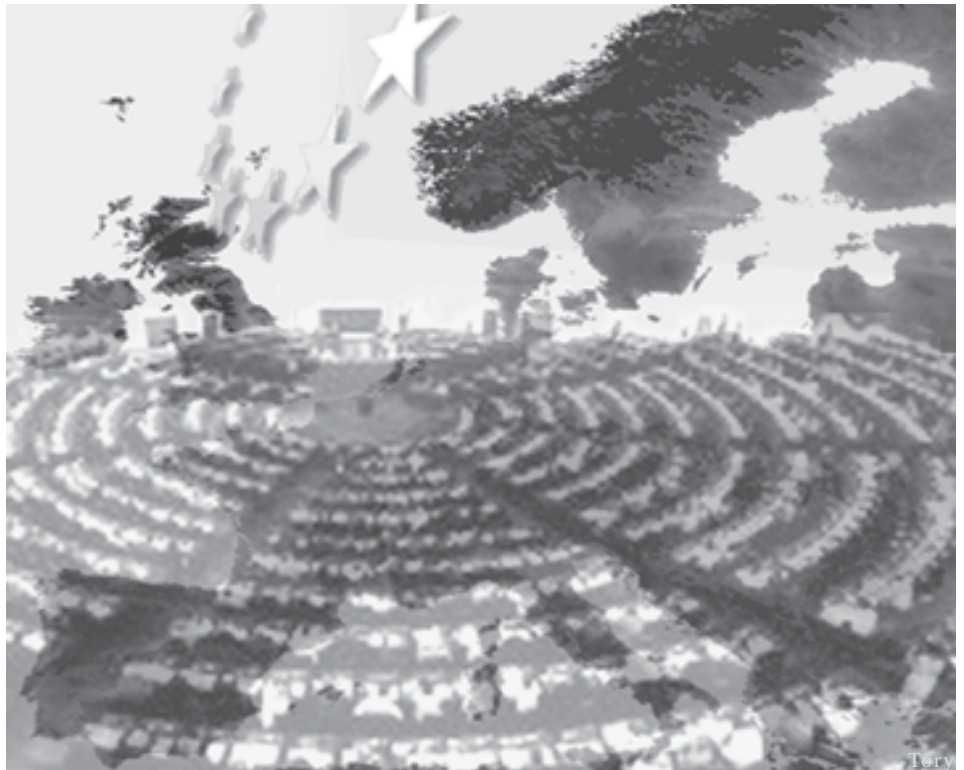
GOVERNMENT GONE WILD

Once again, Europe bids farewell to freedom.

Jurgen Reinhoudt '06

Europe is turning into a centralized socialist superstate, and the proposed European constitution would do nothing to halt this dangerous trend. One of the assumptions inherent in most Europeans' thinking is that the "welfare state" is morally superior to the American economic structure, which favors a greater reliance on market mechanisms to provide for the general welfare. While pundits like Paul Krugman ignore the economic and social costs of the welfare state completely, far from leading to greater "welfare," Europe's welfare states require draconian levels of taxation, punish excellence among students and workers, and produce permanent double-digit unemployment in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. By contrast, throughout the most recent recession, the American unemployment rate has not exceeded 6.5%. More than 50 years after the creation of a massive welfare state, Holland's poverty rate is eerily similar to the American poverty rate (both lie around 12%), while the American GDP per capita is more than 35% higher. Instead of urging Americans to stay away from the European model, pundits like Krugman urge that America swallow more of the poison that has weakened Europe so much in recent decades—socialism.

Europe's new constitution, largely shaped by ailing former French President Giscard d'Estaing, will do nothing to alleviate Europe's current economic crisis, its dismal political philosophical climate, and the screaming disconnect between European citizens and the European bureaucracy in Brussels. Giscard is desperate to leave a mark on history. After a rather unexceptional term as French President, Giscard remained active in French politics and semi-retired in the 1990s, until he was put in charge of drafting a European constitution in 2002. Do not expect a frontal attack on socialism and Europe's \$40 billion agricultural subsidy program from this establishment man.



Where the problem lies with heavy-handed government intervention in the European economy, the new constitution would encourage even more. In the form of much flowery rhetoric, the new constitution would effectively expand the already-existing European socialist superstate, with precious few checks and balances, and the results are predictable. While the European Union already has more than 97,000 pages of regulations on the books, Europe's proposed constitution would encourage an expansion of these regulations. Every candidate member state must implement the regulations if it wishes to receive full membership in the EU. Currently, regulations cover everything from the width and color of bananas to how, when, and under what circumstances a business is allowed to hire and lay off workers. Eastern European countries, having just escaped communism, have been extremely cool to implementing literally encyclopedias upon encyclopedias of new economic regulations, whose effects are downright harmful to their economies.

