

March 2004

PRINCETON TORY

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been appearing on
campuses across the
nation...
Is Princeton next?

MUZZLED!

INSIDE: The Rant
Moore's Ten Commandments
Polling Campus Conservatism
...and more!

THE PRINCETON TORY

March 2004

Volume XXI - Issue II

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From the Publisher

Dear fellow Princetonians,

With a new semester comes a new *Tory*. I'm proud to present to you the first *Tory* produced during my term as publisher. This issue is only a taste of what is to come for the *Tory*. We've made a number of what we feel are improvements to both the style and the layout of the *Tory*, and we would love to hear back from you what you think.

The most significant changes to the issue include a new monthly poll of a timely campus issue, a regularly printed Letters to the Editor section, and News Briefs, a highlight of the events concerning campus conservatism. We hope these improvements will not only further your enjoyment of reading each issue, but we also hope these changes will help us to more effectively broadcast conservative thought and ideals.

For those readers who are already conservative-minded individuals, never fear, I guarantee nothing that has made the *Tory* pertinent for the last twenty years will disappear under my tenure. I vow to maintain the same level of quality and pride the *Tory* has become known for and honor the great accomplishments of those who came before me. We have a wonderful history at the *Tory*, and I deeply value this great legacy.

For those of you who may have not found the Right path yet, I must warn you that further reading of this year's issues of the *Tory* may challenge you to think critically in ways you never expected. I'm not expecting all of you to turn in your peace pins and rainbow banners in tomorrow, but I hope the coming issues of the *Tory* will have you rethinking your positions on many issues. There is a chance you may get rather upset after reading some our articles, but you must understand that through riling your emotions we hope to catalyze oncampus debate of current political thought. Although I would be ecstatic if we were able to convince you to change your opinion on an issue, I will be more than satisfied if reading the *Tory* only makes you more sure of your own position. The primary goal of the *Tory* is not to proselytize, but to encourage communication and debate between the various schools of political thought and their supporters on Princeton's campus.

With our intentions clearly established, it is with great pride that I present to you the first issue of *The Princeton Tory's* 2004 Editorial Board. We are very excited about this year's prospects, and we hope this first issue starts that journey on the right foot. Again, please do let us know what you think. Enjoy!

Sincerely,

Ira Leeds '06
Publisher



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

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Every month, many of our readers send us letters voicing their thoughts on the articles in the most recent issue of the Tory. These letters have been reprinted below with responses from the staff writer when appropriate. Unless otherwise noted, the letters are printed in full with no editing done by the Tory.

As a woman that aspires to go out into the work force (how unnatural!), I was bothered by your last issue. There are too many problems for me to elaborate on all of them, but the one I found most disturbing was Jennifer Mickel's article on feminism. She opens with, "Look around: Nobody is oppressing women." That wasn't quite true the last time I checked. No one actively tells women that they cannot do a certain thing, but there are very real obstacles in the workplace. Because of the number of women who get jobs, go into high-powered positions in the workplace and then quit in their mid-thirties because of motherhood, many employers (both male and female) are hesitant to give other women similar positions. Jennifer also claims that having both parents work erodes families. Unfortunately, she has a rather closed-minded solution for this problem: "letting" women stay home to raise children. I have a better one that benefits both families and women that want to work: encourage men to stay home. I do not think that all men should stay home, but staying home with the children should not be looked down on for either sex. If just as many young men quit the work force to raise children as young women, employers should have no reason to discriminate against women of a certain age.

I hope that all the Tory members and the publication's readers have an open discussion about gender roles. Just because your father and grandfather acted one way, that does not necessarily mean that they acted in the only correct or productive way.

Lauren Hannah '05

Dear Toryites,

I have a question after reading your last issue. I seemed to be receiving different vibes from Jennifer Mickel's article on feminism and John Andrews's article on the Mommy University. Where Ms. Mickel argues that feminism has undermined femininity in general, and caused women (lamentably) to feel they must think and act like men in order to succeed, Mr. Andrews criticizes the Mommy administration for venturing into the domain of traditional femininity: nurture, communication, emphasis on feelings, etc. My question: if a female takes on the role of "Daddy" (whether in administration or any other capacity), inculcating stoicism, hardihood, moral rigor, personal responsibility, etc. - all very fine qualities - is she somehow shortchanging her femininity as per Ms. Mickel's argument? If she is, is she wrong to aspire to such leadership roles? If she is not, is there any function for traditional femininity in leadership? What do you think?

Thanks for your time.

Sincerely,

Janani Sreenivasan ['04]

I always enjoy reading the unrequested copies of your publication that are slipped under my door, simply because they so consistently represent the plurality of viewpoints on campus, both in quantity and quality. But one piece in your January issue did not manage to elicit even a smile from me. In the section titled "The Rant," the second "ranting" belittles the Woodrow Wilson School's commemoration of Aids Awareness Week, calling AIDS victims "partners in their self-destruction" and wondering why more worthy causes (juvenile leukemia, a disease with more "innocent victims," is mentioned) are not given recognition. Perhaps some statistics will help you understand the import of AIDS from a global perspective, something to which the W.W.S. is obviously more attuned. Acute lymphoblastic leukemia, the most common cancer occurring in children, is diagnosed in about 2,400 individuals under the age of 20 each year in the U.S. Leukemia victims are, indeed, innocents, and the only comfort we might take from their deaths is that the cause of most cases is unknown and, therefore, impossible to prevent. (Of course, from a more optimistic perspective, we are finding better and better ways to help these young victims through aggressive chemotherapy and other treatments.) The biggest killer in the U.S. (in the entire population, not just children) is, of course, cardiovascular disease, which kills about one million Americans each year. But following your line of argument, these victims are hardly victims, since we know what causes most cases of heart disease, and anyone who overeats, smokes, or leads a sedentary lifestyle is hardly deserving of compassion when he or she dies from a heart attack. Like many cases of heart disease, AIDS is preventable, but the problem is that most people in the world who acquire it have neither the education nor the means to prevent it. 30 million people have died from AIDS since the beginning of the pandemic. Three million died in 2003, and an estimated five million acquired it. There are almost 40 million adults now living with the disease, and 95% of them are located in developing countries. But whatever your thoughts about adults with the disease, you might want to remember that there are also nearly three million children with the disease in the world, and even worse, there are 14 million AIDS orphans (the equivalent to every child under the age of five in the U.S.). The number of AIDS orphans is expected to reach 40 million in the next few years. I doubt very much that the W.W.S. initiative to highlight AIDS Awareness came about because academia and H.B.O. can "romanticize" only one disease at a time, and that AIDS is the trendy (if altogether undeserving) choice. Rather, I think that the lighted display was a sign of an awareness of the astounding cost of this disease to all of humanity. It was a sign, in other words, of compassion. After reading your "rant," I can only presume that the compassionate brand of conservatism that even Bush espouses when it comes to the AIDS question is not within your system of ethics.

Cole M. Crittenden [GS]

From tuitions to war chests

In interesting but certainly not surprising news, a Tory investigation led by former Publisher John Andrews found that contributions of faculty members to liberal causes overwhelmingly outnumbered contributions to conservative causes. Over the past few years, members of the faculty and administration have made 334 donations totaling about \$194,000 to Democratic and liberal candidates, campaign funds and causes. Donations to Republican and conservative candidates, funds and causes were left behind in the dust; there were 65 donations made totaling about \$58,000. Pro-choice contributions outnumbered pro-life contributions by a 15:1 margin.

This imbalance in donations reflects a wider problem at Princeton: there is an almost complete lack of ideological

diversity in the faculty and administration. Whether the Administration is liberal or not matters because senior administrators like Woodrow Wilson School Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter make important hiring decisions; administrators are highly influential in determining who gets hired. That, in turn, has in impact on the overall academic environment.

The problem of ideological imbalance at Princeton is perhaps most clearly illustrated by looking at contributions of faculty and administration members to local Congressional candidates. William Russel, Dean of the Graduate School, donated \$250 to the Rush Holt campaign fund in 2000 and \$500 in 2001. He was joined

by David Redman, the Associate Dean for Academic Affairs at the Graduate School, who donated \$250 to Rush Holt's campaign fund in 2000, another \$250 in 2001 and in 2003, and, a few months ago, \$250 to the Howard Dean for President campaign.

Redman and Russel found themselves in the company of former Dean of the Faculty and Physics Professor Joseph Taylor, who donated \$500 to the Rush Holt for Congress campaign fund while Dean of the Faculty. Joining these gentlemen was Andrew Golden, President of the Princeton University Investment Company (the organization responsible for managing Princeton's endowment), who donated \$300 to the Rush Holt campaign fund in 2002. In fact, the ratio of Princeton faculty donating to Rush Holt versus his primary competitor in the campaign was an astonishing 94:1.

