

May 2004

PRINCETON TORY



MORAL RELATIVISM

Including:

Kerry and Catholicism
Christianity in the Classroom
Same-Sex Marriage
And more...

THE PRINCETON TORY

May 2004

Volume XXI - Issue III

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

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From the Publisher

Dear fellow Princetonians,

As the academic year comes to a close, you hold in your hands the last issue of the *Tory* until next fall. This issue tackles one of the most divided issues of the conservative movement: religion and politics. Although there appears to be nearly universal agreement on the general separation of church and state, the debate between the two institutions lies in the particular. Unfortunately, both church and state are so deeply embedded in our society that the two spheres will inevitably intersect. Such national debates as abortion and same-sex marriage often boil down to the religious differences between the two sides.

Given the highly contentious nature of the deeply-held beliefs at the crossroads of religion and politics, one should not find it surprising how easily arguments turn into personal attacks and unfair stereotyping. A *Tory* poll conducted in February of this year demonstrated the sort of narrow-minded assumptions made by many when it comes to conservatives and religion. The results of the poll showed that the general population assumes that the top priority for political conservatives is the imposition of religious values. However, there was a significant variation among conservatives polled as to whether or not this issue was as important as outsiders assumed it to be.

This month's issue wholeheartedly disproves that incorrect assumption. Inside, you will read a number of varying viewpoints about the religious Right that all argue in a conservative vein. While we may all describe ourselves as conservative thinkers, that claim does not prevent us from disagreeing amongst ourselves on some of the most important issues of our generation.

I hope you will enjoy reading the varied opinions we have compiled on the state of religion in the conservative movement. One of our goals as the sole conservative publication on campus is to have you think about issues in a different light. I am confident that this most recent issue furthers that aim.

Sincerely,

Ira Leeds '06
Publisher



Letters to the Editors:

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

THE
PRINCETON TORY

May 2004

www.princetontory.com

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The Princeton Tory would like to thank all those who sent in names of Princeton alumni currently serving in the U. S. military. The names of the inadvertently omitted U.S. servicemen and women are listed below:

AIR FORCE

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MARINES

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THE RANT

➤ The U.S. economy grew at an annual rate of 4.2 percent in the opening quarter of 2004, a solid showing and fresh evidence that the recovery is on track. Despite this success, and the creation of 300,000 jobs in March alone, John Kerry continues to accuse President Bush of poor economic management. We know who the poor economic managers are—France and Germany, two of Europe’s most stagnated economies, with unemployment rates hovering around 10 percent. We also know who their spiritual soul mate is—socialist John Kerry. Don’t forget to vote for President Bush, and not tax raiser Kerry, come this November.

➤ From the New York Times, a remarkably candid admission about a dictatorial state: “The huge orange fireball that leveled a North Korean railroad town last week stamped an exclamation point on a report that spelled out how North Korea, once the peninsula’s industrial showcase, is now its industrial wasteland. After almost six decades of Communist rule by the Kim family, North Korea can boast industrial equipment with a value of two billion dollars, according to the Bank of Korea, South Korea’s central bank. By contrast, the same industrial inventory in South Korea is worth 489 billion dollars.” The explosion, caused by the collision of two trains carrying fuel, illustrates the catastrophic state of North Korea’s economy. The United States needs to pressure the Chinese Communists to force Kim Jong-il to stop behaving like a mad man, starving millions of his own citizens while pursuing nuclear weapons in a drive for ego gratification.

➤ With a few exceptions, the media have almost completely neglected to report the growing scandal surrounding the U.N. Oil-for-Food program. The 67 billion dollar Oil-for-Food program, which ran from 1996 to 2003, was established to “provide for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people” while sanctions against Saddam remained in place. Some of the biggest beneficiaries of the program, as it turns out, were Saddam and his Iraqi cronies, as well as a wide array of Western politicians and businessmen. The General Accounting Office estimates that Saddam’s regime pocketed more than 10 million dollars worth of revenues from the program. Even the U.N. executive direction of the program, Benon Sevan of Panama, apparently seized the opportunity, and is accused of having embezzled large sums. Under intense pressure from Republican congressmen, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan finally appointed a commission to investigate the scandal. Mr. Annan, whose son Kojo was a consultant to a Swiss company that received a contract for inspecting goods shipped to Iraq through the Oil-for-Food program (as the Washington Times reported recently), cannot be trusted to be objective. Ominously, a General Accounting Office report, presented at a Congressional

hearing into the controversy-plagued program, determined that 80 percent of U.N. records have not been turned over. It doesn’t seem that cooperation will be the theme of the day. It’s good that various committees of the U.S. Congress are launching their own investigation into what may well be the biggest scandal in U.N. history. And that’s saying a heck of a lot.