While America's constitution is clear, simple, and concise, Europe's proposed constitution is lengthy, unclear and filled with the most blatant of contradictions. While Giscard may have compared himself to Thomas Jefferson (who, in reality, did not work on the U.S. constitution), he is quite the opposite. Some of Giscard's philosophical views could come straight from Mao's Little Red Book. Far from ensuring political and economic *liberty* for its citizens, as America's constitution does, Europe's proposed constitution is chock-full of *rights*. To the surprise of many American constitutional scholars, certain matters would even be taken out of the democratic process because they would be enshrined in the constitution. The only "right" which entails costs to others in the American constitution is the right to a trial by jury. As Edward Rothstein has noted, Europe's constitution includes a "right" for workers to "take collective action to defend their interests, including strike action" (it is perhaps not surprising Giscard hails from France, strikers' paradise), a right to "have

access to vocational and continuing training,” a “right to engage in work,” a “right to paid maternity leave and parental leave,” a right for children to “express their views freely” and have these views “taken into consideration,” the “right to respect” for “private and family life,” etc. Phrases such as “[the Union] shall promote solidarity between generations” also do not bode well for free-marketers.

While one wonders who will enforce the right of children to have their views “taken into consideration,” an equally important question is who will pay for the “rights” that are to be enshrined in the constitution. A right to “paid maternity leave and parental leave” is a nice slogan for an inebriated demagogue making an election speech in a smoky bar, but it does not belong in a constitution. What if the British do not want a “right to paid maternity leave and parental leave”? Could a Conservative British Prime Minister refuse to implement this “right,” and go against the European constitution? As columnist George F. Will has noted, a constitution is supposed to deal with the most important matters of governance, and guarantee, among other things, a vigorous separation of power between the three branches of government, freedom of speech, limited government, and freedom from arbitrary search and seizure.

Giscard could not be further away from Jefferson’s philosophy. Jefferson expressed a hope which all of us should cherish, to this day: “If we can prevent the government from wasting the labors of the people under the pretense of taking care of them, they [the people] must become happy.” It is a hope to which most European leaders would react with mild amusement and scorn; but if Europe’s leaders are interested in creating a free, peaceful, and prosperous Europe, they would do well to read and understand the American constitution, the Declaration of Independence, as well as the writings of America’s founding fathers. No Stalin has ever come to power in the United States, though there certainly have been tyrannies in Europe (think of Salazar, Caetano,

Papadopoulos, Franco, Mussolini, and Hitler, just to name a few), with tremendous human suffering as a result. In large part, America’s constitutional checks and balances are to thank for the freedom Americans have enjoyed since 1787.

While France and Germany may claim they are pushing for further European integration in the hopes of avoiding a third world war, there is good reason to suspect the French and Germans are using the European Union to maximize their own power and influence over smaller European nations. Former German Chancellor Helmut Kohl was quite frank in this regard when he said “The future will belong to the Germans... when we build the house of Europe. This is really a big battle but it is worth the fight.” Former French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson was equally candid when he said the European Union of Maastricht “could only have been created in the absence of democracy.” The proposed constitution would do little to reduce the enormous disconnect between European institutions and European citizens. In a 2002 Eurobarometer poll, only 30% of Europeans said they understood how the EU works. This is hardly surprising: most EU decisions are made by well-paid politicians far removed from public scrutiny.

The history of the European Union is filled with scandals and intrigue. Paul van Buitenen, a Dutch bureaucrat in the control department, was suspended and ridiculed by the European Commission after he disclosed the use of fictitious contracts to outside consultants by members of the Santer Commission. He was proven right after the European Parliament (reluctantly) authorized an investigation; his reputation had nevertheless been irrevocably tarnished and smeared by the European Commission, who made life so difficult for him that he resigned. More recently, the Commission’s Chief Accountant, Marta Andreasen, was subjected to disciplinary proceedings for suggesting that the EU’s \$100 billion budget is “out of control”.

Edith Cresson, a former French Prime Minister and former EU Research and Education Commissioner, was charged with fraud by Belgian prosecutors in March 2003. The woman who has claimed that one in four British men are “homosexuals” and who attributed the economic success of the Japanese to their “ant-like” qualities faces up to 5 years in jail for “counterfeiting and personally benefiting from EU contracts.” In need of a friend during her time as EU Commissioner, she hired her dentist and close friend as an adviser on AIDS, a subject about which he knew nothing. Her dentist, the late René Berthelot, received some \$130,000 for two years’ work, during which he wrote 24 pages of notes subsequently deemed to be of little or no value. The proposed constitution would do nothing to make the European bureaucracy less susceptible to corruption.