At the national level, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School, donated \$250 to the Bill Bradley for President campaign in 2000, but University President Shirley Tilghman was one step ahead of her and donated the maximum legal amount of \$1000 to the Bradley campaign in 1999. To complete the party, Dean Nancy Malkiel donated \$250 to the Brendan Byrne for Senate fund in 1999 and \$250 to the Democratic National Committee in 2000. Well-known English Professor Deborah Nord has donated \$1200 to pro-choice causes over the past few years, while Professor Kwame Appiah donated \$250 to the Wesley Clark for President campaign fund in 2003. His radical comrade-in-arms Cornel West joined Tilghman and Slaughter in supporting Bill Bradley and donated \$1000 to the campaign, in addition to \$250 to the John Cranley for House campaign fund.

It would be nice if our Board of Trustees, for once, were to show some actual backbone and insist that the status quo must change. The Board should make it clear to President Shirley Tilghman that the current lack of ideological diversity on the faculty and administration is not only abnormal when compared to the ideological diversity of American society as a whole, but more disturbingly, a severe obstacle to academic freedom and the free pursuit of knowledge.

PR

Congressman
RUSH HOLT

A male provost?!

No, those were not pigs flying in front of Nassau Hall on February 20th. Contrary to popular expectations, the University Board of Trustees did in fact choose Professor Christopher Eisgruber '83 to serve as Princeton's next Provost after having been recommended for the position by President Shirley Tilghman. Professor Eisgruber will be succeeding Provost Amy Gutmann who will be leaving Princeton to serve as the President of the University of Pennsylvania next year.

After graduating from Princeton, Eisgruber went on to study at Oxford and the University of Chicago Law School. After graduation and various clerkships for high-profile members of the U.S. judiciary, Eisgruber entered academia as a faculty member at the New York University School of Law in 1990.

Although Professor Eisgruber's credentials demonstrate the his qualifications for assuming the role of Pro-

vost, the professor's appointment caught many on campus by surprise. Since the beginning of President Tilghman's tenure, many students had noticed a gender bias in favor of women in faculty appointments. Both *The Princeton Tory*, *The Daily Princetonian*, and other on-campus publications have been addressing allegations of gender bias in the administration for more than a year. That Professor Eisgruber was selected as the next Provost can be seen as evidence that perhaps public opinion on-campus has finally encouraged the administration and the Board of Trustees to reexamine their selections processes. PR



THE RANT

- According to US News, Senator Barbara Boxer of California stated, “With just a one-vote margin protecting *Roe* in the Supreme Court, we cannot afford to take these fundamental rights for granted,” as she introduced a bill to keep abortion even if the *Roe* decision is overturned. With two branches of government already supporting the partial-birth abortion ban (a partially-born child is clearly no fetus) just what does she think is fundamental about this right? We are born with the right to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, and... abortion? I think not. That’s like saying I’m born with the right to kill the parents who are inconvenient for me right now. What’s the most fundamental right? The right to exist. And we’ve been denying over 4,000 tiny people that right every day.
- The university’s liberal administration strikes again. I didn’t buy cable for my room: the only show I like is *Friends* and I prefer to get my news from printed sources. Even if I wanted to watch the Fox News Channel, I couldn’t. Although CNN, CNNH, C-Span, C-Span2, CNBC, MSNBC, ABC, NBC, CBS, FOX (NY), ABC, and WNET (PBS) are all available, the one channel accused of having a slight conservative bend, Fox News Channel, seems to be practically the only news channel not included. How’s that for bias? Is Dean Dunne behind this anti-conservative policy too?
- All the Democratic Presidential Candidates have pledged to at least partially repeal the Bush tax cuts. They seem to have neglected to mention that Congress actually passes budgets, and a Republican Congress is unlikely to repeal the tax cuts. As it does not appear that the Republicans will lose control of both Houses of Congress, the Democrats might want to rethink their campaign pledges.
- It seems as though the Democrats will likely settle on John Kerry as their nominee for President based on his “electability.” Kerry, however, is a strong liberal from Massachusetts, which sounds like a combination of Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis. These two “electable” candidates both lost in landslides.
- Congratulations to the Utah House of Representatives for passing a resolution urging the United States to withdraw from the United Nations. After passing with bipartisan support with a comfortable margin (42-33), the resolution now heads to the Utah Senate. A similar bill was recently introduced in the Arizona House of Representatives and has already acquired wide support. It’s time for the United States to stop spending billions on an organization that lets Libya chair its Human Rights Commission. Utah’s Representatives have set a good example and delivered a strong warning to the United Nations: reform or perish.
- The President’s decision to increase the budget of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) tramples not only on the Constitutional principle of limited and delegated powers but also on Bush’s conservative base. In trying to return values, standards, and relevance to a bureaucracy best known for giving us urine-submerged crucifixes and photographic sadomasochism, Bush forgets that the Republicans won’t be in the White House forever. If Bush keeps alienating conservatives, Senator Kerry will win in November. Kerry, you may recall, demonstrated his affinity for obscenity in a recent *Rolling Stone* interview, and he’s unlikely to appoint a director who shares either Dana Gioia’s roots in the Western tradition or the current First Lady’s taste for more traditional art. George should stand up to the missus, remember Jesse Helms, and kill the NEA.
- The *Vagina Monologues* have become, over the past five years, as perennially annoying a “V-Day” event to everyone as, say, excessive PDA is to lonely singles. However, beyond mere nuisance, beyond posters of nude, headless women or flyers blaring “P—Y” and “C—T,” is a deeper, more disturbing incongruity: The play represents itself as a statement against violence against women, and playwright Eve Ensler waives royalties for productions whose proceeds benefit women’s shelters, but they play itself promotes objectification and condones violence against women. The play itself includes a scene of a 24-year-old woman getting a 13-year-old girl intoxicated, having sex with her, and concluding, “if it was rape, it was a good rape. I’ll never need to rely on a man.” As the title suggests, the play constitutes the ultimate reduction of women to anatomy. Given that our administration is filled with intellectual women who have spoken out against female objectification on other occasions, the silence from Nassau Hall is deafening. Oh, wait – that’s because they’re busy learning their lines for the *Vagina Monologues*.
- Princeton’s super-socialist, Paul Krugman, recently called for universal health care in the United States. Krugman ignores the fact that the overwhelming majority of Americans have health insurance and that many of those who do not have health care choose not to have health insurance. A great deal of college students, for example, choose to go without health insurance, preferring to spend their money on other products and services. Krugman would claim the

American Federal Government should spend even more on healthcare than the \$500 billion it currently spends every year on Medicare and Medicaid. If \$500 billion is not enough, just how much will be? Should we choke our economy to give everyone third-rate (but universal!!!) health care? Socialized health care would give everyone access to health care; just don't ask what kind of health care. A system of tax credits for health insurance payments would do a great deal to solve the problem of those few who truly cannot afford health insurance in this country. Dealing with greedy trial lawyers such as John Edwards by passing tort reform would also do wonders.

➤ San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom should be ashamed of himself for openly violating California State Law by allowing gay "marriages" to take place in his city. More than 3,000 gay "marriage" licenses have been issued so far (many to people from other cities and states) in a move that has deeply upset many Californians and Americans. In 2000, more than 60% of Californians voted in favor of a referendum which read "Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California." Because the "marriage" licenses go so flagrantly against California law, even a San Francisco judge, James Warren, ruled that they were probably illegal. He refused to order a halt to the issuance of the licenses, however. Why? The Proposition 22 Legal Defense and Education Fund asked the judge to order the city to "cease and desist issuing marriage licenses to and/or solemnizing marriages of same-sex couples; to show cause before this court." Warren said the petition should have an "or" where the semicolon is placed. "I am not trying to be petty here, but it is a big deal," he told the group's attorneys (probably holding back his laughter), concluding, "I don't have the authority to issue it under these circumstances." San Francisco needs some Reagan judges instead of spineless weenies. And a mayor who respects the law.

➤ The Super Bowl halftime show perfectly demonstrated the filth that passes as "art" these days. There was rapper Nelly grabbing his crotch; Kid Rock donning the flag as though it were one of Mike Tyson's towels; and the literally star-studded flop of a finale performed by Justin Timberlake and Janet Jackson. As disgusting as the show was, is there really a need for Michael Powell and the FCC to get involved? Given the outrage from fans and NFL leadership over the show, combined with poor record sales the past few years, the market is telling the recording industry that substance must return. The *Tory* hopes that the recording industry will come to the realization that the bar has been lowered as far it can go and that Powell will allow consumers to police content with their wallets.

➤ Harvard's Committee on College Life has approved an undergraduate pornography magazine as Harvard's newest official student organization. Co-founder

Katherina Baldegg '06 told the *Crimson*, "I guess student porn is sort of an underground thing." Don't reach for your shovel – the pages of *H-Bomb* will be filled with, well, naked Harvard students. We'll pass...

