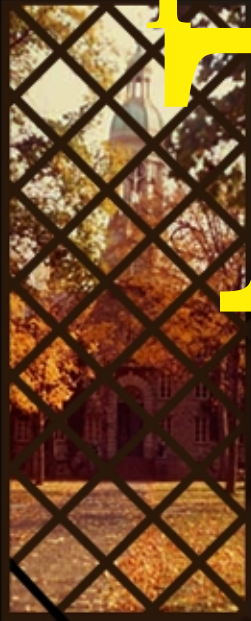


January 2004

PRINCETON TORY



The Monstrous Regiment of Women

**Laissez-faire feminism
and moral abdication
in Nassau Hall.**

PLUS: Sabine Hérold, ROTC, The Rant, and more!

THE PRINCETON TORY

January 2004
Volume XXI - Issue 1

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Notes from the Publisher

Hail and Farewell

As this issue of the *Tory* is the last that I will publish, I've decided to go out swinging. Prediction time.

I am not optimistic about the future of the University. We students are witnessing the erosion, unchecked and accelerating since the sixties, of every institution that makes Princeton Princeton. Before our children's time, the only distinctions remaining will be statues cowering in niches and epitaphs furtively chiseled in archways. This University will be just another Brown, or, God help us, Yale. The conservative student movement is strong, and I've found the student body's response to the *Tory* heartening. However, there is no democratic recourse against a self-perpetuating liberal elite that simply brushes aside, and unfairly, I believe, not just student publications like the *Tory* but an enormous body of well-reasoned dissent from some of the brightest and most seasoned academics and commentators in the country. The only bright side I can see is that the future will provide ample material for *Tory* articles.

I find enormous hope, however, in the state of the nation as a whole. For example, a recent UC Berkeley study found teenagers to be significantly more conservative on issues concerning abortion and public religion. In Washington, the practically leaderless Democratic Party is in no small confusion. Abroad, events seem to be finally going our way.

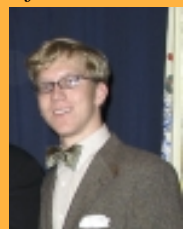
In the end, I think America will rescue the liberal universities. After a century or so of "Princeton in the nation's service," the nation will, with luck, return the favor. Despite the Orange Bubble, of which the Triangle Club memorably sings, conservative America's siege will eventually compel the University to change, particularly when the almighty dollar rears its head.

In the last dark age, the universities saved civilization by protecting its wisdom and its values from the surrounding turmoil. In this age, I expect it will be the other way round: society will lead the academy, blind and stumbling, into the next age of light.

To those who have led *me*: Pete Hegseth, Brad Simmons, Jenn Carter, and Daniel Mark, Godspeed. Thank you, Evan, Ira, and all the *Tory* editors, writers, readers and Trustees. Thanks to Bryan and Sarah at the ISI. It has been an honor to serve. I close with a few words from Reagan's address to the 1964 Republican Nominating Convention.

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we will sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least let our children and our children's children say of us, we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.

Cordially,
John Andrews '05



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The editors welcome, and will print, letters on any topic.

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It's Daddy time for the Tilghman administration.

John Andrews '05

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It's Your Money

University funding, fall semester, given by the USG Projects Board to student publications:

| | |
|--|--------|
| <i>Tiger Magazine</i> (humor) | \$3800 |
| <i>The Princeton Spectator</i> (news) | 602 |
| <i>The Idealistic Nation</i> (political) | 950 |
| <i>The Princeton Tory</i> (political) | 0 |

The Princeton Tory... We don't squander your student fees on tripe that you don't read anyway.

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Put him in a cell with Michael Jackson and a bottle of red wine?

A televised make-over by five homosexual men?

A nice long bath... party?



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THE RANT

- In another one of Shirley Tilghman's, "Did she really just say that?"-moments, the University President publicly announced to the recent meeting of the Council of the Princeton University Community that, "[Tenure-seeking professors'] ability to conduct research and demonstrate excellence in scholarship is the most important thing we will look at.... They must focus on that, first and foremost." To those students fooled by the Admissions department's claim that Princeton's absence of professional schools, unique among the Ivy League, lent itself to a greater focus on undergraduate education, the *Tory* expresses its sympathy. Some day, the University will stop trying to imitate other schools and act like the first-class educational institution it professes to be.
- A weird red glow covered Robertson Hall for a week in December. At first we naively guessed it was a Christmas decoration, and then we thought the Commies had taken over Woody Woo—officially, that is. But it turns out that the lighting commemorated "AIDS Awareness Week," courtesy of the WWS-sponsored Princeton AIDS Initiative. Don't let the title fool you—the Princeton AIDS Initiative, like the Trustees' Alcohol Initiative, actually opposes the thing the initiative is named for. "And who wouldn't be against AIDS?" you might ask. Good question. Is it really necessary to have an AIDS Awareness Week? Princeton was already aware of AIDS, even before Sesame Street introduced the HIV-positive Muppet® (perhaps MIV-positive?). Everyone already knew that AIDS is terrible and that nobody deserves it. However, intellectual honesty requires the admissions that in many cases, AIDS victims were partners in their self-destruction, and that other diseases, juvenile leukemia for one, claim greater proportions of innocent lives. We can't help but wonder whether the high-risk behaviors commonly associated with AIDS helped make the cause trendy, since academia and HBO can romanticize only one disease at a time. Sadly, the numbers of horrible diseases and innocent victims in the world exceed the numbers of weeks in the year and possible colors of ribbon. They also exceed, it seems, the attention span of the Wilson School.
- Talks on a European Constitution collapsed with a loud bang in Italy this December. Champagne corks could be heard popping in the homes of freedom-loving Europeans. Poland and Spain were adamant about retaining the generous influence they secured in the Nice Treaty three years ago, while France and Germany were unwilling to accept any change to the draft Constitution. Power, not vague ideals, dominated this summit. Not too long before the Constitutional summit, France and Germany caused astonishment in a number of naïve countries by saying they would run deficits far in excess of the permitted 3% in the foreseeable future. Meant to protect the general stability of Europe's common currency, the Euro, the stability pact threatens violators with severe consequences, stipulating the European Commission may fine violators billions of dollars (Euros, excuse me). In this case, the European Commission did nothing. Or wait—it said it disapproved. Of course, that really impressed Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schroeder, Europe's dynamic duo. So much so that, far from being apologetic, German and French officials lashed out at anyone criticizing their policies. German Foreign Minister Eichel said relations with one neighboring country had been "poisoned" after the country criticized German deficits. More than anything, the refusal of Chirac and Schroeder to abide by the treaty their countries are signatories of showed all Europeans that, at a very fundamental level, France and Germany will do as they please when they wish. In a not-so-subtle way, Chirac and Schroeder are the real unilateralists—who would have thought?
- The taxpayer-subsidized British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has forbidden its reporters from referring to Saddam Hussein as "former dictator." Rather, they must call Saddam, who killed hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and never won an honest election in his life, "the deposed former President," thus putting him in the company of, say, Richard Nixon. Now, the provisional government awarded the BBC the contract to rebuild and ostensibly rehabilitate the deposed former President's Information Ministry. (Remember Mohammed "There are no Americans in Baghdad" Saeed al-Sahaf?) Thanks to the provisional authority, Iraqi children will soon learn to spell *jihad* with the Teletubbies.
- Understandably frightened by the capture of the deposed former President, Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi has said he will give up his budding Weapons of Mass Destruction programs and authorize inspections to verify that he has done so. With the Iranian inspections concession and the Paris club forgiving Iraqi debt, the news from Tripoli marks yet another foreign policy success for the Bush administration, and one for Undersecretary of State John Bolton in particular. Whereas Bolton already delivered vague suggestions for change to Libya early on in his term, these suggestions recently escalated into dire warnings. As early as 2002, speaking specifically about Libya, Bolton informed Gadhafi that "words are not enough" when it came to Libyan disarmament. Gadhafi has apparently gotten the

message: America will not tolerate rogue states developing weapons of mass destruction. To ensure the UN doesn't screw this one up, the Bush Administration and Tony Blair's government are sending their own inspectors to Libya to make sure it effectively disarms. Although the head of the UN inspectors "says he has seen four nuclear sites, CIA and British intelligence have concluded there are 11 sites," according to the Associated Press. It's a good thing Bush and Blair are sending their own inspectors: this job is far too important to be left to the UN.