The European Parliament has two buildings: one in Brussels and one in Strasbourg, France (at the insistence of France). The \$500 million European Parliament building in Strasbourg contains 1,133 offices, 468 of which are reserved for the administration, and 665 are office-bedrooms for the Euro-MPs. Door frames had to be removed to install designer chairs so heavy they are as good as glued to the floor. Several rooms of Members of the European Parliament are equipped with luxury showers costing \$12,000 each. The European Parliament meets in the Strasbourg building a week a month, and never in August; the rest of the time, it meets in Brussels. The list of abuses against the already overtaxed European taxpayer goes on. The proposed constitution would do nothing to streamline the Brussels bureaucracy. In the entire document, there are only three mentions of the word “efficiency.” One is in a section discussing “energy efficiency”; the other two are in sections discussing development aid and humanitarian aid. Compare that to the word “social,” which is included no less than 148 times in the draft.

(Continued, EUROPE, page 18)



Giscard d'Estaing:
Delusions of Jefferson,
minus the democracy.



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TIGERS, *continued from page 7:*

Woodrow Wilson School professor Stanley Katz moderated the discussion.

Several Catholic students gave opening statements, to which Sanchez gave a formal response. Professor Katz then opened the floor for comments.

The core of the argument against the Wilson School's sponsorship of the exhibit was that it disrespected Christian students in a way that no other religious, ethnic, or minority group would have to endure. The Christian students, along with Father Thomas Mullely and a handful of professors, argued articulately for their position, displaying a poise and courtesy many professors on the opposition failed to muster. Particularly memorable was Father Tom's response to Sanchez's slanderous description of the Catholic Church as responsible for the prevalence of AIDS in Puerto Rico. The Aquinas Institute's chaplain powerfully pointed out that no institution in the world has done more than the Catholic Church to help HIV and AIDS victims, and none with more genuine compassion.

It was difficult to ignore certain faculty members who snickered when a Catholic student explained exactly what the Sacred Heart of Jesus, literally torn apart by Sanchez, means to Catholics. People supporting the exhibit argued with varying degrees of vitriol and smugness. To be sure, some took the Christians' complaints seriously and responded in kind. Some people concluded that the Christians merely wanted other religions and ethnicities to receive the same treatment as they did; however, no group, the Catholics felt, should be subjected to patent disrespect. Others contended that imposing censorship on the Wilson School's art would dilute the material for dialogue to a vanilla blandness since every piece of social art has the potential to offend. The Christians' response to this was that they did not seek to escape criticism, but that Sanchez's art does it in an inappropriate manner. Still other people argued that Christians and the Catholic Church should, in so many words, "suck it up." According to these people, the Church as a "mainstream" institution (a premise questionable at Princeton) must accept criticism in all forms; at a minimum, they *deserve* it. Minorities, they added, merit exemption from such blunt

criticism since they somehow lack the resources to be accountable. The notion of a group deserving criticism and reprimand based on its size is intellectually dishonest and nothing more than a crutch for academic cowards.

However much Slaughter would like to appropriate Christian ideals of tolerance and suffering and wield them against the Christian side, her job as a bureaucrat is to adhere to University policy. The University non-discrimination statement claims, without exception, that the University shall not discriminate with respect to religion in its programs and activities. This statement, printed on the prospectus sent to each potential student, can be considered an advertised contract and constitutes grounds for civil action in New Jersey if breached. In order to prove a breach, one would have to show that a University official procedurally and knowingly treated one religion differently from another in an official capacity. In this case, we have evidence from the horse's mouth:



Administrators and Double Standards:
WWS Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter

Near the end of the "dialogue," a student proposed a thought experiment to Dean Slaughter: would she ever approve an exhibit that contained the piece described in this article's introduction, identifying Islam as responsible for terrorism? Would she sanction a piece with rainbows and pink triangles, still entitled "Shackles of the AIDS Virus," but one which clearly implied that homosexual behavior perpetuates the AIDS epidemic? In a response she may regret, Dean Slaughter categorically stated she would not allow such ex-

hibits. She claimed that she had been unaware of the "pain" the exhibit caused to Christian students, but this Clintonesque feeling of pain did not move her to take away the offending pieces. Her double standard lay exposed. Did she express any remorse? Not in the least—she made the meaningless response of saying "Ricanstructions" "reflected on important public-policy issues, had educational value, and stimulated thought and discussion." It certainly stimulated thought and discussion—but was it of more educational value than looking at the relationship between homosexuality and the spread of AIDS? Did it more strongly reflect public policy concerns than the connection between Islam and terrorism? So far, Slaughter has dodged these questions.

National Review Online's Anne Morse had this to say about Slaughter:

Dean Slaughter, in a moment of candor she may regret, acknowledged it was unlikely she would sponsor art that abused the symbols of other campus groups — such as Muslims. ...