➤ John Kerry (D-MA), 60, has been accused of doing the hokey pokey with an attractive young intern, Alex Polier, who graduated from high school in 1995. Unlike rumors surrounding President Bush the elder, the media remained completely silent on this one. In mid-February, the intern's father said "I think he's a sleaze ball. I did wonder if she didn't get that feeling herself. He's not the sort of guy I'd choose to be with my daughter." "I know my wife will not be voting for Mr Kerry, let's put it that way," he added. Several days later, he said he and his wife *would* be voting for Kerry. All of this is fishy. Teresa Heinz Kerry is no Jacqueline Kennedy or Hillary Clinton, both of whom stood by their Democratic husbands while they misbehaved. In an interview with *Elle* magazine several years ago, Teresa Heinz said she would "maim" any husband who misbehaved. The odds are significant that her husband at the time, Mr. Heinz, had better control over his zipper than John Kerry. The last thing this nation needs is another President haunted by sex scandals.

➤ Professor Peter Singer recently announced his desire to teach only part-time at Princeton. Good riddance!

➤ Congratulations to the 25 or so fiscally conservative House Republicans who defied threats from their allegedly "conservative" leadership and voted against the largest expansion of a government entitlement program since Lyndon Johnson's time this past November. The medicare prescription drug benefit was advertised to Congressmen as costing "only" \$400 billion, but a few weeks later (surprise!) a revised cost update of \$540 billion popped up. This should come as no surprise to anyone. Cost estimates for government entitlement programs are notoriously low. When Medicare was created in 1965, the House Ways and Means Committee estimated that Medicare would cost only about \$12 billion by 1990 (with inflation). Medicare actually cost \$107 billion in 1990, about 800% more than what was estimated. Overall, the recent Republican spending binge, on areas from education to health care to development aid, has been shocking to fiscal conservatives. Republicans should realize that all spending must eventually be paid for; borrowing and spending is no better than taxing and spending.

➤ To whom it may concern, the Center for Jewish Life and LGBT Student Services will be cosponsoring a viewing of the film *Trembling Before G-d*, a documentary exploring Hasidic Jews who also lead homosexual lifestyles. Needless to say, we'll pass...

-- Compiled by the Editors

IN GOD WE TRUST

The Ten Commandments and the Judeo-Christian foundation of America

Stuart Lange '07

In August of 2001, Roy Moore, Chief Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, placed a privately funded, two-and-a-half ton granite monument in the Judicial building in Montgomery. Carved into the monument were several quotes from the Founding Fathers about the law in America. Prominently displayed on the top of the monument was a depiction of the Ten Commandments. Needless to say, the presence of the Ten Commandments agitated the separation-of-church-and-state crowd. The American Civil Liberties Union, the Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, and the Southern Poverty Law Center all filed lawsuits against Moore, challenging the constitutionality of the monument on the grounds that it was an inappropriate government expression of religion. On July 1, 2003, the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a lower court's ruling ordering that the Ten Commandments be removed from public view. The monument's fate was sealed. But, for almost two months, Moore refused to comply with the court order. Moore drew battle lines, saying "if they want to get the commandments, they're going to have to get me first." After refusing to remove the monument after the court-ordered date, Moore got his wish as his fellow Justices suspended him from his office and then had the monument removed from public view on August 24, 2003. For his inappropriate conduct, Moore was permanently removed from his position on November 13, 2003 by the Alabama Court of the Judiciary.

This incident has reinvigorated the debate over several larger questions of the culture wars. What does the first amendment actually say about government display of religious symbols? When is public display of such symbols appropriate? What is the

most effective means of waging and winning the culture wars? While Roy Moore may have been wrong and even foolish to disobey the court's order, his installation of the monument and insistence on his right to do so was more in keeping with the Constitution and over two hundred years of American history than was the ruling of the court itself.

A discussion of this issue should begin with a discussion of the first amendment to the Constitution. The key section of the amendment reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The first half of this excerpt, dubbed the "Establishment Clause," is what the courts have used over the years to justify the removal of all things religious, including Moore's Ten Commandments monument, from the public square.

Let us look at the actual text of the amendment. Note the phrase "respecting an establishment of religion." "An establishment of religion" is a state-sponsored religion or national church, like the one that existed in England at the time of the revolution (and still exists today). So, Congress (and note that this originally *only* applied to the federal legislature, not to the states) is not allowed to pass a law "respecting" a state-sponsored church. At its core, the first amendment is designed to prohibit Congress from creating an official "American religion". The language, however, is designed to prohibit Congress from passing a law that affects a state-sponsored church in any way. Thus, in addition to preventing Congress from creating a national church, it also was originally intended to prevent Congress from infringing on the rights of the states to legislate religion, since about eight states actually had their own established religions at the time of the ratification of the Constitution. The original intent of the Framers in including the First Amendment

was twofold – to prevent the federal government from establishing a national religion, and to preserve the rights of the states to establish their own religions. Yet, this very same Establishment clause has been used to justify threatening six months of jail time to anyone mentioning the name of "Jesus" at a certain high school graduation ceremony in Texas, because doing so would be deemed an inappropriate government endorsement of religion. Clearly, something has gone wrong with our courts' ability to interpret the first amendment.

According to a strict reading of the first amendment, Moore's monument was not in violation of the Constitution. The placement of a monument bearing a religious symbol in a state owned building is clearly not tantamount to an act of Congress establishing a national religion. So, the 11th Circuit made the wrong decision in ordering the removal of Moore's monument.

But why display religious symbols in public places? Many argue that, even if the first amendment does not explicitly



Chief Justice Roy Moore standing beside the Ten Commandments replica he had placed in the Montgomery judicial building.

require it, American institutions of government should be completely neutral when it comes to religion. They believe that government should not endorse or recognize any specific religion so as to avoid offending citizens of different religions, or those with no religion at all. Some religious symbols, however, along with the ideals they represent, are of more than just religious significance in America; they are of historical and political importance. The ACLU may not like to admit it, but this nation was established on the beliefs of the Judeo-Christian religious tradition. The founders constantly referenced God as the source of American liberty and morality, most importantly and obviously in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Moreover, the Mosaic legal tradition (based on the Ten Commandments) formed the basis for the United States legal system. Federal Judge Harry Lee Hudspeth comments, "Each of the Ten Commandments has played a significant role in the foundation of our system of law and government." The display of religious symbols – including the Ten Commandments – in this vein is not an unnecessary endorsement of one religion over another, but simply proper recognition of the founding principles of the nation.

There is, in fact, a long tradition in the United States of displaying of such symbols on government property. A recent *Human Events* article documented that representations of Ten Commandments appear on the floor of the National Archives building, along with Lady Liberty outside the Ronald Reagan Building, and next to Moses in the courtroom of the Supreme Court and in the rotunda of the Library of Congress. These symbols, along with other public references to religion (such as the national motto "In God we trust"), hardly constitute a government establishment of religion, but are rather ways to recognize the religious and moral heritage of the United States. According to recent court rulings such as those striking down Moore's Ten Commandments monument, however, it is likely that these representations would be found in violation of the Establishment Clause as well.

So, what are we to do to stop this dangerous trend of judicial misinterpretation of the First Amendment? Well, certainly not



Hundreds of people flock to Montgomery to protest the removal of what many claim is the foundation of our legal system.

what Roy Moore did. Whether or not Moore believed that the Circuit Court's decision was a correct one, he would have been wise to follow it. We live in a nation based on the rule of law, and if the law is disrespected and disobeyed, freedom cannot sustain itself. And whether or not we agree with the decision, the Circuit Court's ruling carries the force of law. Moore damaged his own cause by placing himself on the wrong side of the law. Disobedience is not the best way to achieve the goal. Instead, we must work within the system to reverse the removal of religion from public life. There are several available means by which to do this.

Two similar bills pending in Congress now would help reaffirm the freedom to express religion publicly. These bills – the Ten Commandments Defense Act (HR-2045) and the Religious Liberties Restoration Act (S-1558) – specifically give the States the power to decide whether the Ten Commandments can be displayed on government property. They also reserve to the States other powers concerning public displays of religion. These bills would help us return to the true intention of the Constitution, by giving the States – not the federal government – the power to decide religious matters. Another important method by which to counter the antagonism against public displays of religion is the appointment of judges and justices who believe in a strict interpretation of the Constitution. After all, activist judges who stray from the original intent of the Constitution have been largely responsible for the more and more expansive reading of the Establishment Clause.