- Why is the United Nations trying to take control of the Internet? In December's UN summit in Geneva on information technology, a coalition led by China and Russia and supported by our "ally," Saudi Arabia, formally advanced what is sure to be a recurring proposal: transferring the domain-name-to-server matching protocol from California's Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) to the United Nations' International Telecommunications Union (ITU). China and Russia also opposed a statement supporting "free expression" on the Internet. Go figure. The Internet has flourished precisely because it is free of the stifling bureaucracy for which the UN is famous. There's no practical way for the UN to enforce such a resolution, short of creating a new global architecture or forcing ICANN to surrender the service. Even so, it's nice to see our fellow First-Worlders like Germany and France agree that the UN isn't the best solution for *everything*. It would be a shame to take the Internet away from America, especially after Al Gore worked so hard to invent it.
- The Undergrad Student Government (USG) election was free of substantive considerations, but maybe that's not such a bad thing. Be glad that you're not a student at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank: its USG presidential runoff pitted a candidate from Hamas against one from Fatah's Al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigade, reports the AP. Instead of posting glamour photos on lampposts, their rallies consisted of blowing up model Israeli buses and settlements. Instead of promising free photocopies or other pies in the sky, they posed challenges like, "Hamas activists in this University killed 135 Zionists. How many did Fatah activists from Bir Zeit kill?" Even Democratic presidential candidates' petulant profanities seem civil in comparison. Our student government might be full of tools, but at least it's not full of terrorists.
- The South has a word for Northerners who come down and meddle: *carpetbaggers*. First it was New York-born Howard Dean who wanted "to be the candidate for guys with Confederate flags in their pickup trucks." (We bet they'll get along well with a self-proclaimed "metrosexual.") Now, it's Chicago-born Wesley Clark on his "True Grits Tour," visiting eight cities in six key Southern states. Our man in Pensacola infiltrated Clark's \$1,000-per-plate dinner there and sent us the following report: "The crowd that gathered in Pensacola, Florida included most of the Democratic-friendly minority groups:

blacks, Jews, and gays and lesbians (well, okay, just one lesbian). They were definitely of the 'anti-Bush' fan club, wearing pins with a red 'X' through the blue 'W.' They said that they were tired of hearing about the military and Christianity; they were diverse and wanted a leader that represented their diversity. They were disappointed, however, when Clark met every predicted stereotype of the South: guns, fishing, hunting, the military, and religion. Nearly every group in attendance felt excluded by the themes of his short talk. The Democrats have two problems in the South: first, the messages Dean and Clark are selling are misrepresentations of their own beliefs; second, those who are excited by guns and God have been voting against the Democratic Presidential candidates since Wallace and Goldwater." The South may well be the battleground for the 2004 election. With Senator John Breaux's (D-LA) retirement leaving open five Senate seats, and with several impressive GOP gubernatorial victories, Republicans stand ready to sweep the South.

- The Welfare State is alive and well at Princeton. Consider last semester's University funding of student publications. (See table on page 3.) Funding is assigned by the USG Projects Board, and this magazine didn't see a dime of it. According to Projects Board Co-Chairman Rishi Jaitly '04, a friendly and helpful guy, the Projects Board "will not grant money if the publication is able to cover its costs on its own." Though they mean well, the USG and Dean of Undergraduate Students Thomas Dunne are subsidizing incompetent leadership and lazy fundraising, providing a disincentive to hard-working student publications to boot. The State doesn't stop there: funding also seems to depend on *what you write*. Says Jaitly, "We are most interested in them shaping the content of their programming, i.e. the articles and substance of their publication." If the Projects Board were a private-sector philanthropist, then fine. But it controls *your student fees*, and more absurdly, it thinks it's working for your own good. Jaitly again: "We try to provide as much incentive as possible for publications to operate independently and not become directly dependent on the USG but at the same time must realize that this is precisely what our resources are here for — to be taken advantage of for the benefit of campus life." Any veteran of Econ 305 can prove that the consumer benefits more by keeping his lump sum than by having the State spend it for him. Dean Dunne, why don't you give us back *our* money, and *we'll* spend it on the publications *we* think are worthwhile? It's called the *free market*. Why not give it a try sometime?
- Farewell, *The Progressive Review*. We hardly knew ye, for ye published not. According to *The Idealistic Nation's* sponsor, the USG Projects Board Co-Chairman, "...it was in our and the student body's interest to help out *the only progressive publication on campus*." [Emphasis ours.] *The Prog*, 1982-2003. *In Pace Requiescat*.
- The Program in Queer Studies? We'll pass... 

ONWARD, PRINCETON SOLDIERS

The Ivy League could use a little *Hooah!*

Powell Fraser '06

Any prospective student taking the Orange-Key tour of Princeton gets a clear picture of Princeton's military tradition. One of the major stops on the tour is always Nassau Hall, built before the Revolutionary War and battered by cannonballs of Alexander Hamilton's artillery. Entering the foyer, one immediately sees the massive memorial wall chronicling the names of Princetonians who gave the last full measure of devotion in service of their country in numerous conflicts. And throughout campus, bronze plaques outside dorm windows serve as memorials to fallen American servicemen. Finally, an inquisitive pre-frosh might discover from his or her tour guide that Princeton has an officially-recognized ROTC program ...unlike Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Dartmouth, and Stanford, who have all banned the ROTC from campus. It would seem, then, that Princeton is quite proud of its military heritage.

A student at Princeton, however, would gain a much clearer insight into the state of military tradition on campus and conclude that it is waning. Little attention is drawn to these fragments of history scattered across the campus. An Easter prayer in the University chapel by Dean Briedenthal this past year called for divine protection of just about every at-risk party in the Middle East – except for the American troops fighting in Iraq. Students are more likely to laud alums like Ralph Nader than Donald Rumsfeld. Even the liberal Robinson family has begun to question whether Wilson School students are truly serving their nation upon graduating. On the fringe of the campus, however, sharing space in the Armory with the Princeton Federal Credit Union, the McCarter Scene Shop, some rusty lawnmowers, the Band, and the OA climbing wall, stands the last bastion of Duty: Princeton's Tiger Battalion, a program to train future leaders for the U.S. Army.

By the end of their sophomore year, cadets in the Tiger Battalion have been on numerous training exercises, participated in

Photography Courtesy of Princeton ROTC



a rigorous exercise regimen, and sworn an oath to join the Army upon graduation. During the week, they attend several hours of military science classes where they study army doctrine and history. On certain Friday afternoons, they learn how to throw grenades, move under fire, and assemble and disassemble their M16 rifles. And on a few weekends each semester, the Princeton cadets go to Fort Dix to conduct training exercises. Operating in eight-man squads, the cadets practice executing ambushes, assaulting a bunker, reconnoitering an enemy position, and clearing an area of entrenched enemy combatants. Each cadet wears laser sensors on his torso and helmet, and every M16 is mounted with a laser that pulses when the weapon fires. Real blanks are used so that cadets can become accustomed to the rifle bucking in their hands as they snipe at enemy troops or wildly empty their magazine on full-auto. Cadets spend significant amounts of time in the military classroom and on these training exercises.

In exchange for their commitment, these cadets receive complete funding of their Princeton education and a monthly stipend – provided they maintain an excellent

physical and academic record. Despite this demanding requirement, however, most cadets remain involved in a myriad of other campus activities, from fellowship groups to fraternities to varsity athletics to club sports. The program seeks to stimulate “student-athlete-leaders,” and these cadets emerge from their four years as some of the most well-rounded students in America. On a campus that values “diversity” so greatly, one cannot find a program that better embodies diversity of experience. At a university that claims to be “In The Nation’s Service,” and later, “In The Service Of All Nations,” one cannot find a clearer example of devotion.

Still, the Tiger Battalion exists only on the edge of the Princeton universe. Under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Matthew McCarville, the program prides itself on being “the most flexible program on campus,” allowing its cadets a fantastic amount of maneuvering room to accommodate other extracurricular activities. But would this amount of flexibility really be necessary if the University were to treat the ROTC a little differently? Tiger Battalion cadets receive no course credit from the University for the countless hours that they



devote to military science classes, skills labs on Friday afternoons, or weekend-long training exercises. At the same time, however, the Army continues to demand excellence in Princeton academics, and if a cadet were to deliver sub-standard performance in a Princeton class, he would risk jeopardizing his scholarship and future Army career. Athletics, upcoming tests, and even eating club formals often trump ROTC events, and the program's directors would not have it any other way. But would such compromise be necessary if the University and campus life in general were more accommodating of the ROTC, instead of the other way around?

The truth of the matter is that the Tiger Battalion is the most flexible program on campus because it has to be. Given the state of campus, if the Army were to demand any further level of commitment, it would be impossible for anyone to simultaneously be a Princeton student and a Cadet in the Army ROTC. One wonders whether the same demands were placed on the servicemen whose names we find on stars spangling the campus. Luckily for the Army, Col. McCarville recognizes the value of the Princeton experience, both academic and extracurricular,

and his dogmatic devotion to flexibility provides the Army with excellent future leaders, destined to be brilliant officers in the nation's service.

Last year, Princeton graduated three cadets into the U.S. Army. This year, the number will be closer to ten. The largest class, the sophomores – or MS2's, in Army-speak – boasts twenty cadets. The upward trend ends here, as the freshman class has only ten enrollees. Most MS2's attribute their surge in numbers to the impact that the September 11, 2001 terror attacks had on their senior year in high school. Still, this peak represents less than two percent of the freshman class. The trend is similar across the Ivy League: Harvard's ROTC, which must commute to MIT because it is forbidden to train on campus, added eighteen cadets, a record in recent years, last fall.