Regarding Slaughter's blatant double-standard, Princeton student Daniel Mark, former president of the Center for Jewish Life, suggests she remove offensive "Ricanstructions" elements "or articulate principles based on which she can justify sponsoring art that is offensive to Catholics when, by her own admission, she would not sponsor some other forms of offensive art."

When I asked Slaughter to reconcile a conduct code demanding respect for Catholics with art that makes profane use of their symbols, she replied via email that "Ricanstructions" has been "displayed without controversy in a number of highly respected museums" including Catholic St. Bonaventure University in New York.

This is the moral equivalent of defending a man who tells dirty jokes in Slaughter's presence — even if such jokes offend her — because some women enjoy such jokes.

Worse, Slaughter's response to Morse turns out to be disingenuous: Saint Bonaventure exhibited only one of the controversial pieces, not the "Ricanstructions" collection; specifically, it displayed "Shackles of the AIDS Virus" under a different title. The title, naturally, is perhaps the most objectionable aspect of the work. And the "without controversy" bit seems

to have been completely imagined. We could take this remark as the innocuous omission of a clueless administrator, perhaps one hoodwinked by a radical artist into legitimizing his art. Or, we could take her response as deliberate deceitfulness by an Officer of the University, trying to manipulate the truth for the press.

The lack of respect for, and double standard applied to, Christianity should give pause to every sensible student on this campus, regardless of religion. Princeton makes an industry out of “tolerance,” funding and staffing “Dialogue@Princeton,” the Third World Center, the Women’s Center, and LGBT Student Services. Is it morally responsible to empower other minority groups while refusing to come to the aid of a disrespected religious group? For all of their much-vaunted compassion, liberals at Princeton—Slaughter is a self-declared Democrat—found it hard to take any action beyond mere “dialogue.” Such duplicity is nauseating. The exhibit was unfairly established in the first place, and for that very reason should have been removed. But the twist of hypocrisy on Slaughter’s part made it much more painful. Her lack of action to protect Christians does more than amaze. It alienates. It makes further stigmatization of Christians acceptable. Seeing how their beliefs increase their susceptibility, Christian students will be more reluctant to incorporate their beliefs into academic work. Does this not work against all of the University’s efforts to include a diversity of opinion? The University must make its position clear: either it excludes Christians from its non-discrimination statement, and therefore has no compunctions about antagonizing them, or it has seriously erred and will work seriously to correct its mistakes.

It is hard to imagine how Slaughter herself could make any meaningful amends for her lack of judgment. Feeling the Christians’ pain accomplished nothing. She let the exhibit remain on display through its originally scheduled clos-

ing date. Short of Slaughter experiencing a sudden change of heart, it would probably be insulting for her to apologize when she has made no change to address her regret for the incident.

Public exposure seems to be what Slaughter most wants to avoid. She fell under considerable scrutiny in the early summer: news of the incident exploded on a national level, with Bill O’Reilly, Chuck Colson, and *National Review* all



Lambs Before the Slaughter.

devoting significant attention to it. In the face of it all, Slaughter remained silent. Perhaps she felt that she had taken the high road in not dignifying the exposés with a response. Or was she being a snob, retreating to the Ivory Tower, assured of her position’s invulnerability? The media sources covering the story were considerable; millions of Americans pay attention to what Colson, O’Reilly, and the rest have to say. Slaughter no doubt felt some humiliation but apparently not enough to act.

Is any administrator capable of standing up for stated standards of fair treatment for Catholics against the University’s liberal orthodoxy, which, after all, grants freedom to expression only if it observes certain strictures on abortion and homosexuality, among others?

That is to say, Slaughter works for a University president who supports abortion and so-called gay rights; Tilghman even acted in last year’s production of “The Vagina Monologues.” For

Slaughter, the less risky side to take is the one against Christians. If the dialogue was any indication, the vast majority of professors and establishment liberals agree with her. They are the people who evaluate her and declare her success. Would sticking up for Christians endanger the chances of a promotion? As long as her future lies with the academy, she seems able to turn up her nose at the rest of the country’s outrage.

A glimmer of hope did come out of this debate. Christians now ask themselves how the University can sponsor a lecture on integrity and treat Honor Code violations so seriously and then speak to them with a forked tongue about respect? Moreover, it is clear that groups like the Pride Alliance might now enjoy University patronage, but for years they, too, experienced the same treatment that Christians endured through “Ricanstructions.” Why are they so reluctant to stick up for the Christians? Don’t these people self-describe as open-minded and tolerant? (Apparently only when the cause conforms to their exclusive orthodoxy.) Exposures of the double standard can only become more frequent; their accumulation may eventually prompt the University to act.