➤ On Sunday, April 25th, hundreds of thousands of Americans converged on Washington, DC to march for abortion ‘rights’. (We at the *Tory* contest whether such a right actually exists, hence the quotation marks.) Such a rally last occurred in 1992, and was prompted this year by a perceived hostility in the current federal government to abortion. Senator Hillary Clinton (D, NY) declared, “We didn’t have to march for 12 long years because we had a government that respected the rights of women.” Some pro-life Princeton students were able to attend the march and left with a clear impression: the pro-abortion movement has done a poor job of marketing its position. The demographics of the march, the pro-life students noted, contrasted sharply with those of the *annual* March for Life. Supporters of abortion were overwhelmingly female, in late middle age, and white. The few men present had the ‘professional protester’ look—dirty beards, hiking boots, and stained t-shirts. Those pro-life students had also attended the March for Life, which, they noted, has a much more equal representation of men and women, minorities, and age groups. The failure of the pro-abortion people to muster a more diverse showing—on a Sunday, no less, when people are home from work—points to the movement’s lack of broad appeal and perhaps even foreshadows the stagnation into which it will eventually sink.

➤ It goes without saying, in our opinion, that the media display a clear bias against conservatism. No where is this prejudice more obvious than in their reporting of the abortion issue. The Associated Press’s coverage for msn.com of the aforementioned 4/25 abortion ‘rights’ march exemplifies this. Quotes from rally participants employ the pro-abortion movement’s deceptive rhetoric of ‘choice’ and ‘protecting women’—as though the goal of their political opponents is to oppress of women and make them second-class citizens. Perhaps more egregious were the reported comments from speakers like Gloria Steinem, a perennial *Tory* favorite. Steinem had the gall to insinuate that President Bush is socially conservative to the point that he seems to be in league with Muslim terrorists or the Vatican. First off, to equate President Bush with Muslim terrorists is utterly jejune, a comparison that should be thrown in the junk pile along with Bush-Hitler/Stalin analogies. Second, and more pertinent to this issue of the *Tory*, Steinem renders Roman Catholicism as the moral equivalent of extremist Islam; in doing so, she

unequivocally verifies the Left's intolerance towards mainstream religion. When Pope John Paul II calls for the reduction of women to slaves and for the bombing of America, let us know, Ms. Steinem. Until then, keeping a low profile might give your credibility a chance to recover.

➤ This issue of the *Tory* contains an article examining the controversy over the distribution of Holy Communion to Catholic politicians who support abortion 'rights'. The controversy has most famously revolved around John Kerry, Democratic presidential candidate-presumptive. As we go to press, though, another major Democrat has entered the discussion. House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (from San Francisco—surprise!) declared on Thursday, April 29th that she will continue to receive Communion despite the Vatican's opposition to this. Pelosi insisted, ““I believe that my position on choice is one that is consistent with my Catholic upbringing, which said that every person has a free will and has the responsibility to live their lives in a way that they would have to account for in the end.” It is one thing (though still wrong) to pull a Mario Cuomo and distinguish between personal morality and one's public position; it is entirely

another matter to say that one's position is the correct one for the religion—especially when it explicitly contradicts the religion's central authority. Representative Pelosi, you've been in San Francisco way too long.

➤ The University administration's thirst to destroy the last remnants of Princeton tradition, as of yet unquenched, announced that Princeton will accept the Common Application next year. Given changes in the admissions calculus as a result of Yale and Stanford's switch to Early Action, wouldn't it have been better to just swallow a little pride and follow suit? Instead, Dean Rapelye took the opportunity of decreased application numbers to put Princeton in the “elite” company of 200-some other colleges and universities in the United States. She said that the reason for the change was to make Princeton the “first thought” of potential applicants. The *Tory* doesn't expect the acceptance of the Common App to help at all in differentiating Princeton in high schoolers' minds. However, we have to say that this switch is only one in an already long line of detrimental changes that have occurred during the Tilghman Administration that students and alumni can expect to continue. We'll pass...