Col. McCarville remains unfazed about the future of the country. Repeatedly, he petitions the Army for more money for scholarships for his cadets, hoping to send more Princetonians into the armed service of the nation. Since the University insists on providing funding only in cases of "need," however, the federal government must pick up the exorbitant tab for four years of Princeton for every Princetonian officer they wish to acquire. Again, the administration here at Princeton seems unwilling to be "in the nation's service" when that service coincides with the military. Students not eligible for financial aide can thus seek Army scholarships, but due to the high price

tag on a Princeton education, the amount of help the Army can help eventually becomes limited. Lower-income students, who look to the ROTC for financial aid more substantial even than Princeton's, lose out too.

Yet the spirit of the cadets in the Tiger Battalion, known as "hooah" in the Army, is undampened by the obstacles surrounding them. When protestors took to Palmer Square to protest the war in Iraq last year, several ROTC cadets staged their own counter-rally with American flags and banners reminding the dissidents to "Support Our Troops." Perhaps a similar message needs to be sent to the administration.

The nation's need of Princeton is not lessened, but changed: World War II relied upon superior American strength, backed by civilian scientists and code breakers, to defeat the Nazi juggernaut. The War on Terror requires superior military thinking: specialists in language, in psychological warfare, in intelligence. In short, it needs well-educated minds from elite universities, so it is a shame that most of the Ivy League has kicked the ROTC out. The lack of welcome didn't deter Air Force ROTC cadet Robbie Berschinski, a Yalie hoping to become an intelligence officer but forced to commute to UConn to train. Berschinski maintained an impeccable GPA and an Iron Man Triathlon physique to earn the Air Force ROTC's Cadet of the Year Award in 2001. Ivy students have much to offer their country if permitted to do so.



Powell Fraser '06 is a Politics major from Atlanta. The commodore of the Sailing Team, he spent the summer writing for CNN.com.

KNOWING YOUR PLACE

Feminists, flogging a dead stallion.

Jennifer Mickel '07

Look around: Nobody is oppressing women. We can vote, propose marriage, file for divorce, and own property just as well as any man. Women now actually outnumber men in white-collar positions. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that women compose 50.6 percent of the 48 million employees in management, professional and related occupations.

Of course, feminists counter that women are systematically underpaid, establishing Equal Pay Day proportionally through the year to protest the injustice of “women making 76 cents on the male dollar.” It turns out that once you make a common-sense adjustment for factors like education, age, and work experience, women make 98 cents on the male dollar. (Maybe the National Committee on Pay Equity figured people would be too busy at Christmas to observe Equal Pay Day.) This two-cent wage gap is, as the Independent Women’s Forum reported, the product of choice:

The average wage gap is not the result of discrimination, but of the choices women make with regard to education and work and family. Women, 80 percent of whom bear children at some point in their lives, often choose career tracks that allow them greater flexibility, or educational fields that result in lower earnings after graduation.

The report goes on to note that when men and women do choose similar careers, their salaries are equal, quoting a *BusinessWeek* report that they earn the same starting salaries in fields such as finance, marketing, and consulting. What the NCPE really wants is equal pay for different kinds of labor, an ominous agenda.

Thus, the feminist movement is well past its prime. Having achieved all legitimate goals, there is little cause left for it to rally around. Except for the ambiguous “society” or, more bluntly, “men,” who do feminists (using the modern, radical conno-

tation of the term) claim to be oppressed by? Why not just declare victory and move on? Lacking logical exigencies, liberal feminists try to maintain fervor by adopting the most controversial position possible, latching on to increasingly extremist movements and imagining new windmills at which to tilt.

Princeton’s “Women’s Center,” where you can find the 76-cent statistic and many more deliberately misleading numbers worth debunking, is a far cry from the initial campaigns for women’s suffrage. It is not a bastion to defend women’s rights, “equalize” their role, or support their efforts for needed advancement. It is a liberal agenda promoting homosexuality, promiscuity, and a false sense of entitlement presented as fact to an indoctrinated group where disagreement equals gender disloyalty. And then there’s OWL, the Organization of Women Leaders. Their website states, “As long as at least one half of the undergraduate population is female, there will be an undeniable need for an organization such as OWL to address the issues and concerns facing Princeton women.” If that is true, then why is there no Organization of Men Leaders? (Maybe they would have the grammatical sense to call it “Organization of Male Leaders.”) The mission statement includes, “We are dedicated to embracing the diversity [buzz!], transforming the perceptions, and challenging the conventions of women’s roles in our campus, community, and world.” The very statement implies the undesirability of women’s conventional roles. This viewpoint is rampant on college campuses across America. Jacob van Flossen writes in *Return of the Gods*:

The tragedy may be cumulative. The pretty and popular coed, on a major University campus, may choose to ignore the pseudo-intellectual harpies. The subliminal message will still do damage. In the absence of direct refutation—and few on any faculty will even challenge the feminists—many of their values will be taken for granted. But even if all are totally rejected, the young woman is being subtly

prepared to blame any unhappiness that she may ever know on man, his nature and his instincts. She is also being conditioned to feel guilty if she wants the traditional life of her mother or grandmother.

The mere fact that there are more male executives, such as CEOs, does not indicate an enslavement of an entire sex. What it means is that someone has to put dinner on the table, someone has to take the kids to school, and someone has to keep the house clean. Could men do it? Yes. Can women hold successful careers? Yes. The difference in roles is caused not by discrimination, but by choice. And choice, despite the feminist’s “pro-choice” rhetoric, is the one thing she cannot abide.

According to feminists, working for equality necessitates an effort on the part of women to behave like men. There is no pressure on men to behave like women, since today’s feminists seem to assert that their roles are inferior and encourage women to reject them. This rejection is counterproductive to attaining “equality,” because someone *must* fill that role, and overwhelmingly the one to do so will a woman, if for no other reason than that she is the one who bears children. As long as full-service motherhood is discouraged, women will never attain the “equality” that feminists want; their natural instincts are belittled by members of their own sex. Paradoxically, today’s feminists scorn this role, making women feel guilty for rejecting the corporate lifestyle. (See *New York Times Magazine*, 10/25/03: “The Opt-Out Revolution” by Lisa Belkin.)

Ultimately, feminists aren’t really sure what they want. Chanting “girl power,” they rely on their femininity to protect them from any counterattack. If men and women are truly equal, then why, in many a movie, does a woman punch a man in the face only to have him stare after her, disoriented? Is he not capable of blocking the punch and then breaking her jaw? Feminists should really be angry that he didn’t block her punch and then sock her left eye, since that is how a male would likely respond to an-

other male. But we do not expect a man to react to a woman in the same way; it would be unfair, since his greater skill is an accepted fact. Here, the sexes are clearly filling their own separate niches.

Feminists fight for an equivalent number of women's sports, but allow physically accommodating differences between the two, as in baseball and softball. There is a continued focus among both men and women on male athletic competition. Why? For women, sports are the game and nothing more. They have no innate need to showcase physical prowess. For men, the game is also, on a deeper level, about proving his ability to head a household, which interests women, as potential wives, as well as men, as competitors.

Nationwide, American behavior rejects the feminists' claims that negation of sexual differences and interchangeable social roles are the means to American "equality." Pay attention to music; few songs are devoid of romance or sexual reference. Who has ever gone to the Street without hearing a single rap song? I keep waiting for the feminist boycott of rap; more than any other genre, advances the notion of woman as chattel. Watch *TRL*, check the Billboard charts—rap songs are consistently at the top, making the producers millions. They can't reach that level of success with a solely male fan base. Women are supporting them. Feminists are out of sync with what America wants; they lack women's popular support on this point. Obviously, women are secure and happy with their status and do not view these songs as threatening.

It is evident in nature, it is evident in childhood toy preference, it is evident in romantic relationships—women and men are overwhelmingly different. Different in what they value, different in how they view life, different in what they need to feel successful and important. It is detrimental to belittle what our anatomy shows us is quite an obvious difference.

Every time a woman plays football or a man baby-sits is not cause for some celebration of our liberation. The renegade should not be prevented from doing what he wants, but neither should he be champi-

oned as a revolutionary. The majority of girls don't play football because it doesn't appeal to them and they aren't suited for it. Are they therefore slaves to male society? No, they are self-aware and intelligent. The same is true for men who stay home to raise children, even though for the majority a career is more realistic and necessary for a personal satisfaction. Neither do these men capitulate to "the system." It is an honest assessment of need and desire. On a very simple level, generally it is ingrained in the nature of men to be "macho," behave in ways to earn a wife, and then provide for her. Similarly, the male characteristics generally revered by women (money, power, strong physique, intelligence, athletic prowess) are those that show the strength suiting him to be a provider. Flossen writes:

For centuries, outside labor was the curse of the peasant wife whose family struggled to survive. It was the bitter harvest of other women whose husbands were disabled. It was seldom, if ever, the choice of the affluent and successful; who could usually appreciate—even if they couldn't always enunciate—the rationale' of the values for which we speak. Men who could afford to keep their wives at home did so.

Most women sought or hoped for men, who could protect them from that facet of life, where a woman had to sell her service.

The reason why males and females form an attraction goes beyond the physical act of reproduction. We are born with certain innate characteristics. These characteristics do not, however, make men and women competing interest groups whose needs are fundamentally at odds with one another. There need be no competition, no challenge of power, no classification of inferior or superior. The two have characteristics complementary to each other and, in coming together, create a unit that is a whole. That is why denying each the opportunity to fulfill their roles with pride is disastrous to the stability of society.