Another positive point is that not everyone within the Robertson Hall’s white walls instinctively falls into line with Slaughter. As explained earlier, several professors who supported the exhibit empathized with the Christians and did not insult their intelligence with convoluted justifications for why the Church deserves criticism. When the Wilson School curator was asked whether she would have installed the exhibit if she had known the insult it represented, she unreservedly said no. Slaughter subsequently made a very pointed correction of her employee. That curator saw the situation for what it was—a basic demand for respect—and spoke honestly. It’s unpleasant, but not impossible, to imagine that she suffered any sort of criticism from her peers. Hopefully her model will encourage other faculty members to speak out against the established anti-Christian orthodoxy.

Dean Slaughter certainly milked the reaction to “Ricanstructions” for hand-holding, pain-feeling emotional dialogue, but it is unsettling to think of the moral and potentially legal implications of her actions for the academy.



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MAKING SOCIALISM WORK FOR YOU

Drug Re-Importation, the Free-Trade Solution

Paul Thompson '06

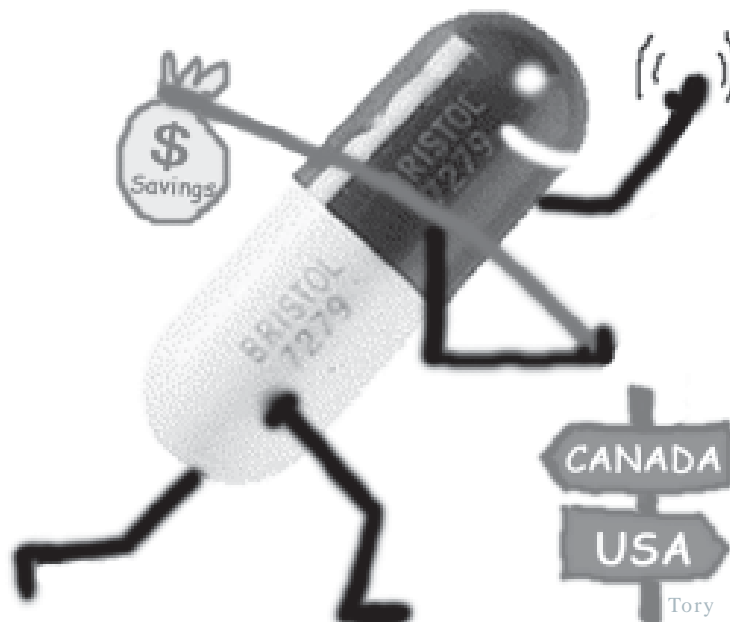
In late July, after contentious debate, the House of Representatives passed a prescription drug re-importation bill with the supporting and opposing blocs composed of motley assortments of Congressmen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) and Ron Paul (R-TX) were avid proponents, and they join forces about as often as water mixes with oil. The name of the bill says it all: The Pharmaceutical Market Access Act of 2003 would allow wholesale firms in the United States to sell prescription drugs that have been imported from foreign countries. What's the big deal? Doesn't the United States import and sell millions of goods and services from all over the world? The catch is that these drugs were originally researched, developed, and manufactured in the United States. That last tidbit, along with the strange majority support, should raise the alarm bells of common sense in everyone's mind; something is wrong with this picture.

Why did so many Republican representatives, such as House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-IL) and Bill Thomas (R-CA), who profess to be on the side of free trade, vote against the bill? Their stated reason was preserving the profit incentive to develop new and better drugs: by re-importing, the government would essentially be instituting foreign price controls on the U.S. market. The huge pharmaceutical lobby, which opposes re-importation, was an equally significant reason.



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Why did Democrats, like House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and Barney Frank (D-MA), who always profess that free trade will ruin domestic businesses and thus workers, support the bill? They attack domestic drug prices as an overt gouging of consumers, particularly of senior citizens, a key Democratic constituency. According to them, cheaper imports make sense in this isolated instance.



The lobbying was so intense on behalf of senior citizens groups that Art Linkletter once again dominated the airwaves, albeit for a little over one month.

Both groups are shortsighted in that they fail to see how free trade could reduce drug prices for U.S. consumers and benefit the pharmaceutical industry. While this is a complex issue, one thing is for certain: the re-importation bill is making the best of a bad situation.

Under current regulations, the profits from developing new drugs come from selling in the U.S. market. Foreign countries act as monopsonists (single buyers who possess pricing power) when purchasing prescription drugs from pharmaceutical companies. As a result of this power imbalance, foreign nations can ne-

gotiate to receive drugs at the cost of production (the marginal cost of producing each pill), and the pharmaceutical industry turns to the free market of the U.S. in order to recoup the fixed costs of R&D and profits. It is important to remember that the fixed costs for R&D include the costs of developing drugs that will eventually fail. This practice only works because of the temporary monopolies granted to the drug companies via patents and the current ban on re-importation.