-- Compiled by the Editors

Letter to the Editor

Every month, many of our readers send us letters voicing their thoughts on the articles in the most recent issue of the Tory. Those letters fit for publication have been reprinted below. Unless otherwise noted, the letters are printed in full with no editing by the Tory.

Clarke Smith '07's article, “Censorship Inside the Ivory Tower,” could potentially have been a compelling exploration of free speech on campus, but it seems to be more of a bait-and-switch. Smith leads with a description of Princeton's stated speech code — but then proceeds to list a number of free speech cases that have occurred on other campuses. Such cases might be of general interest, and admittedly, the article's subtitle — “Speech codes and academic freedom on America's campuses” — accurately reflects the article's broad focus. Still, having read the introductory paragraphs I wanted to know if there had been any actual cases here at Princeton. I am less interested in what is printed in *Rights, Rules and Responsibilities* than in how those words get translated into practice. How is this code enforced? And if it isn't, and if that's why you had to resort to using examples from other campuses, then why write an alarmist article that suggests these issues exist at Princeton? Or why not write an article which investigates why a policy that goes unenforced would need to be encoded in *RRR*, or explores the possibility that it might be enforced in the future? The article mentions “the prospect of the introduction of a Social Honor Code,” but gives no information as to who has proposed this idea, if it is being taken seriously, and how likely it is to be implemented.

I don't mean to criticize Smith's article unduly; for

what it aims to be — a synthesis of research — it succeeds well enough. But too often, it seems, the *Tory* raises the specter of frightening issues on campus, only to retreat to the sort of “reporting” that can be done with a Google search, and which may inform me about some general issue but leaves me wondering why I should care. I recognize that other campus publications, including the ones that I work for or have worked for, fall into similar patterns, and that's why I'd like to call all campus publications, including but not only the *Tory*, to aim for a higher journalistic standard. I know it's easier for busy students to write research-based articles from the comfort of their own room or the library, but why not engage instead in some real, investigative, on-campus reporting? Why not talk to administrators and students and alumni and get the real stories behind the policies? Tell me about a real student who's really suffered from speech restrictions here at Princeton, or even at another school. Realistically analyze the threat that Princeton's policies pose to my free speech. Ask President Tilghman what she thinks about all of this. Don't just quote *Rights, Rules, and Responsibilities*, without showing me why I should really care.

All that said, best wishes to the new staff for 2004,
Sara Mayeux '05

TOM RIDGE IS NOT A GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

The state of political literacy on Princeton's campus

Powell Fraser '06

Ask a Princeton student about George W. Bush and chances are they'll have an opinion. Ask them about the Iraq war or the constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage and you're likely to gain quick insight into their political leanings. Dare to bring up the issue of grade inflation and every student becomes an instant pundit and prosecutor. In a place where we have a week or month for everything, flags dotting the Frist lawn, and mood lighting on the Woodrow Wilson School, there seems to be no shortage of opinion. But a recent Tory poll revealed that Princeton students may be a little short on facts about their own national government, regardless of whether they adore it or revile it.