Feminists seem to thrive on the selfish, "me first" mentality. Do what *you* want, when *you* want, with whomever *you* want, just to prove that you *can*, and with no regard to how it might affect others who rely on you. Their dogma scorns the idea of giving up "I" for "We," an integral transition to a successful marriage. Thus, feminists are dually responsible for the decline of the American family: they encourage women to ignore their social duties and seek

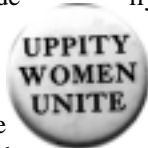
other occupations, and to do so at the expense of their family relationships if need be. Feminists seem to claim that love, in its deepest sense, is impossible, or at least impractical, because no person can love another more than himself or herself, warranting sacrifices made on the other's behalf. This woman-for-themselves scheme creates a woman who is more loyal to the cause of advancing women at the expense of everyone else, than to children, husband, or family. Who will fill the void? And what, other than increased income, does any family gain from a two-career household?

Nothing.

There is no longer a miraculous "other" to support the American family. We observe its disintegration by such staggering statistics as 43% divorce rate and 70% of black children born to unwed mothers. Instead of progress, we face problems in the way in which we Americans are fulfilling our roles. It indicates a selfish unwillingness to work and sacrifice for the good of the unit in favor of following the whims of individual fancy—an idea promulgated by feminists, then adopted by men (biologically predisposed toward variety-seeking) to work toward everyone's disadvantage. If rowers in boats ignore the coxswains to row as they please, they crash into each other. Working with individual efforts toward the same purpose is the proven route for success. Who can disagree with "teamwork works?"

Feminism does not help women *qua* women; it attacks them. Its endless rhetoric about equality seeks to eliminate all femininity from our culture. It denies woman's importance, and assaults her very essence by calling her natural instincts illegitimate. Buying into the concept that women's roles are lesser, necessitating some sort of "breakout," feminists are themselves living their lives by the patriarchal scorecard. Thus, feminists in effect perpetuate the thinking that they claim to defy, which only reinforces the concept that at the root of humanity lies the dual male-female relationship, supported by the balance of differences possessed by each.

Feminism has indeed outlived its exigency. Males and females are complementary in their difference. Feminists, if they truly want to advocate their gender, should stop recruiting women to be pseudo-males and instead celebrate femininity and motherhood. Otherwise, they are systematically sowing self-destruction—not just for women, but for American society. 



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THE MODERN MOMMY UNIVERSITY

Your mom does, in fact, work here.

John Andrews '05

The father is always a Republican towards his son, and his mother's always a Democrat.

-- Robert Frost

Scotch Reformer John Knox published *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women in 1558*. In it, he attacked the reigns of Catholic queens Mary of Guise and daughter Mary Stuart through the proposition that "Woman in authority is traitress and rebel against God." His predictions of the demise of Mary, Queen of Scots proved accurate, although predicting the untimely death of a monarch was a pretty safe bet in those days; Mary was captured shortly thereafter and eventually beheaded. Knox missed the mark completely, though, on her Protestant successor Elizabeth I, who led Britannia to unprecedented military and cultural greatness.

The Presbyterian church has come a long way in the intervening centuries, as has its scion, Princeton University. The fiery Reformer from Saint Andrews would probably tug his long beard in despair with both hands, were he alive to learn that in the seat of John Witherspoon reigned a very "traitress and rebel against God," not to mention one from a former French colony.

Women can indeed govern effectively, as proven by Elizabeth's reign. After all, Knox never wrote the originally planned *Second and Third Blast of the Trumpet*. Where Knox failed in attacking a doctrine (the authority of Roman Catholicism) via the moral fitness to rule of the females who espoused it, I would like to take an opposite approach: I criticize University policy, and in doing so, trace its manifest flaws to what I call "The Mommy University."

What do I mean by "the Mommy University"? Let me be clear that with it and with the "monstrous regiment," I intend no slight to mothers or female students or administrators. I simply adapt an existing ideological distinction from pop politics. Chris Matthews (now host of MSNBC's *Hardball*) popularized the term "Mommy Party," as *National Review's* Jonah Goldberg notes, in the '80s. Goldberg elaborates:

Dad protects you and sets standards of conduct. Mommy forgives and nurtures. For decades we wanted a Republican president and a Democratic Congress because we like a President who can send people to their rooms without dinner and we like a Congress which will sneak us dessert when nobody's looking.

Clinton won in the feel-good '90s, the theory goes, because Clinton was able to project (initially) a toughness greater than Bush. Deep down, however, Goldberg says, "He is such a self-indulgent sissy one wonders why he isn't pock-marked from years of locker-room rattails." Clinton's dalliance and petulant reaction to impeachment dispelled any aura of manly responsibility.

As proved by Clinton's defenders during impeachment, the Mommy Party cares less about standards of conduct than about "being nice." As Jesse Jackson guided Clinton through his soul-searching and pain-feeling as the Lewinski story exploded, he was busy fathering a daughter, and not with his wife. When Bill squirted a few on national TV, Democrats cried too, and Newt became the real ogre.

I don't mean to claim that the Republican party is the paragon of virtue. Immoral Republicans abound, even though back when segregationist Strom Thurmond fathered a mixed-race daughter with a house servant, he had not yet left the Democratic Party. The difference is that when a Repub-



The feminist Mommy University: 9

lican fools around, it's news. Andrew Sullivan and the Log Cabin Republicans are anomalous precisely because the Daddy Party holds a stricter standard of sexual mores and "family values."

In 2000, Bush won the male vote by 11%, and Gore won the female vote by the same margin, according to *USA Today*. Then came 9-11, when "soccer moms" became "security moms." As the theory goes, the Daddy Party recaptured Congress because the American electorate needed disciplinarians much more than they wanted snuck dessert (which, sadly, they now get plenty of from Daddy).

What does all of this have to do with President Tilghman? We're getting

there: It is often said that Princeton has abandoned *in loco parentis*; that is to say, it has abandoned the duty of parenting the child which its parents entrust to Princeton. I contend that Princeton has abandoned only *in loco patris*. After all, we still have a mother, incarnate as the residential college, who sneaks us desserts at late-night study breaks and knits us nice warm sweatshirts that say “Rocky” on the back and “College” on the front. Mommy will also counsel you when you feel sad, tutor you when your grades are bad, and cleanse you of the homophobia and racism you picked up in your barbarous and possibly Southern upbringing.



Traitress and rebel against God.”

ing. Thus, the *alma mater* (literally, nurturing mother) is alive and well. So well that one suspects she may have consumed the *pater* in the fashion of the black widow spider.

Should Princeton cut back on maternal freebies (say, subsidies of certain campus publications and “peer education” programs), cut student fees instead, and focus more on actually (perish the thought) teaching? Undoubtedly. However, let’s focus on the Mommy University’s moral deficiencies, not material excesses. Perhaps the turgidity of the latter is meant to compensate for the corruption of the former; both conditions are certainly symptoms of the same malaise, the malaise of the modern

West which Solzhenitsyn diagnoses in *A World Split Apart*.

This magazine has already criticized several maternalistic policies of the Tilghman administration. Perhaps chief among them is affirmative action, specifically Tilghman’s *amicus* brief in support of U. Michigan’s now-unconstitutional 20-point system. The system is Mommy-like because it ignores fundamental standards of fairness in order to create warm, fuzzy diversity. Another maternalistic and previously discussed policy is the athletics moratorium, which tells you not *what* you are allowed to do (that’s Daddy’s job) but *how much* of it is *good for you* (the domain of the nurturing mother). Here, I’d like to talk about previously underexposed issues.

Take the issue of free speech at Princeton. Daddy cares more about what you *do* than what you *say*, and here *do* includes what courts generally consider unprotected speech: fighting words, slander, obscenity, and so forth. Mommy, however, worries about someone’s feelings getting hurt. “If you can’t say anything nice, don’t say anything at all,” as Thumper’s mother instructs him in *Bambi*. Where does Princeton stand?

Thema Bryant-Davis, not coincidentally a Tilghman appointee, spearheads the effort to make entering freshman sign a Social Honor Code. In a telephone interview, Dr. Bryant-Davis (the coordinator of Princeton’s sexual harassment and assault counseling center) explained the Social Honor Code to me. Upon matriculation, students must sign a statement to the effect that they are aware of and understand University policy, as recorded in *Rights, Rules, & Responsibilities*, concerning “sexual assault, sexual harassment, racial harassment, and respect for others.”

Set aside the first three prohibitions when strictly interpreted, even though one might naively suppose that students would already know they’re not supposed to do these things. Daddy wouldn’t approve of sexual or racial harassment or assault. He might condemn it as “unchristian” or “beneath a gentleman,” and he might invoke ideas like honor and duty. Like those of Jesus of Nazareth and Marcus Aurelius, his enjoinder would appeal to the *individual*, lest he do wrong and corrupt *himself*. The Mommy, however, would oppose the act on *collective* grounds, as reflected in Princeton’s “Statement on Diversity and Community,” which reads, in part:

As a community, we respect the

dignity, individuality, and freedom of each member. At the same time, we strive to be a place where individuals and groups learn with and from each other. We aim to foster a sense of shared experience and common purpose, along with a collective responsibility for each other’s well-being and for the well-being of the university as a whole.