So how would free trade improve the present situation? Let's look at the consequences from the perspective of U.S. consumers first. By importing cheap drugs, consumers can get their same drugs at a lower cost, the crux of free trade. Using an oft-cited example, a consumer could hypothetically buy her Tamoxifen (a drug for treating breast cancer) from a German firm for \$60 (a 67% profit for the firm!). That same

drug costs \$360 in the U.S., so the U.S. consumer saves a dramatic amount of money. From the perspective of big pharma, the potential benefits are farther in the future and much less obvious (which is the bane of free-traders).

The companies will have two distinct ultimatums to make to the socialist nations. First: Pay more for prescription drugs or we will not sell them to you. Second: We will only sell to nations that do not re-export. Generally speaking, allowing re-importation would give drug companies more leverage when bargaining with foreign nations – remember the monopsonist discussion in the previous paragraph? Monopsonist nations dread that their precious and extremely small supply of prescription drugs could quickly

flow to where they are most desired, and the prices in the U.S. tell us they are most desired here. So in the long run, drug companies could be paid more for drugs by socialist governments and not need to charge as much in the U.S. to recoup R&D costs and provide the profit incentive. In reality, foreign governments would probably ban re-exportation (after all, it's free) and the status quo would remain intact even if our own representatives would look beyond re-election and pass this simple, yet powerful, piece of legislation.

Another reason given by many Democrats and Republicans for voting against the bill is the risk of consumers purchasing drugs that do not meet FDA safety controls. How does Sen. Edward Kennedy, along with other paternalistic legislators, get out of bed in the morning in order to face a world of risk? This cohort mentions the potential for deaths attributable to adulterated drugs as a good reason for opposing re-importation. As Nobel Laureate Milton Friedman famously pointed out, many more people have withered on the vine while the FDA took its sweet time in testing life-extending drugs than have been saved by preventing conspicuously harmful products from reaching the marketplace. Sometimes, even the supposedly harmful drugs end up being beneficial on second trials, as was the unreported case in the Martha Stewart-Imclone debacle. More succinctly, Kennedy's argument is a non sequitur: he's concerned about deaths resulting from adulterated drugs, but not about deaths due to excessive bureaucracy. It should

be obvious that the liberal elite really fears that re-importing unchecked drugs could demonstrate what a waste and detriment the FDA is to American society.

Unfortunately, Congress and the president are poised to pass the wrong type of legislation: another untouchable entitlement program that will cost far more than its estimated \$400 billion price tag for a prescription drug benefit. (Where did the fiscal responsibility bloc go, particularly the Republicans?) Many of our more "progressive" friends, like Germany and France, who have such admired health care systems (which are only possible because of U.S. commitment to economic freedom) are now painfully realizing that they cannot afford them. Germany's chancellor is pushing for reduced taxes and less health care benefits, and France is considering reducing some government holidays in order to pay for elderly care. Why are our elected officials starting down the European path when we can already see the bleak future that those welfare states have found at the end? The nominal support of free trade in passing this bill could lead to massive dividends to all American users of prescription drugs and the companies who make them. And best of all, it would cost American taxpayers nothing. ■

ATHENS, continued from page 11:

The language in which Rev. Wright couched his argument is indeed religious, and therefore is facially dismissed by many agnostics, atheists, etc., as did the hand-

ful of Kansas State Representatives who walked out.

Directly invoking God or scripture is unlikely to be convincing to those who believe them to be fiction.. However, even the secular arguments Wright makes (multi-culturalism, welfare, pornography, etc.) are dismissed on face as religious fanaticism. Such passionate hatred of religiously informed ideas is seen here in the contemporary humanists' manifesto (*The Humanist*):

We have an obligation to expose and attack the world of religious miracles, magic, Bible-worship, Salvationism, heaven, hell, and all the mythical deities. We should be particularly specific and energetic in attacking such quack millennialists as Billy Graham and such embattled reactionaries as [the Pope] because they represent the two greatest anti-humanist aggregates in our society.

Granted, Billy Graham and John Paul II represent one end of the spectrum of morality in policy. However, that the only alternative to them is a vehement rejection of "right and wrong" in policy is false.

Making Wright's argument outside of the context of a prayer is possible, indeed similar to one I would make about the Wilson school: in the name of pluralism and practicality, the Wilson school has instrumentally defined right and wrong out of policy all together. While this may not have been their primary objective, value-stricken policy recommendations are the only offspring such parentage can produce. ■

The Joys and Toys of Conservative Thought

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THE WORLD'S WORST PROFESSOR, EVER.

John Andrews '05

You probably noticed the title of this article. In case you didn't, I'll repeat: "The World's Worst Professor, Ever."

What are you thinking, as you read this title? Perhaps, "There's no way Andrews can actually prove that statement – he'd have to compare the guy to every professor in history!" Are you disgusted by the prospect of reading an *ad hominem* attack? Or do you find yourself cheering in mindless enthusiasm, "Right On!"