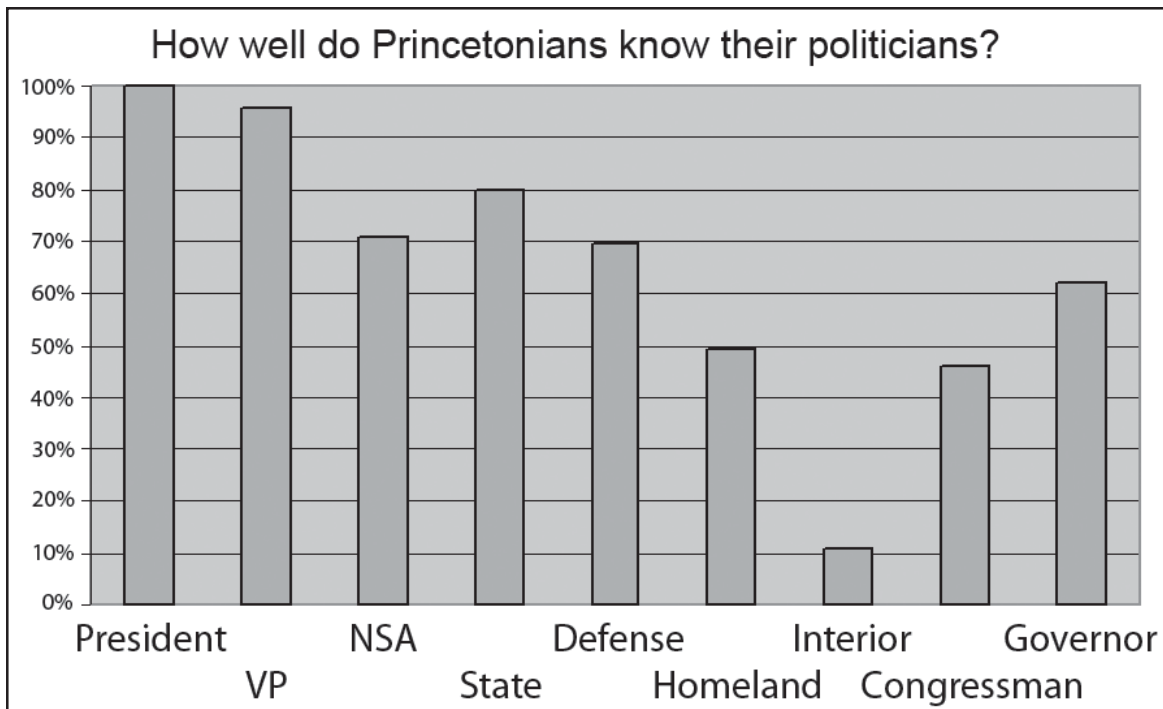
When presented with yet another generic dining hall poll, many students casually consented to take our survey. After a quick scan, however, many fought to return the poll to the pollsters: they knew their knowledge of prominent figures in American government would be embarrassingly limited. Still, we at the Tory refused to let students be overtaken by their inhibitions and insisted that they try their best to complete the poll, lest the record show that they didn't know who the President and Vice President are. Many students were forced to

admit they did not know the names of several other prominent cabinet secretaries, much less the senators and representative from their home states.

Knowledge of cabinet posts was mediocre. To the University's credit, 80% of students polled could name the Secretary of State. Thank goodness he came to speak here earlier this year. It's possible that Colin Powell would have returned his Crystal Tiger if he learned that he had performed as poorly as Tom Ridge, whose name was only recalled by 50% of students asked to identify the Secretary of Homeland Security. Condoleezza Rice edged out Princeton alum Donald Rumsfeld '54 when 70.7% of respondents remembered that she was National Security Advisor, versus the 69.3% garnered by our Secretary of Defense. Bringing up the rear was Gale Norton,

Secretary of the Interior, who was only correctly identified by 10.8% of the students quizzed. A fare more common response was, "We have a Secretary of the Interior?"

Performance continued to decline when students were asked to identify figures from their home states. 35.1% of respondents couldn't name either senator from their state, and additional 20.3% could only remember one; similarly, 54.1% couldn't name the congressional representative from their district. Governors fared slightly better, with a 62.2% success rate, thanks mostly to the fact that a substantial number of students polled came from California, where just about everyone knows who the new Governorator is. Virginia and New York were also well-represented, while Massachusetts's token Republican, Mitt



Apparently homeland security isn't quite as important as national opinion polls would have one think. Or at least, the person ultimately responsible for our nation's defense of terrorism is not terribly important to your average Princeton student.

CAMPUS POLL

Romney, frequently slipped the minds of his student constituents.

The final question asked students to name as many of this past year's nine Democratic presidential candidates as they could remember. Many showed a marked interest in the primary, staying for several minutes to rack their brains for the additional candidates they couldn't remember. Rep. Dick Gephardt had the dubious distinction of being the most forgotten candidate, and several respondents seemed to think that Jesse Jackson had once been in the running. A few of the best and the brightest remembered that Bob Graham had been in the field before the Iowa Caucuses, correcting the Tory by stating that there were actually ten Democrats originally vying for Bush's office. The average student recalled 4.36 candidates, but the standard deviation (3.212) implied a wide range of responses.