Ultimately, however, the only way to stem this growing hostility towards religion is to win the war over our culture. This is not something that can be accomplished by any amount of legislation or litigation. The people of this country will have to determine the final destination of our culture. Will we remember our Constitutional heritage, founding principles, and moral values, or will we continue on our course to completely leave them behind in favor of political correctness and moral relativism? Will the United States reaffirm the words of its founding document and accord due respect to the Creator who endows us with the freedom we cherish, or will we stand aside as every last mention of Him is carted away from public view? The power to make these decisions rests with each individual American. The real battles of the culture war are not fought in the courtroom or the legislature; they are fought at the dinner table, in the classroom, and at the workplace. It is in these places that America's fate will be debated and determined. And it is in these places that we must make sure our values and beliefs are heard. It is our responsibility to stand up for our beliefs – we cannot complacently watch as the moral framework of our society erodes away.

PR

Stuart Lange '07 is originally from Chagrin Falls, OH. He is a member of Butler College and spends his time away from the Tory with the University Band.



CENSORSHIP INSIDE THE IVORY TOWER

Speech codes and academic freedom on America's campuses

Clarke Smith '07

At Princeton today, freedom of speech is under attack by a speech code embedded in the code of conduct. Cornerstone values such as free expression and tolerance of diverse intellectual ideas are threatened by restrictions imposed in the name of promoting tolerance and "diversity". These restrictions are extremely vague and there is a strong risk of arbitrary enforcement by an overwhelmingly liberal faculty and administration. Speech restrictions result in making the university intolerant of controversial viewpoints, viewpoints that should be discussed in a respectful manner in a university setting.

In Princeton's *Rights, Rules, Responsibilities*, in the section "Respect for Others," a speech code is explicitly imposed in broad language. This speech code fails to preclude subjective interpretation and, even worse, subjective and politicized enforcement. The Princeton speech code states that "Abusive or harassing behavior, verbal or physical, which demeans, intimidates threatens or injures another because of his or her personal characteristics or beliefs is subject to University disciplinary sanctions." *Rights, Rules, Responsibilities* proceeds to define "Sexual Harassment" as "verbal or physical conduct [that] has the effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work, academic performance, or living

conditions by creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive environment."

Speech that "demeans" or "[creates] an offensive environment" cannot be defined objectively; different people have widely different ideas of what "demeaning" speech consists of. The allegedly aggrieved party is empowered to identify anything inconsistent with his or her own orthodoxy as something creating a "hostile... environment." Restrictions are so vaguely defined that anyone who feels offended by someone else's opinion can claim that the opinion is offensive and should be punished. Such a speech code codifies the importance of an alleged victims' subjective response over the objective content of the offending speech. In this manner, any unpopular speech (read: conservative or moderate speech) can be silenced outright.

Princeton seems to be moving in the direction of even more restrictions and

censorship, with the prospect of the introduction of a so-called Social Honor Code. This code would require students to sign a statement that will limit their speech in order to promote tolerance and diversity on campus, as well as combat Princeton's "spirit of exclusion." Signing the statement would not only would show that student's approval of censorship, but also it would give the university more power to inflict stricter punishments.

Restrictions on speech, however, are by no means limited to Princeton and are a widespread problem at universities today. Indeed, at many other universities, speech restrictions are just pervasive as the Social Honor Code and enforced in truly draconian manners. According to the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, or FIRE, "Colleges and universities routinely punish students and faculty for their speech, their writings, and their membership in cam-



Perhaps former Princeton President John Witherspoon's rousing lectures and sermons would have been deemed "offensive" by many modern day speech codes.

pus groups.” Speech codes rose to prominence in the late 1980s, accompanying the rise of political correctness in society at large. Speech codes were based on the idea that the university environment had to be free from hateful or offensive speech in order to provide a comfortable learning environment for all students, especially minorities. The codes were also intended to promote general tolerance on campus. By the early 90s, the restrictions on speech took the form of a formalized code, and were common at both public and private universities.

In response to various racist acts by students, including distribution of racist material and racial epithets, for example, the University of Michigan enacted a speech code in the late 1980s. The code outlawed physical and verbal behavior that was threatening or created a hostile environment for minorities or involved unwanted sexual advances. Some violations of the code included excluding a minority from a study group, telling jokes about gays, laughing at a joke about someone who stutters, and displaying the Confederate flag. The University of Wisconsin also enacted a speech code in the late 1980s in response to racist behavior on the part of its fraternities. The content of this code was similar to that of the Michigan one, and any speech or behavior that met a set of four criteria was punishable. The code prohibited any speech or action that was “racist or discriminatory; directed at an individual; demean[ing to] the race, sex, religion, color, creed, disability, sexual orientation, national origin, ancestry, or age of the individual



What would the world have lost if its greatest academics had decided not to challenge the status quo ideology of their age? Could their philosophies have even come about without academic freedom?

Michigan, a psychology graduate student brought about the case because he feared he would be punished for his studies about racial and gender-based biological differences. On September 22, 1989, Federal District Judge Avern Cohn ruled that the code was unconstitutional as it prohibited protected speech and was so vague that it could be arbitrarily enforced. In the University of Wisconsin case, the charges were filed by the student newspaper at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the UWM Post. In the case *UWM Post v. Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin*, Federal District Judge Robert Warren ruled on

Despite numerous court rulings that speech codes are unconstitutional, colleges have continued to restrict freedom of speech. Instead of having open speech codes, colleges now insert restrictions on speech into general rules of conduct, much like Princeton has inserted speech restrictions into its *Rights, Rules, and Responsibilities*. Deceptively, public universities continue to restrict speech and private universities now hide their restrictions in general codes of conduct in order to avoid stigma.

Much like the code at Princeton, codes at other universities use extremely vague language that not only prohibits “offensive” speech, but also outlaws the creation of “a hostile environment.” The vagueness of the language prevents consistent or fair enforcement. Moreover, the speech restrictions promote a politically correct view of tolerance, so that politically incorrect comments or comments objecting to leftist orthodoxy can lead to punishment.

There are some flagrant and truly disturbing examples of leftist enforcement bias. At Shippensburg University, a state school in Pennsylvania, last April, two conservative students felt that they could not express any of their views, as they would be suspended if they did. The unconstitutional speech code made the campus atmosphere so pervasive and intolerant that the students felt compelled to sue the school, with the help of FIRE, in order to eliminate the code. Across the country last fall, universities stepped in and shut down

***Speech restrictions result in making
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addressed; and create an intimidating, hostile or demeaning environment for education, university-related work, or other university-authorized activity.”

While there is nothing wrong with seeking to avoid the occurrence of racist incidents, speech codes can be interpreted so broadly that even criticizing the reparations movement can be considered “racist”. Both of the aforementioned speech codes were challenged by students who felt them to be violations of their First Amendment rights. In the case *Doe v. University of*

October 11, 1991 that the University of Wisconsin speech code was also unconstitutional as it “attempted to regulate the content of speech.” As Judge Cohn ruled in the Michigan decision, a public university could not “establish an anti-discrimination policy which had the effect of prohibiting certain speech because it disagrees with the ideas or messages sought to be conveyed...Nor could the University proscribe speech because it was found to be offensive, even gravely so, by large numbers of people.”

“Affirmative Action Bake Sales,” where conservative student groups sold cookies for one dollar to white males, for 75 cents to white females, for 50 cents to Hispanics, and for 25 cents to blacks, in order to protest affirmative action. The University of Washington, Southern Methodist University, and The College of William and Mary, and Colorado University all shut these bake sales down, censoring the conservative students involved. The president of the University of Washington defended his decision by claiming that “The statements of the UW College Republicans in putting on a bake sale about affirmative action were tasteless, divisive and hurtful to many members of the university community.” The College of William and Mary and Colorado University, under heavy pressure from FIRE and other free speech advocacy groups, eventually allowed the bake sale to go forward, but the administrations at both institutions refused to admit wrongdoing.

The restrictions on speech even pervade to speech inside the classroom so that some ideas may be taught and others may not, severely limiting academic freedom. In 1998 at Harvard, Stephan Thernstrom, a history professor, came under fire for offering a politically-incorrect but accurate definition of affirmative action. In the same vein, a law professor at Columbia was charged in 1999 with violating that school’s

sexual harassment policy for issuing a criminal law exam dealing with issues such as abortion and violence against women. Students are also often punished in the classroom for expressing ideas that go against liberal orthodoxy. Students in a criminology class at a Colorado University were told to write an essay on why President Bush was a war criminal. When one student instead wrote why Saddam Hussein was the war criminal, she was given a failing grade. At Metro State College in Denver, a student

an African-American conservative who wrote the book *It’s OK to Leave the Plantation*. In his book, Weaver argues that African-Americans are too dependent on government programs. A number of students who informally gathered in the center noticed Hinkle posting the flier and tried to prevent him from putting it up. They threatened to call the campus police when Hinkle offered to discuss the issue. After Hinkle left, the students called the police and filed a complaint against him. The Cal Poly Judi-

***Only when a free and honest exchange of ideas exists,
without restrictions favoring liberal opinion,
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can be actively pursued.***

who was a Special Forces instructor and had served his country in Panama, the Gulf War, Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq was told by his professor that he was “racist” and “violent” and that his uniform was an “offense to the class.”