Unlike Dad, Mom’s not going to try to make you a better individual. Instead of individual rights and responsibilities, Mom appeals to “collective responsibility” and “respect” for the “dignity... of each member.” (This sort of contention is familiar to readers of Ayn Rand, who argues that rights are inherently individual in nature, and nobody is entitled to your respect.)

Which brings us to that fourth and troublesome proviso, “Respect for others.” I mentioned it in passing to a well-known author and professor, who expostulated, “Respect for others! What the hell does that mean?” I put the question more politely to Dr. Bryant-Davis, who admitted that the Social Honor Code had no precise standard for “respect for others.” She contended, however, that since the term appeared already in *Rights, Rules, & Responsibilities*, my dispute was with that document and not hers *per se*, an interesting variant on the Nuremberg defense.

The ambiguity surrounding “respect for others” in the Social Honor Code is damning. The fact that this crackpot scheme, now pending approval by William Robinson ’04’s Undergraduate Life Committee, originated as the pipe dream of students and administrators in Terrace Club, of all places, should give us further pause.

The speech code makes perfect sense, however, in the matrix of the Mommy University, because fairness to individuals simply doesn’t count anymore. Selective application is no longer discouraged; indeed, it is mandated, because whoever gets to judge “the well-being of the University as a whole” (one guess who that person is) must also decide whether any particular instance of speech detracts from this collective well-being, or whether it is *politisch richtig*.

Thus, in the Mommy University, individual rights and responsibilities are discarded in favor of centralized, collectivist, and arbitrarily enforced “senses,” to use the Statement of Diversity’s term. Not coincidentally, the entire Statement lacks a single mention of any *right* or *rights*.

Indeed, it’s no surprise that when Princeton created its sex-crimes counseling center, it named it SHARE instead of, say,

Princeton University's Not Indulging Sexual Harassment (PUNISH). *Share. How nice. How motherly.*

These remarks are by no means a comprehensive criticism of the Social Honor Code, only an exploration of its relation to the Mommy University. More information on speech codes can be obtained from the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) or Students for Academic Freedom.

Let's now turn the tables on SHARE, questioning the University's embrace of sexual liberation. While some civil libertarians may be dizzied by the transition to seeming contradiction, readers of Solzhenitsyn will understand the move.

"The Joys and Toys of Gay Sex." "Sex on a Saturday Night." "Let's Talk About Sex." This University provides more instruction in sex than in the works of James Joyce. Noting that the former is relatively straightforward (or so I've heard) and the latter somewhat more complex and, well, academic, we may be forgiven for wondering why this incongruity exists. After all, Dad's advice is simple: don't, or be prepared for the consequences. Let's ask Mommy.

Mommy wants you to "follow your heart." Because Mommy is steeped in identity politics, what you do is determined by who you are, not the other way round as Daddy would have it. Mommy uses nice words like "affirmation," words which once related to *individuals* and their beliefs, to justify all sorts of *behaviors*, and in this case, to indulge concupiscence. For another example, Princeton's religious leadership uses the same term to justify a Christian about-face on sodomy. (See Breidenthal, *Christian Households*.)

Mommy's efforts seem to have backfired. The adverse effects of administrative sexual liberalization are well documented. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, professor of history and director of the women's studies program at Emory University, made the following remarks in a paper presented to the James Madison Program:

The greater social and sexual freedom enjoyed by college students today appears to result in more instances of "acquaintance" rape and even "domestic" violence than occurred when they were subject to more supervision and regulation. The unfortunate by-products of their increased freedom have included a veritable explosion of student-life bureaucracies, which, instead of imposing parietal rules, impose mandatory diversity training ses-

sions and untold hours of indoctrination in acceptable attitudes and forms of behavior.

Mandatory diversity training and hours of indoctrination. Sound familiar, freshmen? This administration is less than a degree's separation from the radical, sexually promiscuous "Third Wave Feminism" that seeks to "reclaim" once-pejorative terms like "slut" (see *Manifesta* by Baumgardner and Richards) and "hooters." The reclamation of "hooters," replete with close-fitting custom T-shirts, was outlined in an opinion column by OWL's then-president Nancy Ippolito in 2002. In 2003, OWL president Jess Brondo conceived, then aborted, a masturbation workshop under the auspices of CAKE, which dissenting OWL members denounced as "an obscene and professedly pornographic organization." OWL and SHARE sponsored a performance of the feminist Bible, the *Vagina Monologues* of Eve Ensler, in which Tilghman herself *acted*. President Shirley Tilghman and Provost Amy Gutmann have participated in at least one major OWL conference as well.



This same enthronement of identity politics is responsible for the proliferation of ethnic and gender studies programs. A "queer studies component" has recently been established by Princeton's acting director of women's studies, Christine Stansell '71. Identity politics, not academic merit, has established these departments. Mommy must *affirm* identities, particularly those she perceives as "historically marginalized," by rewarding claimants with certificates in the study of themselves.

Other politics aside, it's clear that Tilghman's identity politics affect her administrative appointments. Tilghman has

appointed nine out of the thirteen Academic Officers of the University. Five of these appointments have been women, and four of those women have replaced men. These five appointments are arguably the most visible and influential in the Regiment: Provost and Deans of Admissions, WWS, Engineering School, and of Students. Elsewhere, the same result: One Nassau Hall is composed of seven women only. Tilghman can deny that gender is a factor in her appointments until blue in the face, but students aren't buying it, as a recent *Daily Princetonian* poll confirms. Her administration is so rife with X chromosomes that a *Prince* editorial praised her for "gender-based affirmative action" in her appointments. Students would be more likely to believe her if she didn't keep skirting the question; in a zero-sum game, the only difference between saying that more women are needed and saying that women should receive preferential treatment is whether the administration will act on this need. It makes no sense to endlessly repeat the first and vehemently deny the second.

Let me be clear that the gender of Tilghman or her appointees does not establish the Mommy University. If a man treated another group, say men, with the same identity politics, he could still be connected (albeit confusingly) to Mommy principles. Women are not categorically bound by Mommy ideology; they are and have been some of the greatest contributors to this magazine. Women are linked to the Mommy Party or University only in the sense in which the theory was based on typical household dynamics. It is with Tilghman's policy, and emphatically not with her gender, that I take issue.

In the Guidebook for Department Chairs, which is classified "University Confidential," the first two sections under the first chapter, "Faculty Appointments and Promotions," are titled "Statement on Diversity and Community" and "Affirmative Action." (Nice to see that Tilghman has her priorities straight.) The first begins:

In making any appointments, chairs of departments should keep in mind the University's general statement on diversity and community...

When Tilghman makes statements like "I would like to think we could begin to attract more students with green hair," or when she suggests that the federal government (American, not Canadian) should deny funding to scientific research panels with no female presenters while at the same time

commissioning a study on why, exactly, there are so few women in scientific research, you know that basic Daddy principles of fairness have met defenestration. You realize that as a Princeton student, you are seen not as an individual but as an identity: woman, Hispanic, punk rocker. You see that this designation, in which you are assessed not on your own merits but on your demographic contribution to the “community,” is not diversity but collectivism. Fifty years after *God and Man at Yale*, nothing has changed.

We could go on and on about the effect of collectivism on student life, about the expansion of the aforementioned residential college system to four years, about the crackdown on voluntary associations like Prospect Avenue and fraternities and sororities, about the planned expansion of the non-athletic student body or about rampant grade inflation in certain programs. Neither have we explored the alternative theory in which Mommy does not pursue its own misguided ideas of what is right for the University, but instead seeks to methodically destroy the intellectual vigor of Princeton. I think, however, the points are respectively made and moot. Instead, I’d like to close with a proposed solution.

Fitzgerald characterized his Princeton years as “the education of a personage.” A personage, not just a person. The *OED* supplies two general meanings for the word; a personage could be an imitation of a person, such as one given by an actor or painter, or it could be a person of great eminence.

I think that the education of a personage is a journey from the first to second

definition. We enter these grounds with some idea of whom we ought to become, the part we ought to play. We leave with some idea of who we actually are. In the meantime, we vacillate between the two states. I have seen my fellow students rise to this eminence, this virtue, and I have witnessed tragedy. I have watched classmates become their own caricatures, and I have known comedy.


In leaving the University, we climb to the second stage (literally, *graduation*). The cause of this step was once called a *vocation* (from the Latin, “calling”). Yet such a calling implies a higher order than our own, an order in which we are invited to take part. In the humanist University, where man is the measure of all, man knows no other order. Man in his supreme judgement fixes the curriculum, enshrines “Queer Studies” alongside Philosophy, Music, Mathematics, and Theology (now relegated to Religion).