Well, if my readership is representative of America, half of you have already decided that you love this article, regardless of whether I substantiate my proposition. The other half will hate this article and disagree with my conclusion, ignoring whatever evidence supports it.

Beyond the culture war, America is split into two camps which want absolutely nothing to do with one another, nor will open-mindedly engage opinions contrary to their own. One side buys books like *Treason*, and the other, *Lies and the Lying Liars Who Tell Them*, *Stupid White Men*, and *Shrub*. Publishers like Penguin, HarperCollins, and Random House market separate "imprints" for left and right titles, so shoppers don't even have to look at books with which they don't already agree. We now have one cable news

channel for the right, another for the left. Few liberals are guilty of treason, and few conservatives are lying liars, but the facts are often defenestrated when there's money and fame to be had.

"But not at Princeton," I hear you say. "This is academia, and we're intellectually honest. We're all here to find the Truth."

Not so for Professor Paul Krugman of the Wilson School. Let's examine two aspects of his work: his *New York Times* op-eds, collected in his new book, *The Great Unraveling*, and his course lectures. I suggest that the qualities exhibited in the first aspect are ill-suited for the last. The argument is titled "The World's Worst Professor" not hypocritically in the same demagoguery I condemn, but because to earnestly do so would exemplify the same reckless disregard for fact and legitimate counter-argument, not to mention downright mean-spiritedness, Krugman displays when he levels similar broadsides at our country's leaders.

In this page and a half, it would be foolish for me to try to present an exhaustive list of Krugman's bloopers in his four years on the *New York Times* op-ed page. In fact, there's an entire club devoted to doing exactly that, and I recommend it to you: PoorAndStupid.com.

Let us leave the world of newsprint, where "all the news that's fit to print" has only a fair chance of surfac-

ing, for the murky realms of internet blogdom, where you can find a pundit for just about anything.

Donald Luskin, senior partner of TrendMacrolytics and author of forthcoming *The Conspiracy to Keep You Poor and Stupid*, which seems pretty tame compared to a lot of titles currently on the shelves, has made a name for himself among *National Review Online* readers simply by checking the validity of his quotes and statistics in Krugman's column (in fact, nobody at "the newspaper of record" actually checks facts on op-eds before the column runs).

What Luskin uncovered wouldn't be so disturbing if Krugman were just another Jayson Blair, another professional newspaperman cutting corners.

Keep in mind that the guy we're talking about is actually a *professor*. He teaches young people. At least, when he's teaching. He's taking the semester off to hype *The Great Unraveling*.

Don Luskin, whom Krugman hysterically accused of "personally stalking" him on *Hannity & Colmes*, was pleased to hear that a Princeton ORFie was taking up the cause. Here's a typical example of how facts fare with Krugman, one that I borrow from Luskin:

Congressman George Nethercutt (R-WA) talked to the press about progress in Iraq. Here's the voice transcript:

So the story is better than we might be led to believe in the news. I'm

EUROPE, continued from page 13:

The proposed constitution would also not require unanimity for decision-making, giving heavy weight to a country's population in votes; this would give France and Germany yet more influence in making the important decisions. The constitution calls for a single European foreign policy, which will in practice be dominated by France, and ultimately a single defense policy. A large French influence in making a uniform European foreign policy does not bode well for the United States, as France views it as its philosophical mission to counteract American "supremacy" and "hege-

mony" on the world stage. The U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Nicholas Burns, has already warned that a common European defense policy would be a "significant threat" to NATO.

While many small countries want voting representation on the European Commission (the EU's equivalent of a cabinet), the "Big 4" (Italy, the UK, France and Germany), want to increase the efficiency of the commission by reducing its size, and create seats that would rotate among smaller nations. France and Germany also want the 25 European Heads of State to appoint a President who would serve 2.5 years (in contrast to today's practice of rotating the post among coun-

tries every 6 months). Both proposals are anathema to small nations.

Much like Woodrow Wilson, many contemporary European leaders view multinational governance and socialism as solutions to a great number of their problems. History, on the other hand, has shown us that far from solving domestic and international problems, international institutions and socialist regimes often collapse under their own weight. Europe's constitution marks yet another step in the full erosion of sovereignty of European nations. European leaders who value national sovereignty should be careful; it may soon be too late to stop the centralization of power in Brussels. ■

THE LAST WORD

just indicting the news people. But it's, it's, it's a bigger and better and more important story than losing a couple of soldiers every day, which, which heaven forbid, is awful.

Here's the news story, from *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*:

"The story of what we've done in the postwar period is remarkable," Nethercutt, R-Wash., told an audience of 65 at a noon meeting at the University of Washington's Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs. "It is a better and more important story than losing a couple of soldiers every day." He added that he did not want any more soldiers to be killed.

The way the reporter artificially dropped the end the sentence makes Nethercutt sound completely unconcerned with the loss of American life.