Students who sponsor conservative speakers also run the risk of facing disciplinary consequences: Gonzaga University officials placed a disciplinary letter in the file of the College Republicans after they posted flyers around campus advertising a speech by Dan Flynn and included

the title of his book, “Why the Left Hates America.” Administrators claimed that the use of the word “hate” was “discriminatory” and could be considered “hate speech.” The students were also forced to modify their flyer to make it clearer that the phrase was the title of Flynn’s book.

At Cal Poly University, student Steven Hinkle attempted to post a flier in a public area of the campus Multicultural Center. The flier advertised a speech by Mason Weaver,

cial Office took up the case and found Hinkle guilty of “disrupting a campus event” and was required to write letters of apology to the students he offended. The Foundation of Individual Rights in Education is currently suing the University in federal court for violating Hinkle’s First Amendment rights.

The university environment should be a place of academic freedom where free expression and a free exchange of ideas can take place. In attempting to create a tolerant and accepting atmosphere, those who create speech restrictions not only suppress free expression but also fail to achieve their stated intent of either creating a tolerant campus atmosphere or providing all students with a safe and comfortable learning environment. The restrictions end up making the university more intolerant, as views that are controversial (read: conservative) are not accepted, regardless of their possible merit. A free exchange of ideas is essential to a solid university experience, of course, and the university is the ideal setting for debates on controversial viewpoints. As they promote intolerance, restrictions on speech are ultimately self-defeating.

The restrictions send the message that controversial (conservative) views lack value and should be suppressed; these con-

Clarke Smith '07 hails from Norfolk, VA. Along with the Tory, Clarke is also an active member of the College Republicans and the club soccer team.



Taken to their logical extremes, speech codes could one day be used to expel campus religious organizations for making other students “uncomfortable.” Will the chapel serve as a campus center annex?

Public Service Announcement

Students for Academic Freedom Princeton

Interested in actively promoting academic freedom on Princeton's campus?

Evan Baehr '05 has established a chapter of Students for Academic Freedom at Princeton. This nonpartisan group hopes to challenge professors to build intellectual environments where individuals of every opinion can freely express their views without fear of ridicule or demonization. Unlike the national organization, the group's activities will primarily consist of starting dialogue with professors to discuss concerns regarding academic freedom in the classroom. If you are interested in learning more about this new student group, Evan Baehr would be happy to answer any questions by e-mail, ebaehr@princeton.edu.

You can't get a good education if they're only telling you half the truth.

controversial viewpoints often challenge students' long-held beliefs, however. Having one's beliefs challenged leads students to acquire new knowledge or truth. By only allowing viewpoints that will not offend anyone to be presented, fewer students will be led to challenge their beliefs. This leads to a sterile and intolerant learning environment where there exists only a static perception of truth. Whereas speech codes promote a false tolerance based on current biases, they fail to promote an absolute tolerance of controversial and different ideas that exist under the principle of free expression. Censoring controversial speech simply perpetuates politically correct sentiment, while often extremely liberal administrators are left to define what is acceptable to say. With speech codes, the categorical principle that one should have the right to express oneself freely, and then accept the consequences of that speech in a community which may disagree, is thrown out. Yet within an environment without speech codes, overtly racist or bigoted speech will be met with righteous indignation and thoroughly discredited. At universities with speech codes, however, subjective decisions prohibiting certain forms of speech are made on a case by case basis. These judgments should be unacceptable to a community which prides itself on truth and objectivity; these judgments favor the entrenched orthodoxy and don't allow truth to emerge through challenges to that orthodoxy. Only when a free and honest exchange of ideas exists, without restrictions favoring liberal opinion, will the university be a place where truth can be actively pursued.

Fortunately, thanks to the efforts of groups such as FIRE and Students for Academic Freedom, speech codes are be-

ing challenged in court. Incidents of censorship are increasingly being publicized. David Horowitz, the founder of Students for Academic Freedom, has written an Academic Bill of Rights that many universities are now considering adopting. The Colorado Senate recently held hearings on incidents of flagrant liberal bias at public universities in the state. Hopefully, as ef-

forts to fight restrictions on speech multiply, colleges will gradually cease their shameful policies of censorship. Princeton, a school that prides itself on diversity and tolerance, should become an open environment of true tolerance and free expression by abolishing its speech code and not implementing the "Social Honor Code".

The Princeton Tory

has a website!

www.princetontory.com

THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL SECURITY

President Bush's plan to fix the federal government's
biggest financial liability

Jurgen Reinhoudt '06

Commenting on the Social Security system, Herr Doktorprofessor Krugman wrote recently that "there isn't any crisis: the system looks good for 40 years, and with a bit of extra resources can survive indefinitely". Krugman is terribly mistaken. The Social Security system as it currently exists is a catastrophe waiting to happen: it faces extreme financial difficulties in the years to come. Just *how* concerned should we be? The Director of the Congressional Budget Office under Bill Clinton, Dan Crippen, testified back in 1999 that "If Social Security operated like a private pension plan — that is, it kept enough reserves on hand so that if the plan terminated and no new contributions were received, it could still pay all accrued benefits—its unfunded liability would total \$10.4 trillion." \$10 trillion is equal to America's Gross Domestic Product—the value of every good, product and service produced in the entire United States in a year. For the liberals out there, \$10 trillion equals 25 times our current defense budget.

Social Security remains an explosive political issue. Last week, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan urged Congress to take a hard look at the system, noting that unless the status quo changes, the United States faces an inordinate liability that will choke its economy. Keeping the system afloat without private measures would in all likelihood require massive deficit spending, something which would push interest rates higher. Interest rates affect everything from car and credit card payments to the cost level of mortgages. If the deficit problem is not addressed, said Greenspan, "We are going to be confronted ... in a few years with an upward ratcheting of long-term interest rates which will be very debilitating for long-term growth".

Greenspan disagreed strongly with the rosy Krugman vision of Social Security, urging instead that Social Security benefits be cut and that the retirement age be raised to keep Social Security afloat. Greenspan, 78, said Congress should keep raising the retirement age at regular intervals as the life expectancy of Americans increases. Greenspan's suggestions are well taken if private accounts are left out of the equation. Congressmen competed with each other to see who could show the most outrage over Greenspan's proposal, of course; both Democrats and Republicans came close to assaulting Greenspan for his politically unpopular suggestion. Cutting benefits is indeed unpopular, and rightly so; such strong measures need to be taken only if private accounts are not introduced. With private accounts, the future of the system looks much sunnier. President Bush has realized this.

for younger workers. He announced his support for this reform plan in his State of the Union speech: "Younger workers should have the opportunity to build a nest egg by saving part of their Social Security taxes in a personal retirement account," he said.

Privately, aides say President Bush plans to make private retirement accounts a centerpiece of his re-election campaign. As it currently exists, the American Social Security system is not only the largest government program in the United States, but also the largest government program in the world. The Social Security Administration has no less than 1300 administrative offices scattered throughout the United States, and a \$534 billion budget in 2004.

Aides say it is likely the President's plan will allow workers to invest about half of their social security contributions in private retirement accounts. Under the

"What will ultimately win the debate for the reformers is the enormous benefits the personal accounts offer to lower income workers, African-Americans, Hispanics, women, and blue collar working families."

-- Dorcas R. Hardy, Fmr. Commissioner of Social Security

President Bush has the opportunity to solve two problems simultaneously. As President, he is responsible for the general financial health and economic future of the United States; as such, he must do his utmost to reform the current Social Security system. As leader of the Republican Party, he must keep his base of economic conservatives happy, and address the concerns of those who favor private accounts for workers and feel betrayed by his rampant spending and massive deficit. The president can do both by supporting private retirement accounts

current system, workers must pay 12.4% of their income as Social Security tax. Workers under the new plan would therefore be allowed to invest about 6.4% of their income in private retirement accounts. Unlike money paid to the government, which earns a negligible rate of interest, the 6.4% that would be privately invested *would* earn significant interest, and more importantly, *cumulative* interest.

Most high school math students are taught to recognize the value of compound interest when their teacher shows them how much additional interest a

compounding account will accumulate over a long period of time. Retirement accounts are good examples of cases where cumulative interest is extremely valuable. Under the current system, compound interest is mostly lost when government seizes money from current workers and immediately gives it to existing retirees. Moreover, while current Social Security "savings" are lost when a person dies, what a person saves in a private retirement account could be passed on to relatives after a person is deceased. Private retirement accounts would allow all workers, rich and poor, to build a substantial nest egg before they retire.