Yes, this transition is impossible without freedom to rise and freedom to fall. But it is also impossible without what Solzhenitsyn described as “the voluntary nurturing of freely accepted and serene self-restraint.” Without this voluntary self-restraint, individualist society degenerates into a radical humanism or materialism as engrossing as those chronicled by Edmund Burke or Whittaker Chambers. Like Solzhenitsyn, we observe a decline in civic courage and instead, a predominance of comfort-obsessed and legalistic lives, minds fixed on bread and circuses and oblivious to the rise of Empire. Without this sense of higher order, *graduation* is impossible. Mommy, in the name of “self-actualization,”

actually *hinders* the education of the personage, because, believing that she knows better than the order, she sneaks you dessert, affirmation, condoms, or whatever else she feels you need, subverting order.

To cultivate justice, courage, wisdom, and moderation, the University must exert the same voluntary self-restraint, not only to allow her children to flourish on their own, but to set an example of how to flourish. Princeton’s rich history of such education for liberty is one upon which it should rely, though not exclusively, as a better model than the *status quo*.

Frankly, this administration knows no such self-restraint. It has scrawled Princeton’s signature on divisive measures passing current as “social justice,” another collectivist notion, and it has filled every open space with suffocating platitudes. Knox was wrong, but in a way, he was right. “Woman in authority” is not necessarily “traitress and rebel against God,” but the impious usurpers who now govern Princeton, who now muster our Monstrous Regiment of Women, know no authority, be it human, natural or divine.

Mommy may work here, but Mommy *doesn’t* work here. The mollycoddles of Princeton sorely need an exemplary vision, or what Russell Kirk called “the moral imagination,” and Princeton desperately needs an administration capable of providing more Daddy time. 

John Andrews '05 is an Operations Research and Financial Engineering major from Oliver Springs, Tennessee. Now in retirement, he plans to read Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

The Joys and Toys of Conservative Thought princetontory.com

SOLDIERS, continued from page 7:

The attacks of September 11, 2001 sparked a rise in student support of ROTC but not a rise in administrative support. At first, it seemed as if change was coming to the Ivy League, as Harvard President Larry Summers spoke concernedly of the “post-Vietnam cleavage between coastal elites and certain mainstream values.”

In reality, Summers has conceded nothing voluntarily to the military. Harvard did, however, lose a court battle to keep military recruiters out of its law school, and it may be eventually forced to reinstate ROTC. The Solomon Amendment, created by Gingrich’s 104th Congress, withholds federal funding from universities which deny or in effect prevent the ROTC’s and military recruiters’ access to campus. Perhaps this amendment could restore ROTC to other elite universities, since the commutes imposed upon Harvard and Yale cadets do, in effect, prevent more from joining the ROTC. In half-hearted protest of “don’t ask, don’t tell,” Harvard and Yale are doing the United States a great disservice.

Yale’s Professor of History Donald Kagan agrees. According to the *Yale Daily News*, Kagan told attendees of a panel discussion on ROTC, “the entire episode of removing the ROTC program is a blot on Yale’s record. The time has come for the Yale faculty and administration to remove that disgrace.”


Despite the administration’s professed concern for the Vietnam draftee or

for the homosexual under “don’t ask, don’t tell,” the original motives for banning ROTC were motives not of egalitarianism but of elitism, as Yale’s Conservative Party leader Justin Zaremby notes in a recent *YDN* opinion column. Faculty resented that military instructors claimed the title “Professor.” Administrators feared the dilution of their own power in the era of anti-authoritarian revolt, disliking the idea of students answering to higher allegiances. And maybe, just maybe, they were a little jealous of the cadets’ *Hooah!*

The U.S. military and the “coastal elite” academic institutions of our country have been at odds with each other since the Vietnam War cost the lives of thousands of soldiers. Today’s army, though, is a different one – one where volunteers are the ones who serve and protect the nation’s interests. Gone are the days of the draft, when teenagers fled to the universities and only then began to protest the manner in which their compatriots were being led into battle. The Cadets of the Tiger Battalion have done precisely the opposite: while receiving the best education in the country, they also choose to be leaders in the Army. And now that the American Army has become a force for peace and freedom in places like Kosovo, Haiti, Iraq, and Afghanistan, how can the liberals of yesteryear object to embracing the ROTC? Indeed, they should be thrilled that America’s future generals are receiving an Ivy League education, where they are far



more likely to be indoctrinated by the Left than at West Point.

Ivy League ROTC programs face the double challenge of training to fight the nation’s enemies and of fighting discrimination in the radical establishment. Rising to this challenge, the programs produce outstanding leaders. The Tiger Battalion remains the embodiment of Princeton “in the nation’s service, and in the service of all nations.” Maybe it’s time the Ivy League presidents gave a little something back to the soldiers who protect their freedom to criticize the war from the sidelines. 

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MADemoiselle THATCHER

What America should learn from a French college student.

Jurgen Reinhoudt '06

Despite all the socialist tinkering in Brussels at the European Commission, there are many hopeful signs that indicate the European zeitgeist is finally changing: socialism is more and more openly questioned as a viable economic philosophy. Although you won't read about it in Herr Doktorprofessor Krugman's columns in the *Times*, Europe's younger generation has been hard-hit by welfare state economics and rigid and inflexible labor regulations. It consequently sees a need for reform, not just as far as labor market rules are concerned, but with regard to the role of government in general.

Sabine Hérold, an attractive, intelligent and highly articulate 21-year-old student at France's highly prestigious *Sciences-Po* university, embodies Europe's new generation. Not afraid to offend liberal orthodoxy or to take on the *Grande Dame* of France's most militant labor unions, Arlette Laguiller, in televised debates, she is leading the charge for small government and entrepreneurship in a country long held hostage by socialist economic policies. The country that has formed such towering intellectual giants as Robert Jacques Turgot, Frédéric Bastiat and Jean-Baptiste Say, free-marketers *pur sang*, has produced a lady who can change the course of French history just as Margaret Thatcher changed the course of British history.

Margaret Thatcher led Britain from 1979-1990. Britain prospered as a result of her conservative economic policies, which earned her the moniker "Iron Lady" in a Soviet newspaper. Sabine Herold was dubbed "Mademoiselle Thatcher" by the British *Sunday Telegraph* as a result of her leadership in criticizing strikers.

The original Margaret Thatcher successfully broke the near-absolute power wielded by labor unions in the United Kingdom, most notably by simply refusing to satisfy the demands of striking coal miners. The miners went on strike for a year in 1984-1985. It was only when they realized



*Liberty's Heartthrob:
21-year-old Sabine Hérold leads a Paris rally.*

they would not — indeed, could not — win against Mrs. Thatcher that they returned to work in submission. After having broken the power of labor unions, the Iron Lady was able to fully push through her free-market agenda, which has resulted in low rates of unemployment and the emergence of London as Europe's financial capital. Today, Great Britain's unemployment rate of 5.3% is about half that of France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Few other countries have known leaders with similar determination.

No major country in Europe except the UK went through the 1980s in the same way the United States did, that is, with tax cuts and deregulation. The need for reforms in countries that have failed to reduce economic regulations and taxes has certainly not gone away; if anything, the need for economic freedom in those countries has intensified. There is one major obstacle standing in the way of economic revitalization in Europe: the power of labor unions. While Ronald Reagan fired 13,000 striking air traffic controllers after they refused to return to work 48 hours after beginning the illegal strike, few European leaders except

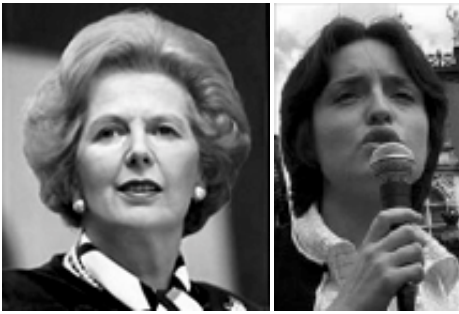
Margaret Thatcher have had similar courage and success in dealing with strikers who break the law.

The need for reform on the continent is perhaps strongest in France, which faces a looming tsunami of retirees. By 2020, the ratio of pensioners to workers will approach 1 to 1. Unless drastically reformed, the current pay-as-you-go retirement system is a recipe for complete economic meltdown. While Paul Krugman defends the American "Social Security" system *sans cesse*, the French realize that reform is needed. In 1995, then-Prime Minister Alain Juppé, who saw the clouds of demographic crisis gather, proposed to increase the retirement age of workers employed by the national railroad company SNCF

from 50 to 65. The reaction of unions to Juppé's proposal was filled with more fury than the reaction of OWL-head Katherine Reilly to the passage of the partial-birth abortion ban.

The CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail) union in particular was outraged. One of the last unions in the developed world with a real Marxist worldview, it led the charge against Juppé. The French "silent majority" soon developed a growing sense of irritation, but there was no overwhelming public sentiment against the strikers, although hotel owners, restaurant owners and small business owners of all kinds were hard-hit by the strikes. The government eventually caved, pulling back its proposed reforms.