On the surface, interesting relationships appeared to emerge from the data gathered. It appeared, at first, that conservatives were more likely to be able to name the Secretary of State, while liberals knew almost all of the other cabinet posts better; that sophomores were more knowledgeable in almost all categories than freshmen; and that students who had cast an absentee ballot before were more politically literate than others. However, almost all of these relationships failed to prove to be statistically significant. An independent samples t-test revealed most

of the mean difference in each case to be the result of pure chance. This speaks well for Princeton's admissions policy of searching for well-rounded students: no matter what their political affiliation, extracurricular activity, or demographic, students responded in an equally mediocre fashion.

A few statistically significant relationships did emerge. Varsity athletes were outperformed by students participating in other extracurricular activities – our Div. I athletes were about 20% less likely to remember Colin Powell, for instance. A similar relationship arose between males and females polled. In almost every category, males outperformed females, especially in naming Condoleezza Rice (40% difference) and Tom Ridge (53% difference). Males also remembered, on average, 2.19 more Democratic candidates than their counterparts. Political knowledge of student government officials was remarkably better than the average respondent: students who described themselves as being involved in student government all knew the National Security Advisor, Secretary of State, and Secretary of Defense.

In the end, the single statistic that was most encouraging and discouraging was the percentage of students registered to vote. 76% of those polled reported that they were indeed registered to vote. With our founding fathers' concept of an educated republic in mind, it is refreshing to

know that so many Princeton students are exercising their democratic responsibilities. These students, however, are no more likely to have correctly answered any of the Tory's questions correctly than any of their non-registered peers. We can only hope that the ideal of the educated electorate can be fulfilled if the average Princeton student pays more attention to current political events.

✠



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.

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EMBRACING THE ENEMY

Conservative Christian's Problematic Acceptance of Relativism

Ward Benson '07

In a recent opinion article in the *Prince* (3/8/04), Professor John Fleming voiced a concern that seems to be becoming increasingly prevalent among Christians at Princeton. He described an event that took place during a recent year's Opening Exercises. Several of the prizes for outstanding academic achievement had gone to students who were deeply involved with on-campus Christian organizations. Following the ceremony, Fleming claims that he overheard one participant of the event irreverently say to a companion "How can such smart people be so Christian?" Disturbed by what he views as a clear case of unjustifiable discrimination, he asserts that "this person never would have dreamed of wondering aloud how smart people could be so black, so gay or even so Pink Floyd." Indeed, as he explains for the rest of his article, there is a level of overt anti-Christian bias here at Princeton that would not be tolerated if it were directed at any other groups (though perhaps he neglected to consider conservatives).

From reading any of a number of student publications, most notably the *Tory* and the *Prince*, it is apparent that Prof. Fleming's experience is shared by many Christians here. Unfortunately, many conservative Christians also share his reaction to this experience. Theirs may be the understandable initial reaction to discrimination. However, as conservatives, they must realize that is also a complete acquiescence to the moral relativism espoused by the liberals on campus that in almost all other cases conservatives are trying to combat.

First, conservatives must remember, as indeed must everyone here, that no one has a right to have their opinions respected. Freedom of speech merely protects against censorship; it cannot guard

a person's opinions from unpopularity or backlash. This subtlety is the basis of the concept of freedom of opinion on which, as Americans, all our other basic freedoms of expression are based.

Moreover, the ability to oppose the views of others and try to disprove them is the basis of modern scholarship, science, and our entire university system. In such an environment, moral/cultural/religious relativism is most useful to those who search for absolute truths, not as an end in itself. Adoption a position of relativism may allow a scholar to put aside prejudices which blind them to the truth. However, relativism for its own sake makes the search for eternal or set truths impossible as there is no way to distinguish between theories that are wrong and theories that are right.

As conservatives we generally agree that there are set and immutable moral truths. To be able to argue on behalf of these truths, we need an atmosphere that is

legitimacy of any group whose views contradicted their own. An academic system devoid of any absolute truth would force campus Christians to lend legitimacy even to a satanic cult should one form at Princeton.