Millions of lower-income workers, African-Americans and Hispanics would be among the biggest winners: they tend to have a shorter life expectancy than other groups in the United States and under the current big-government system collect many fewer Social Security checks than higher-income workers and whites. The RAND corporation has calculated that under the current system, on a life-time basis the income transfer from blacks to whites is as much as \$10,000 per person. When Social Security was created in the late 1930s, the average life expectancy of African-American males was 53 years. They often never collected a single check while paying into the system for decades! Things have improved but remain problematic. It should come as no surprise to anyone that nearly 2/3 (62%) of African-Americans and Hispanics agree that workers should be given the option of investing in private accounts.

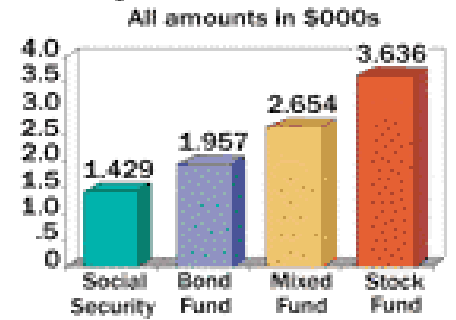
The benefits to lower-income workers would be so large that the annual retirement income of a worker who earned \$24,000 per year in his working years would be about \$36,000. A number of prominent Democrats, including Sen. John Breaux (D-LA) and Rep. Charles Stenholm (D-TX) agree that private accounts would

tremendously benefit lower-income and minority workers and families. Social Security reform offers a wonderful opportunity for bipartisanship, as a surprising 42% of Democrats agree that workers should be given the option of investing in private accounts. (The Democratic national leadership, which is comprised of San Francisco liberal Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and Sen. Tom Daschle (D-SD), does not reflect popular support for the idea among rank-and-file Democrats, unfortunately). A commanding majority of Americans and an overwhelming majority of younger workers do support the idea of private accounts.

Of course, while families and workers with lower incomes would relatively benefit the most, middle-class families would also benefit significantly. Rep. Sam Johnson (R-TX) noted that "If you earn an average of \$55,000 [per year in your] lifetime, and you start at 21 to put money into that account with a blend of stocks and bonds, you could have \$2 million upon retirement." Upper-class families would also benefit from private accounts, but because no Social Security Tax is levied on income in excess of \$88,000, families with high incomes currently pay a relatively small portion of their income in Social Security taxes. President Tilghman, for example, earns more than \$400,000 but only pays Social Security tax on the first \$88,000 of her income. Investing half of the amount high income earners pay into the system certainly wouldn't hurt, but relatively, it would not nearly be as large a windfall for them as it would be for families with lower and normal incomes. As a result, the average janitor would benefit far more from the new plan than the University President.

The Chief Actuary of Social Security, Stephen C. Goss, has gone on record stating the reform plan would achieve full solvency of Social Security by 2029, with permanent surpluses thereafter, without *any* benefit cuts or tax increases. Far from requiring tax increases, in a wonderful twist, the permanent surpluses would be substantial enough to allow the payroll tax to be cut from 12.4% to 3.5%. This would be the **largest tax cut in world history** and an unparalleled boost to American and world economic output. Without private accounts, the Social Security tax would not fall from 12% to 3.5%, but instead rise from 12% to 20% in order to pay for promised benefits: such a tax hike would have disastrous economic consequences.

Social Security vs Private Accounts Monthly Retirement Benefits



Assumptions

Year of birth: 1970 Inflation: 3%
 Retirement age: 67 Bond return: 6%
 Salary scale: 5% Stock return: 8%
 Current earnings: \$24,000

Private retirement accounts would provide workers with a far greater retirement income than the current big-government Social Security system.

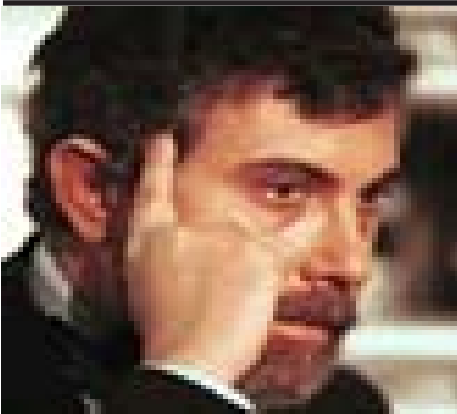
If private retirement accounts are so wonderful, where is the problem?

The problem lies in the "transition cost" from the current Marxist pay-as-you-go system to one of private retirement accounts. Under the current system, current workers pay for the benefits of current retirees. If current workers were to suddenly have the option of saving half of their contributions in private retirement accounts, the government would receive a whole lot less Social Security tax revenue to pay the benefits of current retirees. In a nightmare scenario, workers would have to keep paying the full payroll tax while at the same time depositing money in their private retirement accounts. That is what Franklin Delano Roosevelt, that quintessential socialist, alluded to when he said in 1941: "With those taxes in there, no damn politician can ever scrap my Social Security program." Liberal economists like Paul Krugman would have us believe the transition problem is nearly insurmountable. Fortunately, other countries have shown us excellent ways to deal with the transition issue, and it need not even be a problem.

Chile, for example, went from a pay-as-you-go system to one of private retirement accounts with such dazzling success that even the World Bank could not deny it. According to the World Bank: "Chile shows that a country with a reasonably competitive banking system, a well-functioning debt market, and a fair degree of macroeconomic stability can finance large transition deficits without large interest rate repercussions." Economist Peter Ferrara has



Both Fmr. Commissioner Dorcas Hardy and Chief Actuary Stephen Goss agree that private accounts have the potential to save Social Security.



Krugman should realize that government IOUs are accounting mechanisms, not real assets.

identified four ways through which the transition costs can be financed. They include devoting the short-term Social Security surpluses until 2018 to the transition and devoting the funds obtained by reducing the rate of growth of federal spending by 1 percentage point a year for just eight years to the transition.

It's all lost on Krugman, however. Writing in America's "newspaper of record", one of Princeton's most famous professors dismisses fans of private retirement accounts as "quacks" and claims, astonishingly, that "there isn't any crisis: the system looks good for 40 years, and with a bit of extra resources can survive indefinitely." (NY Times, 4/2/02). It's not uncommon to see liberal economists distort reality to fit their ideology, of course, but this is a truly wacky claim to make. In fairness, Krugman made this claim while adding quickly that the Bush tax cuts were to blame for the coming crisis, not the inherently flawed Social Security system itself. If only those tax cuts had not been passed, then, *then* we could cope with the costs, writes Krugman.

The Social Security "trust fund" is scheduled to remain solvent until 2041 (this is what Krugman means when he says "the system looks good for 40 years"), but the problem lies precisely with that so-called "trust fund". The "trust fund" does not consist of real money, but of trillions of dollars worth of IOUs of one unit of government promising to pay another. These IOUs mean that the Federal Government has the legal right to tap into general federal revenues to pay Social Security benefits when the need arises. These IOUs are *not* real assets! Matthew Hoy noted: "When the government actually has to start redeeming those bonds in the 'lockbox', that money has to come from somewhere. Unfortunately for the American

people, that somewhere is the general fund, which pays for interstate highways, the military, and various pork programs..."

Krugman counts IOUs in the "trust fund" as real assets, while they're simply IOUs, or, in the words of Dan Crippen, "accounting mechanisms". In the 1990s alone, Congress created hundreds of billions worth of Social Security IOUs by spending the Social Security surpluses it received. Taxpayers will have to cough up the dough in the decades to come to pay for the redemption of these IOUs. As soon as Social Security benefits start to exceed Social Security tax revenues (around 2017), the Federal Government will start to tap into general revenues to pay promised Social Security benefits. With the IOUs in hand, the government will be legally allowed to do so. From then on until 2041, government will redeem these IOUs by the trillions by raiding general revenues to pay promised benefits. This year alone, Congress will have created hundreds of billions of dollars more worth of IOUs as it binges on spending and spends the Social Security surplus.

The Heritage Foundation estimates that until 2041, taxpayers will have to pay an additional \$5 trillion so that Uncle Sam can honor trust fund promises. These estimates vary; it's probably safe to say the

which would allow it to legally tap into general revenues to pay benefits. Benefits will be cut 27% in the first year after 2041 and by increasing amounts thereafter as the deficits grow larger, as a report by the Heritage Foundation noted wryly. Congress could act to prevent this, of course—but keeping benefits constant before and after 2041 without private retirement accounts would require a tax increase so large it would ignite a tax revolt. *Social Security requires a drastic fix that only private accounts can provide.* Contrary to what Krugman would claim in the op-ed pages of the *Times*, ideology has very little to do with this. Just ask Sen. John Breaux (D-LA).

Private retirement accounts are the only right medicine for the terminally ill Social Security System. The payroll tax reductions that private retirement accounts would allow would constitute the largest tax cut in world history. The transition costs are manageable and extremely small in comparison to Social Security's \$10 trillion unfunded liability. We need private retirement accounts now, and everyone who favors economic liberty should be delighted that President Bush is set to make them a major theme in his re-election campaign. Support for private retirement accounts has proven to be a winner for Republicans in

"If you earn an average of \$55,000 [per year in your] lifetime, and you start at 21 to put money into that [personal] account with a blend of stocks and bonds, you could have \$2 million upon retirement."