Less than a year later, in 1996, truckers went on strike to gain the right to retire at age 55, after 25 years of work. They blocked major French traffic routes by parking their trucks sideways and diagonally on highways, bringing the economy to a virtual standstill. Stores and supermarkets ran out of essentials. The government caved in again and gave strikers what they wanted:



Lady Thatcher (left) led Britain from 1979-90. Britain prospered as a result of her conservative economic policies. Sabine Hérold was dubbed “Mademoiselle Thatcher” by the British Sunday Telegraph for her leadership against strikes.

the right to retire at age 55. This gave the average trucker 25 years in retirement (give or take a few) to do nothing and live like a tick off young French taxpayers.

The strikes of 1995 and 1996 were not the first times my family and I had seen major strikes in France; when we first moved to France and flew in to Charles de Gaulle International Airport, garbage collectors had gone on strike. The airport was littered with garbage and was consequently smelly. The 1995 and 1996 strikes were different from the garbage collector strike: in '95 and again in '96, strikers not only refused to do work themselves, but also prevented millions of their fellow Frenchmen from going to work by preventing them from using public transportation and by blocking traffic arteries.

The way in which strikers paralyzed the economy and destroyed an untold number of jobs over a three-week period in

'95 and '96 constitutes a gross, cold-hearted abuse of power. Unions severely violated the rights of those Frenchmen who wanted to commute to work and caused a number of them to be fired on the ground of absenteeism. Ms. Sabine Hérold rightly calls obstructionist strikers “reactionary egotists.” In any case, the back of the Juppé-government was broken in 1995, and no substantial free-market reforms would be implemented.

Come 2003, Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin, walking on eggshells, proposed a few months back that government workers would from now on have to work 40 years in order to be eligible for full pensions, compared to 37 years currently. Once again, striking workers caused great hardship to ordinary Frenchmen. This time, however, the “silent majority” was not sympathetic, all the more so because Frenchmen in the private sector already have to work 40 years before being eligible for a full pension. 70% of the public now recognizes the need to reduce the royal retirement packages of public servants. While Raffarin and Chirac were not particularly angry in public, one young French college student decided to make her frustration with communist unions publicly known.

Sabine Hérold delivered a spontaneous, impassioned speech in front of the city hall of Rheims, northeast of Paris. Almost immediately, a crowd of 2,000 members of the “silent majority” appeared around the charming young French lady and cheered her on as she blasted the strikers and the

French government for its lack of spine in dealing with strikers. Less than a month later, Hérold addressed dozens of thousands of cheering Parisians in the sun with a similar small-government message as she focused on the need for more economic dynamism in France and the need for a different approach toward radical labor unions, which she referred to as “the real mafias.” The crowd was ecstatic.

The British Sunday Telegraph promptly hailed Hérold as “Mademoiselle Thatcher”, and when she visited Great Britain, she extensively praised Margaret Thatcher’s economic policies. Hérold is currently leading the free-market institute *Liberté J’écris ton Nom* (“Liberty I write your name,” www.libertie-cherie.com), which is doing excellent work in the area of pension reform and inoculating France’s silent majority from the economic distortions of the likes of Krugman, who favor pay-as-you-go pension schemes. Pay-as-you-go pyramid constructions are looming disasters, not only in France, but in the United States as well.

Oddly, while France is gasping for economic air and trying to institute more free-market policies, the United States is heading in the opposite direction. In the past two years, Congress has lost all control over spending; federal spending on social programs has risen 16%, to more than \$1700 billion per year. The budget of the federal department of education, a department which did not exist before 1979, has surged 65% under President Bush, to \$57



Photography by Brad Friedman '05

Marx vs. McDonald's:
CGT strikers shut down Paris's favorite chain restaurant.



How angry will you be when Social Security collapses?

billion. Sen. John McCain (R-AZ), a former navy pilot, put it well when he said: “Congress is now spending money like a drunken sailor and I’ve never known a sailor, drunk or sober, with the imagination that this Congress has.” The cost of the recent “\$400 billion” Medicare bill only adds to the problems: its cost is likely to exceed \$1 trillion for the decade after 2010 alone, which will require either a massive tax increase or a severe increase in the national debt as baby boomers begin to retire. According to Mr. Krugman, runaway spending is not to blame for anything; instead, those evil, evil tax cuts are the scourge of mankind. All free-marketers are waiting for an admission from Krugman that the tax cuts are at least somewhat to thank for the 8.2% growth rate in the third quarter of 2003, but don’t hold your breath.

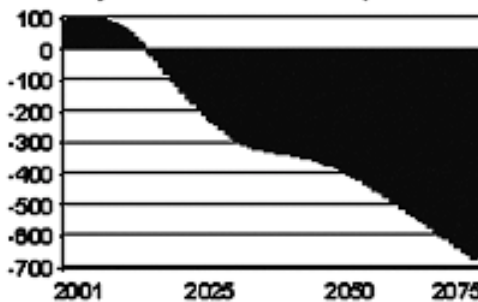
Europe has shown the United States what *not* to do as it currently tries to find a way out of its economic morass. Of course, just as France faces a crisis as soon as 2020, when the ratio of workers to pensioners will approach 1 to 1, the United States faces an equally horrifying monster in its current “Social Security” system.

Much like French baby boomers, American baby boomers will start to retire *en masse* in the next few decades, demanding generous benefits. The unfunded liability of the American “Social Security” system is about \$9.5 trillion, or \$9500 bil-

lion. Dealing with this \$9500 billion “whoopsie” will require a drastic cut in benefits or a dramatic tax increase. None of the two solutions would work: forcing retirees to live on substandard benefits while they have diligently paid their contributions all their lives is simply wrong, while massively increasing taxes would be economic suicide. A different solution is needed.

Let’s look abroad for different solutions. When the Chilean Social Security system was privatized, every Chilean was given a choice between staying in the pay-as-you-go system and using a private retirement account. 90% chose to enroll in the system of private retirement accounts, while 10% chose to stay in the pay-as-you-go system that we have here in the United States. According to José Piñera, the former Chilean Minister of Labor, as far as the private retirement account system is concerned, “the Chilean system is run completely by private companies,” with “15 mutual funds competing for workers’ savings.”

**Social Security Cash Balance
Adjusted for CPI Inflation, \$ bil.**



Entitlement, entitlement on the wall... some would let taxpayers pay it all! US taxpayers face the same crisis as French taxpayers, but later.

We could sure use some privatization in the United States. Social Security’s rate of return on payroll taxes is astonishingly low (about 2 percent) and declining. Workers deserve better. How would the stock market help? According to the CATO Institute, “even the worst 20-year period, from 1929 through 1948, which includes the stock market crash of ’29 and the Great Depression, had a positive real rate of return of 3.36 percent,” still 68% higher than the paltry 2% return of Social Security. Since 1926, of course, the average real rate of return on the stock market has been 7.56 percent, nearly 200% higher than that of the government-run social security system.

It should come as no surprise that low-income workers would be among the biggest winners if social security were to be privatized: a 28-year-old earning \$13,500 a year would get just \$815 per month from Social Security but would receive \$2,292 if he invested in a mixed fund that earned a 5.75 percent return. Those who are compassionate will support full Social Security privatization, or, at the very least, private retirement accounts. The *Washington Post* recently reported President Bush will make private retirement accounts one of the major themes of his re-election campaign. While Krugman endlessly defends a system “created by a Prussian chancellor in the 19th century” (in the words of Piñera), and as he writes about the risks “of any private investment” in the *Times*, the only “risk” to workers that comes from privatization seems to be that some won’t know what to do with their newfound wealth once they retire.

Thanks to the vision and courage of young leaders such as Mademoiselle Hérold and the impressive free-market policies of countries as diverse as Ireland, Russia, Estonia and Slovakia, there are good reasons to be optimistic on the subject of a European turnaround in the medium-to-long run, provided the European Commission can control its greed and does not dramatically boost spending at the European level. The United States should not have to face Europe’s economic troubles before it decides to implement necessary reforms. We should take our cue from Europeans and see just how painful reforms are when they are delayed for too long. By optimistic calculations, the Federal Government is scheduled to absorb nearly half of US GDP by 2040. We need reform now. *Mieux vaut prévenir que guérir.*



Jurgen Reinhoudt '06 is a Politics Major from Gurnee, Illinois. Jurgen lived in Paris from 1993 to '98 and will return this summer as an intern at a free-market think-tank.

SHOOTING AT PRINCETON

Reflections on Club Sports and Gun Control

Brad Heller '05

When someone learns that I am a proud member of the Rifle Team, a club sport here at Princeton, the most common response by far is “oh...I didn’t know we had a rifle team”. Then, a moment of awkward silence ensues only to be followed by a slew of questions about where the team shoots, what we shoot at, and if I’m a member of the NRA. But of course, there is also the occasional interlocutor who is actually amused and even excited to learn that shooting sports are alive and well here at Princeton. After one too many dirty looks, though, I decided that it is now time to set the record straight and explore the many misconceptions underlying the *phobia* of firearms.

Let us start with an anecdote from my experience with the Princeton Rifle Team. I had never fired a gun before my first trip to the armory, and I wasn’t sure what to expect. When I first met Coach Joe Sundra, a military man of the Vietnam era, he took his time in explaining how to safely carry the weapon before showing me how to load and shoot it. It felt like he was talking for hours, for all I could think about was wrapping my left hand around the cold steel of the barrel and my right finger around the trigger.