This is not to say that everyone should whole-heartedly embrace whatever faith or worldview they currently hold and defend it dogmatically to the bitter end. The search for the truth requires an open mind and the ability to let go of long-held beliefs when they fail the test of reasoning. This too may be a hard concept for Princeton Christians to accept. As with most religions, Christian doctrine rarely holds up well against the unsympathetic eyes of pure reason. This is probably why Fleming said that he has met many students who claim to have their views assaulted by their preceptors. Faith and unquestioning belief are not acceptable grounds for argument according to the laws of reason. Given that

"As conservatives we generally agree that there are set and immutable moral truths. To be able to argue on behalf of these truths, we need an atmosphere that is not corrupted by the indifference of moral relativism."

not corrupted by the indifference of moral relativism. We, as conservatives, as a university, and as a nation, will never advance if every possible ideology, philosophy, religion, and lifestyle is viewed as unconditionally equal. The discrimination that will result from this may be just as hard for Christians as it will be for every group that holds a minority position. However, the legitimacy that Christianity would hold in an environment of total moral relativism would be a false one, for its followers would be forced to acknowledge the equal

rationality is – thankfully – the governing force of all academic disciplines at Princeton, it is understandable that students of faith might find their beliefs frequently assailed in discussion. At a certain point in any argument about faith, the limits of reason are reached." Christians here must either accept this limitation of their beliefs or forever be destined to feel uncomfortable and disrespected in any academic setting in which they find themselves.

Further, it seems that Christians here, like members of all religions, forget that

the whole point of faith is that you can never be absolutely certain that what you believe is right. Hence the phrase, “a leap of faith” during which one denies what their logic and intuition tell them and hence Jesus says that “blessed are they who have not seen and yet still believe.” Thus, no matter how sure one is of their faith, they must accept their own fallibility and realize that they may still have something to learn about the world and its origins even if it contradicts what they have always believed. The other benefit to a an environment of academic relativism is the possibility that even Christians may have something to learn when, through reasoned dialogue, new truth comes to light. After all, to paraphrase John Procter in Arthur Miller’s *The Crucible*, God has never spoken into my ear and I doubt he’s given any of you the privilege either.

Second, Fleming’s argument that Christians should be treated with respect just like other minorities entirely misses the true problem. What is wrong here is not that people openly tell Christians how little respect they have for their religion, but rather that they do not feel comfortable showing such disrespect for all groups. The university’s mission should be to seek the truth, and as conservatives we should ensure that it does so and does not fall into the trap

of neglecting this goal in the name of political correctness.

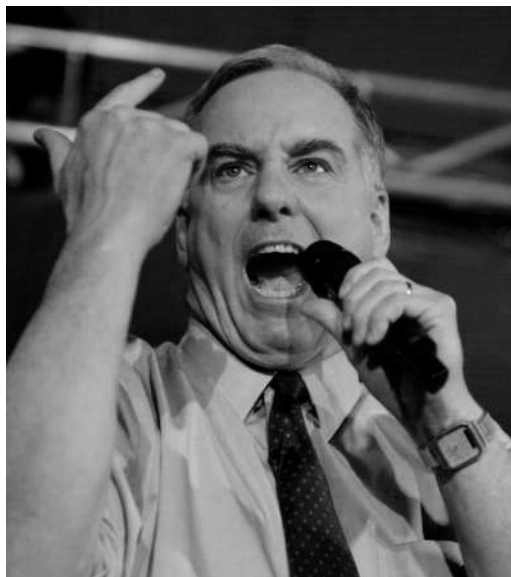
Additionally, there is a distinction Fleming fails to make in his comment about how no one would say about a black or a homosexual what they would about a Christian. People have a tendency to view discrimination as justifiable or not in black and white terms. For example, good discrimination is seeking to employ the services of the best doctor you can find before you undergo brain surgery. Bad discrimination, on the other hand, would be not employing the services of a doctor because he was black. In fact, discrimination must be viewed on a spectrum based on to what extent the quality that is the focus of the discrimination creates a meaningful difference. Clearly, the skill of a brain surgeon is a meaningful criterion, while the color of his skin is almost certainly not. The “interlocutor,” as Fleming describes the anti-Christian commentator in his piece, would of course not suggest that it was odd for a black person or homosexual to achieve academically. These characteristics have little or nothing to do with intelligence. One’s professed religious beliefs, on the other hand, speak volumes about a person’s social and moral ideas and, even more importantly, their whole worldview. Frankly,

it would seem rather logical to muse about the intelligence of a person who strongly associates themselves with a doctrine that rejects reason as the ultimate path to truth.