--Rep. Sam Johnson (R-TX)

amount will be greater than \$5 trillion unless the system is reformed. It should be obvious, in any case, how deceptive Krugman is when he writes things such as "the system could operate without any changes at all — no cuts in benefits, no additional revenue — until 2041, three years longer than it projected last year" if only those Bush tax cuts would not have been passed. There may be "no cuts in benefits", but there certainly will have to be additional revenue, courtesy of the US taxpayer. Bush tax cuts or no tax cuts, this presents a tremendous problem. Rolling back the Bush tax cuts would only stifle economic growth. Anyone who is concerned about deficits should cut spending, not raise taxes.

After 2041, Congress will not even have any IOUs (paper promises) remaining

past Congressional elections. If President Bush expends the necessary time and energy, he can prove FDR wrong and confer a great blessing upon all Americans. Private retirement accounts are already benefiting workers and retirees in more than 20 countries around the world, including Britain, Australia, Chile and even Sweden. It's time supporters of freedom started talking about them here. P



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.

POLLING PRINCETON

Examining conservatism from opposing political perspectives

Powell Fraser '06

While for years the Tory has been diligent about reporting the opinions of its writers and editors, we have discovered a newfound interest in general campus opinion. Each subsequent issue will contain an opinion poll administered by Tory staffers and analysis by an editor. We encourage you to take part in these polls whether you are liberal or conservative so that we can keep the Tory fresh and relevant.

Upon emerging from Paul Sigmund's POL 304: Conservative Political Thought, I still felt as though one of my major questions remained unresolved. Professor Sigmund asked this question himself on the first day of the class that he claimed would span "from Plato to NATO," and urged that we all try to resolve it for ourselves: what is conservatism?

He proposed several possibilities. Perhaps conservatism represents a reactionary allegiance to the status quo and a militant opposition to any sort of change. This seems rather short-sighted, however, and lacking an ideological foundation. By the end of the course, I concluded that conservatives could be classified by their stances in five categories: social, economic, fiscal, defense, and foreign policy. At any given time, all five elements are playing a crucial role in American conservatism. But which of these issues truly drives conservative ideology?

While answering such a question on the abstract level could be Senior Thesis material, I decided that I could easily get a sense for what Princeton Conservatism is. Naturally I encounter what I perceive to be Princeton Conservatism on a daily basis in interacting with my Tory compatriots, but a poll would be far more effective in learning the true leanings of the average Princetonian.

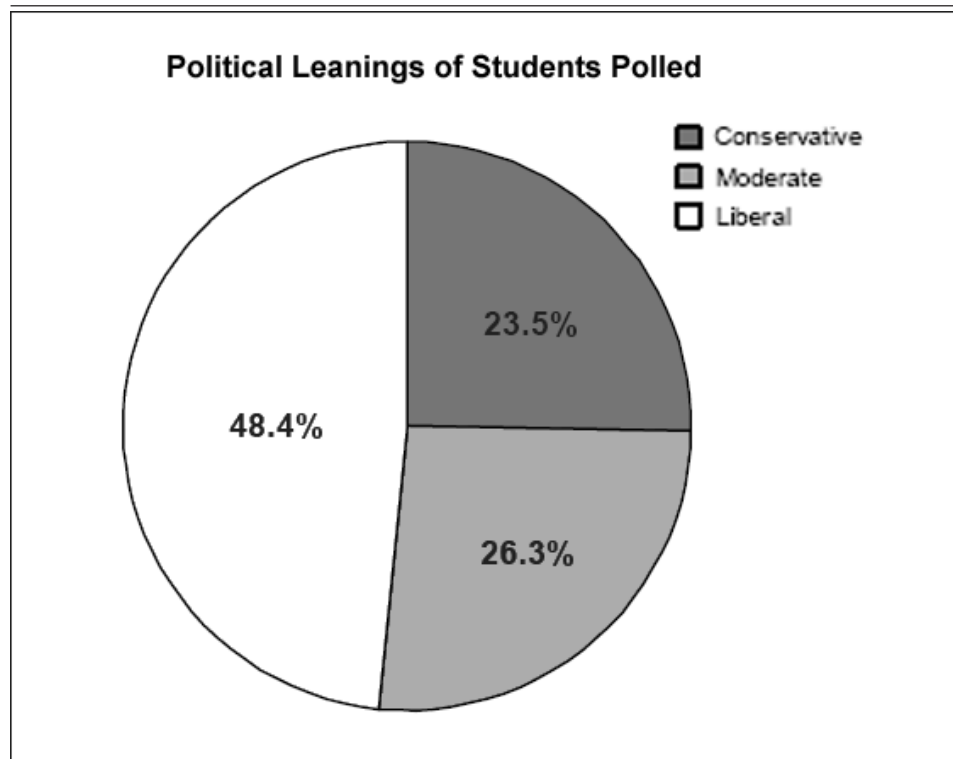
A recent poll conducted by members of the Tory and written by myself sought to define the political environment at Princeton. Students were questioned about

When asked about their political orientation, 25.3% of students identified themselves as conservatives; 26.3% identified themselves as moderates; and 48.4%

"Perhaps it means that for the average conservative, social and moral concerns stem from something other than religion. What liberals may perceive as religious bigotry can be better explained as a genuine secular respect for the moral institutions of our country that have made it strong."

their political leanings, their perceptions of conservatism, and their feelings about the Tory. The latter category was intended to inspire responses from ardent leftists who would usually rather die than help the Tory in any fashion but would jump at the chance to criticize it.

identified themselves as liberals. So Princeton students are liberal – we were positively shocked, shocked. Despite this bias, we also found that 57.9% of students polled reported reading the Tory. Simple arithmetic reveals that some liberals must be reading the Tory – score one point for



An analysis of the survey shows that a greater number of Princeton undergraduates self-identify as "liberal" rather than "conservative" or "moderate."
 Source: Tory Convenience Poll, February 2004

THE LAST WORD

open-mindedness, or at least “know thy enemy.”

Participants then moved on to a series of questions about what conservatism means to them. 50.3% of students polled thought that moral and social policy was the most important aspect of conservatism, with economic policy coming in second at 29.5%.

Results were slightly different when students were asked what they thought the *second* most important item was on the conservative agenda. Here the winner was economic policy with 30.5%, followed by homeland security and defense at 22.1%. In general, results were more varied for this second question.

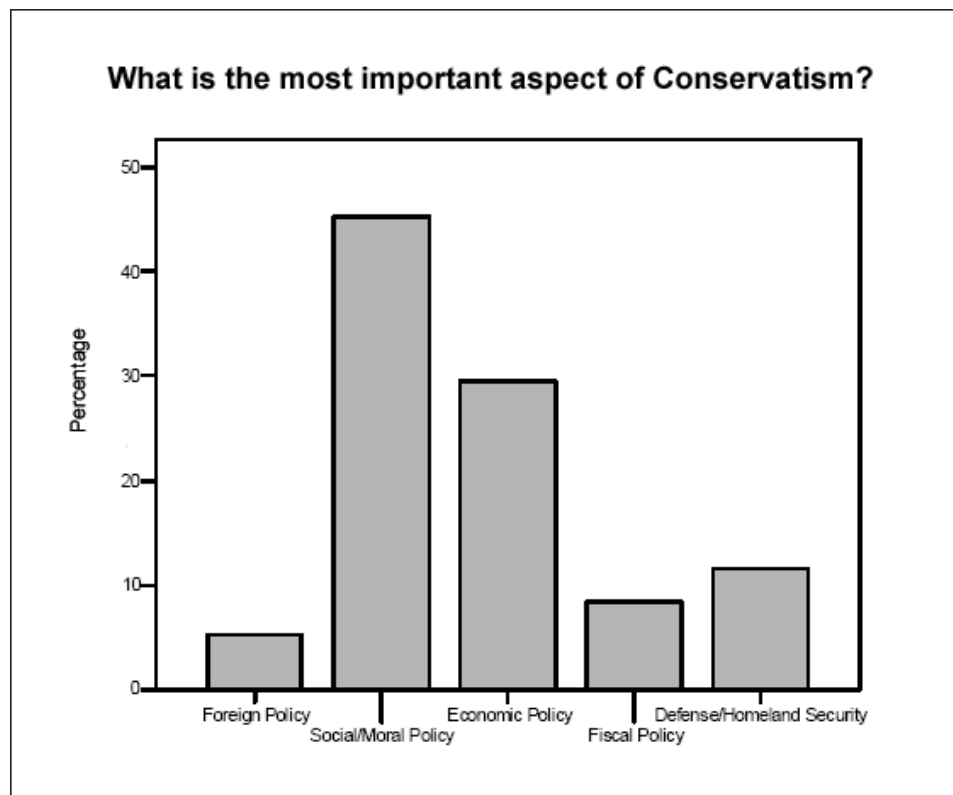
Breaking these responses down into categories based on the leanings of those surveyed, we found that social policy led in all three groups: 41.7% of self-proclaimed conservatives placed social and moral policy at the forefront of their ideology; 48% of moderates thought that moral policy was at the center of the conservative agenda; and 41.3% of liberals pegged morals at the top of conservatism. Economic policy placed second in all three groups in this question.