After Maureen Dowd capitalized on the misquotation in her *Times* op-ed, the Seattle paper corrected the quote, reprinting the statement in entirety.

Then, seven days after the *Post-Intelligencer* ran the correction, Krugman's November 11 op-ed includes:

Some Americans may share the views of the Republican congressman who said that progress in Iraq was "a better and more important story than losing a couple of soldiers every day." (Support the troops!)

Krugman lied here. He must have known the true quote, because the Seattle correction was necessitated by his colleague Dowd, and the correction ran as a regular story and made a pretty big deal among politics junkies. He chose to pass false information along to the reader. And this guy is a professor at our school?

Here's another example discovered by Luskin, concerning a man with whom I shared an office-building floor this summer, Americans for Tax Reform's Grover Norquist. Writes Krugman:

Which brings us back to Senator Miller, and all those politicians and pundits who still imagine that there is room for compromise, that they can find some bipartisan middle ground. Mr. Norquist was recently quoted in The Denver Post with the answer to that: 'Bipartisanship is another name for date rape.'

To make a long story short, Krugman was actually citing *The Washington Post* citing *The Denver Post*, and *The Washington Post* got it wrong:

The quote Norquist was citing when the *Denver Post* quoted him was originally from now-House Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-TX), referring to the pre-1994 Congresses when the Republicans were a minority. For them, 'bipartisanship' meant that they got a raw deal from the majority under ostensibly friendly terms. Put crudely, Armey was speaking of being the victim, but Krugman turned him into the rapist, and the rapist into the Norquist.

This could be written off as an innocent mistaken source for Krugman, except that *The Washington Post* columnist straightened out the error in the very next column. Krugman, however knew the *Post* messed up and used the quote to try to burn the Republicans a week after the correction appeared in the *Post*.

Note to Krugman: Most politicians are pretty well-trained, so they're not very likely to say really awful things. So when you find a quote, you have two choices. Either you could do your homework and find out whether or not the quote is legit, or you could say 'what the hell, the *Times* readers are all liberals, and they're not going to care whether or not I honestly quote this Republican; they probably hate him anyway.' First is better.

Luskin isn't the only hound on Krugman's scent, and not all the dogs are conservative. Online, liberal *Slate* magazine announces a prize for the "reader who comes up with the gloom-and-doom opinion from the fabled Princeton economist's recent writings that now looks the most embarrassingly wrong. ... No truncated quotes, edited quotes, or out-of-context quotes that don't actually reflect what Krugman is saying. Leave that to him." At the *Times*, no editor can correct an op-ed without the author's leave, and Krugman is too stubborn to give in to his "stalker" and admit dishonesty.

About a quarter of the way through the twentieth century, a German got the idea that if you told people a lie very matter-of-factly, and you told it to them often enough, eventually the people who asserted the truth would either mys-

teriously die or get tired and (either way) stop arguing with you, and everyone else would start to believe you.


Those who read Krugman's columns are presented with big lies repeatedly and matter-of-factly, and these lies echo through the rest of the media. Some lies are, "Bush said the threat from Iraq is imminent"; "Bush said the war was over in May"; and "Bush said that Iraq tried to buy uranium from Nigeria." You can actually look these quotes up on your own: Bush said that we cannot wait until the WMD threat from Iraq is imminent, that major combat operations were finished, and that British intelligence said that Saddam tried to buy uranium from Africa. But most people, inexplicably, still trust *The New York Times* and figure that if Krugman can print it, it must be true.

Demagogues make for poor pedagogues; a professor can't divide his journalistic integrity from his academic integrity. (The word "integrity" comes from the Latin root meaning "entire.")

Which brings us to Krugman as professor. As *Slate* mentioned, none of Krugman's economic predictions have come true. On the contrary, GDP expanded this quarter by a remarkable 7.2%, unemployment dropped to 6.0%, and the economy seems poised for a major expansion. Those soldier-hating, date-raping supply-siders seem to have triumphed again, eh, Mr. Krugman?

At a recent "faculty roast," the joke on Krugman was that he didn't care about his students. The jeer seems consistent with his ratings for "intro micro" in the USG Course Guide, which are among the lowest of any professor. Overall quality of lectures: 2.6 out of five, and 2% of a class of about three hundred thought the lectures were 'excellent.' One student complained, "He is the most disorganized teacher I have ever encountered." He has the dubious distinction of rating worse as a preceptor than his T.A.'s. Perhaps Krugman finds economic facts too dull for his imaginative side.

I would feel bad about quoting these numbers except for the fact that Krugman has done much, much worse.

We don't expect honesty from *The New York Times*, but we deserve it from our professors. 

John Andrews '05 is an ORFE major from Oliver Springs, Tennessee. He recently took up horseback riding.



Dosvedanya, Josef.



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