Finally, after showing me how to adopt the basic prone position, I loaded the .22 with a round, locked the bolt, and took a look through the sights. My heart was beating faster and faster as I anticipated the bang. I heard the explosion next to my ear and felt the soft push of the rifle against my shoulder. I got the shot off and smiled. It was an exciting and intense experience that I continue to enjoy every time I shoot.

Any marksman will tell you, however, that anxiety only hurts performance. Shooting is a sport that requires a great deal of composure, and deep breathing exercises and careful attention to body placement between shots is requisite for precision. There are no angry shooters on the firing line because tension has a huge impact on accuracy.

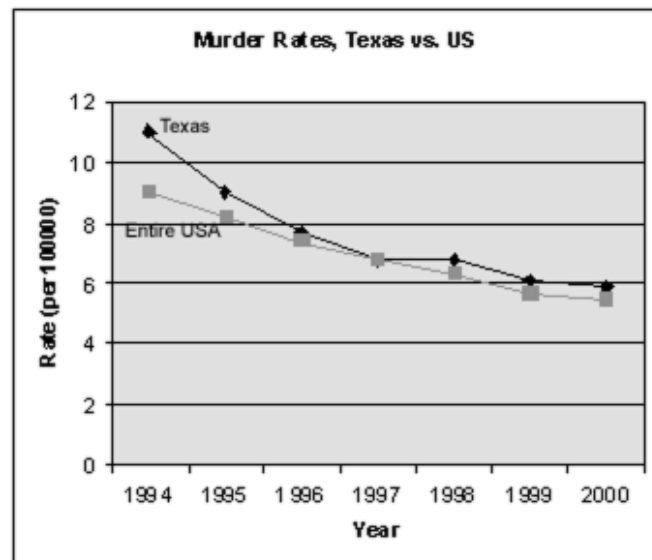
In fact, after a few practices, it oc-

curred to me that shooting is actually very therapeutic. It may be hard to believe that firing guns is relaxing, but there is no doubt that this activity is a big stress reliever. The idea that competitive shooting is an unhealthy sport that breeds violence among our nation’s youth is false. Being raised among responsible gun owners (although I was not) and being taught respect for firearms is the key to gun safety. It’s heartening to hear from a gun control supporter like Jon Byers '05 that even though he was “quite surprised” to hear that Princeton has a rifle team, he does not object to marksmen or sportsmen owning guns. Jon Walsh '05 believes that although “the sport does teach familiarity with what can be a deadly weapon, an understanding of firearms mechanically and an appreciation of their safe handling is very worthwhile knowledge both to the individual and to society.”

Walsh keenly notes that Americans depend on “emotion-laden Hollywood images as their chief source of information on the subject” in lieu of personal experience with guns. Meanwhile, tragedies like the sniper shootings in the Washington DC area this past summer or the Columbine incident where a pair of students fired on their teachers and classmates outside a Colorado high school paint an inaccurate picture of the kinds of dangers guns pose to the public. In the hands of the deranged, a car can be an instrument of death, yet placing a loaded gun in the possession of a responsible adult is relatively safe. Why should we distrust our fellow Americans if they should choose to maintain firearms for perfectly reasonable uses like hunting or personal defense? Would you be afraid of a 21-year old rape victim who carries a concealed pistol for her own protection? I surely wouldn’t, but a serial rapist will be.

The people who use guns for completely unreasonable purposes like committing crime generally prefer to obtain unregistered firearms through illicit channels, thereby circumventing the primary point where gun control is enforced in the first place. The center of debate on gun control issues should therefore focus on preventing future criminals from obtaining weapons, not the law-abiding citizens who by definition pose no threat to society. Pro gun control advocates are incorrect in believing that more gun control laws are the key to a safer world. Instead, the aim of legislators and law enforcement agencies nationwide should be to prevent the spread of arms to individuals with a record of violent offenses. This means targeting illegal arms dealers, not forcing responsible gun owners to obtain trigger locks.

To make an analogy, the selling and possession of cocaine is felonious in every state in the union. However, there are thousands of individuals nationwide who are in the business of the narcotics trade. Is this because the law has inadequately outlawed this practice, or because the laws are being poorly enforced? The drug dealers are knowingly breaking the law, which is the same thing that criminals do when they carry concealed weapons in a state in which it is clearly illegal. Making it harder for an ordi-



THE LAST WORD

nary person to purchase a gun has no effect on the crook who will obtain one through the black market anyway.

Still, many people are convinced that putting more guns on the streets is a bad idea. Although it seems counterintuitive at best that more guns could result in less violence, the facts do support this theory. The State of Texas has served as a model in this argument because, under the leadership of George W. Bush, carrying licenses became legal statewide on January 1, 1996. According to statistics provided by the National Rifle Association's *Fact Files*, only 2 of the nearly 215,000 permit holders in the state committed murder in the first four years of the program. The most staggering evidence comes from the FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports* which undeniably show a statewide decline in murder rates to their lowest levels since the 1950s and a reduction of violent crime to 1970 levels. In the very short period of 1995 to 1997, a before and after look at the effect of the carry license, murder rates declined by 25 percent state-wide. The President of the Dallas Police Association, Glenn White, originally opposed the carry license when it was instituted because he feared a dramatic increase in violent crime. In 2000, White said that "all the horror stories I thought would come to pass didn't happen...I think it's worked out well, and that says good things about the citizens who have permits. I'm a convert."

Although the evidence presented above is persuasive, especially considering White's change of heart, skeptics say that the drop in crime is not a result of the relaxed gun laws but instead indicative of a national trend. As expected, the half-truths of leftist rhetoric break down yet again. In the period from 1995 to 1997, the average drop in murder rates in the states that do not have carry laws was 16 percent, which is hardly as significant as the 25 percent drop observed in Texas. Additionally, the gun control supporters indicate that Texas has a higher-than-average murder rate to begin with. *Sane Guns* is one politically unaffiliated organization that provides statistics on its website, www.saneguns.org. Their data show that the rates of aggravated assaults, grand larcenies and murders in Texas are higher than the national average despite their recent state-wide decline. The FBI's statistics also show that the murder rate in Texas is 21 percent higher than the national average. At first glance, these facts seem to indicate that the relaxation of gun

control in 1996 might only have effected crime deleteriously in Texas. However, these numbers are misleading.

Consider the rate of pedestrian deaths per annum in New York, a figure probably far greater than the national average as well. This difference is not due to one single reason. Demographics like population density and unquantifiable factors like bad drivers would distort this statistic. Even a significant drop in the rate of killed pedestrians in New York would still probably leave a higher than average rate. The same effect has served to obfuscate the legitimate progress that has been made in reducing crime in Texas because absolute rates

instead of rate changes
are being



compared. As discussed before, violent crime dropped more in Texas than in states that do not have carry permits, suggesting the possibility that carry permits deter would-be criminals. Indeed, the FBI reports that 784 fewer people were murdered in 2000 compared to 1994 in Texas, the second largest state in the country. The *total* number of murder victims in Virginia (a carry license state that ranks 12th in population) in 2000 was 401.

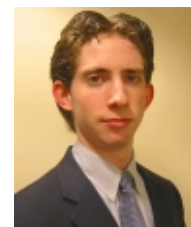
Still, *Sane Guns* does show that the rate of robberies in Texas is below the national average as of 1999. This corroborates the long-standing theory that an armed citizenry deters theft. It has also been independently suggested that the high rate of violent crime in the Washington, D.C. area (a city in which civilian-owned guns are banned) is due to criminals in Maryland and Virginia who find it safer to commit the same crimes in a city where they need fear

no armed defense from law-abiding citizens. It would be interesting to further investigate if Washington DC is suffering from its prohibition of firearms as much as states like Texas profit from their regulated proliferation.

One last interesting statistic is the fact that juvenile violent crime in Texas dropped 44 percent since 1996, more than double the drop in adult violent crime. It seems to me that this was as much a result of better education as it was of the fear that underage criminals had of potentially armed victims. Former Governor Bush supported the teaching of morals and values in the classroom while urging the use of "tough love" to deal with difficult juveniles. Building the characters of troubled teens through well-funded community based programs also had a positive effect on the state's youth. These actions formed the foundation of Bush's plan to stop juveniles from committing crimes before it was too late. Indeed, the institution of juvenile boot camps is just one reason why fewer youngsters chose to commit violent crime.

It is no coincidence that personal responsibility and the promise that bad decisions bring disastrous consequences continue to be the primary rules of the range. Respecting the power of the rifle and understanding the importance of keeping the gun secure are instructive lessons in responsibly for all maturing adolescents in an armed society.

Target shooting is a pacific sport where ordinary people use the awesome power of the firearm as a measure of skill. The intrigue of owning and shooting guns is hardly as macabre as Michael Moore's *Bowling for Columbine* would have you believe. Rather, the expansion of the carry license into more states and a compassionate conservative approach to juvenile offenders will induce Texas-sized reductions in crime. Such reforms also help to stimulate a healthy dose of discourse about safety as more and more people understand what it means to own and shoot guns. Supporting competitive shooting sports is the first step towards this worthy goal. ■



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