These results confirmed my suspicion that most liberals see conservatives as living in a state of perpetual moral outrage, kindled by the recent Lawrence v. Texas decision and the wildfire-style spread of gay marriage. However, I had been hoping to

reveal a certain diversity of conservatism (pardon the contradiction in terms), when instead the poll only seemed to confirm the moral obsession of conservatism.

Like any good statistician, however, I knew that responses were based largely on how a question is phrased, so I asked a

similar question in different format later in the survey. Conservatives were asked to describe the role that religion plays in their political views on a scale of 1 to 10, ten being the highest, while liberals were asked to predict the response of the average conservative on the same scale.



When Princeton students were asked, in their opinion, what was the first most important aspect of conservatism, social/moral policy overwhelmingly dominated the other possibilities.
Source: Tory Convenience Poll, February 2004

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The conservative mean was 5.31, while the liberal mean was 7.46. In other words, liberals overestimated the religiosity of conservatives by about 2 points in this poll. The median values revealed a similar relationship: the conservative median was 6, while the liberal median was 8. But the most telling statistics were the variances: while the liberal variance of 2.706 conveys a general unity of opinion, the conservative variance was 9.692, reflecting a wide variety of opinions on the matter. It seems conservatives are both more diverse and less religious than liberals perceive.

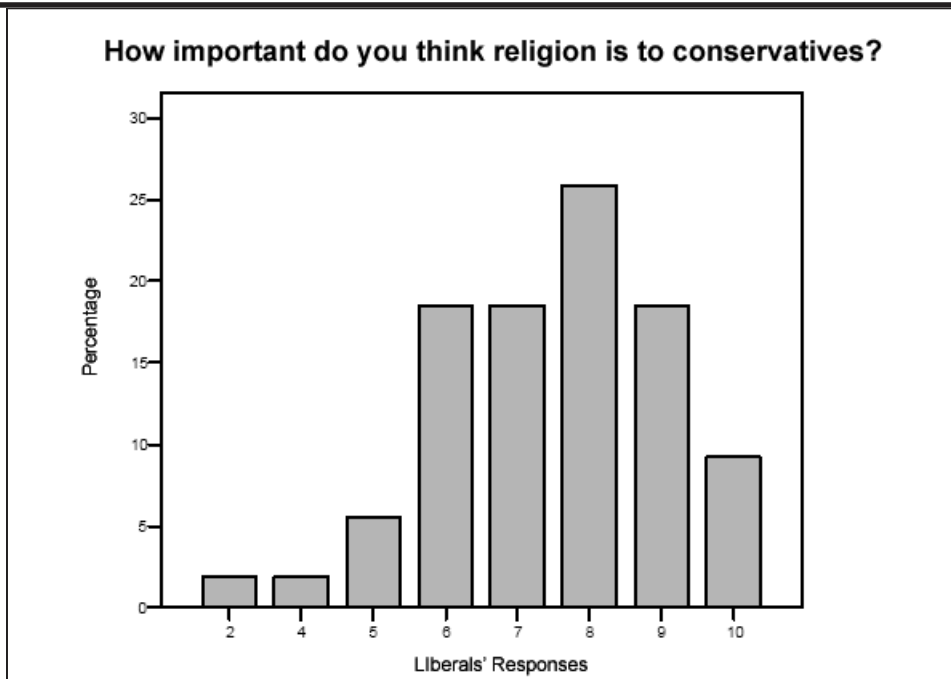
I was surprised to find how little conservatives polled seemed to care about defense and homeland security – only 8% ranked it as their #1 priority. Liberals, on the other hand, seemed convinced that it was paramount for conservatives at the rate of 20%. Similarly little attention was paid to foreign policy, which stood at the forefront of national debate prior to the Iraq war.

What, then, does this say about the types of conservatism? Perhaps it means that for the average conservative, social and moral concerns stem from something other than religion. What liberals may perceive as religious bigotry can be better explained as a genuine secular respect for the moral institutions of our country that have made it strong. Meanwhile, economic conservatism remains a powerful element in the right wing of today as conservatives support the economic institutions that have made our country prosperous.

In a time period that has been dominated by talk of terrorism and war, Princeton conservatives still seem ideologically focused on moral and economic issues. Princeton liberals, meanwhile, seem confused as to what drives conservative ideology. This poll leaves some major abstract questions unanswered as a result of its confinement to the empirical world – the Aristotelian approach to analysis. Anyone wishing to find true definitions to all these terms should consider the “Plato to NATO” course of learning and visit Professor Sigmund.



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

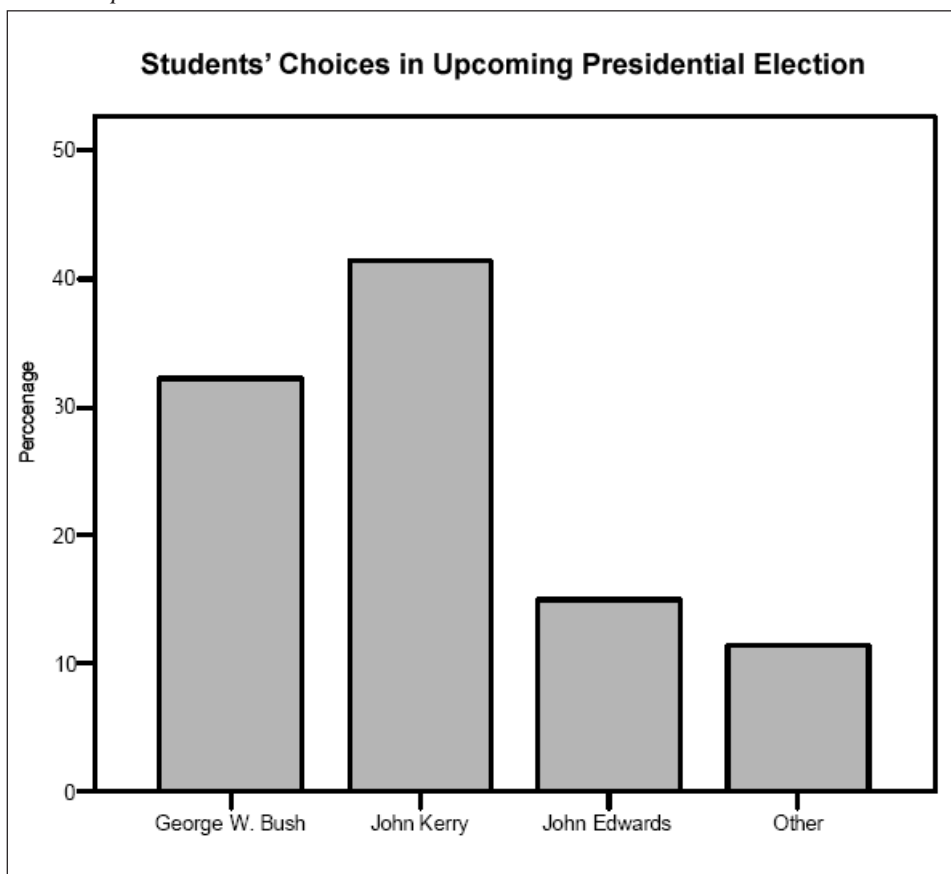


When conservatives were asked to score the importance of religion in shaping their political views, there was significant variance across all values. When liberals were asked the same question, there was a clear consensus at the higher end of the range.

Source: Tory Convenience Poll, February 2004

More polling data...

The Tory's most recent convenience poll also asked for students' opinions in regards to the 2004 presidential election.



Students were asked which of the above candidates they were most likely to support in the upcoming presidential election. It's nice to see that even on Princeton's predominantly liberal campus, George W. Bush still has a following.

Source: Tory Convenience Poll, February 2004

The Princeton Tory proudly salutes our fellow Princetonians currently serving in the U.S. Armed Forces:

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Winston Churchill

The Tory needs your help! The list above is unfortunately an incomplete list derived from information in the Tignet Alumni Directory and the files of the ROTC training officers for the Army and Air Force. If you know of any alumni not listed above serving the country in one of the branches of the U.S. Armed Forces, please contact us at tory@princeton.edu or mail a letter to Princeton Tory, Armed Forces Tiger Search, P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, NJ 08542.

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