As for the alleged official anti-Christian bias on the part of the administration and faculty, much of this stems from the relativist position of the liberals who dominate these two groups. For Christians, seeking the protection of liberal relativism in order to shield themselves from minor discrimination would only fortify relativism’s hold on the university and in no way make university policy more open to Christianity. If Christians want to establish themselves as a powerful force on campus, they must first fight for an open atmosphere in which no opinion or belief, including any of their own, is accepted before proven acceptable, and then demonstrate why their beliefs are the right ones.



Ward Benson '07 hails from Acton, MA, and intends to major in Politics. This summer, Ward will be working for the District Attorney's Office in Norfolk County, MA.



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A POLITICIAN'S EUCHARIST

Balancing the demands of faith and one's profession

Christian Sahner '07

Senator John Kerry, the incumbent Democratic presidential candidate, claims to be Catholic, yet he sure doesn't vote like one. In truth, Kerry's legislative record reveals a consistent tendency toward positions largely antithetical to Church teachings; and although Catholic America would no doubt appreciate another JFK in the White House (the only Catholic president to date), the morally dubious Kerry is quickly becoming less appealing to many Catholic voters. A staunch supporter of abortion rights and stem cell research, Kerry has also been predictably soft on issues involving homosexual marriage and contraception. While the US Catholic bishops have voiced unwavering opposition to these issues, their objections have fallen on deaf ears; Senator Kerry and other liberal Catholic politicians continue to support legislation contrary to the Church's position. However, the bishops have begun to respond in a most potent, albeit unconventional manner.

The controversy began in January following the appointment of Raymond Burke as the Archbishop of St. Louis. Frustrated by the inefficacy of verbal reprimands to lasso the radical voting of many Catholic officials, Burke took action, promising to deny communion to any public servant who upheld abortion rights. Catholics believe that the Eucharist presented at Holy Communion is the literal body of Jesus Christ; the central fixture of the mass, it has power to forgive sins and restore grace. Accordingly, prior to receiving the Eucharist, the recipient must be free of sin. Otherwise, both he and the presiding cleric defile the host, thereby committing a grave sin unto itself. While transgressions such as infidelity, murder, and dishonesty immediately to come to mind in the context of sin, promoting morally profane ideology or policy is an equal injustice—especially when it enables others to profane human

life. Therefore, politicians such as Senator Kerry do a great disservice to themselves, the priest, the Church, and to God when they partake of the Eucharist.

Not surprisingly, Bishop Burke's decision was met with mixed opinion. Liberal groups expressed outrage, crying wolf over his insidious efforts to usurp the political process; they decried Burke's transgression of the First Amendment, calling him a "fanatic" and "zealot." However, traditional Catholics voiced support for the bishop, among them Princeton's Robert George, who confirmed the Burke's authority to deny Communion and praised his pro-active stance. No matter the reaction, it was clear: the bishop's statement had struck a chord.

But in truth, did Burke's call to deny Communion to anti-life politicians cross the line? While some may object, Burke's decision was protected by both ecclesiastic and secular law. According the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, the bishops "sanctify [the Church] by their example, 'not as domineering over those in your charge but being examples to the flock.'" (8 8 3) ; furthermore, "the pastoral care of the parish is entrusted to a pastor as its own shepherd under the authority of the diocesan bishop" (2179). In short, he has a mandated duty to guide and discipline his congregation. Conversely,

by choosing membership in the Church, a Catholic grants tacit consent to follow the Bishop's word. Burke is not coercing politicians in any manner; rather, he asserting a condition for Communion, indeed a condition for membership in the Catholic Church, is adherence to certain moral principles. Of course, neither federal nor state law obliges anyone to follow doctrine, but nor does it protect the right to receive a sacrament, nor enable the government to interfere with ecclesiastic administration: the First Amendment works both ways. Therefore, non-Church organizations have no power to censure the Bishop, nor any other ecclesiastic authority which acts within its own sphere of influence. In reality, to reprimand the Bishop would be a grave infringement of religious freedom, endangering Church-State relations more than Burke's current actions may or may not have done.

A Catholic's moral obligation to the Church is not an issue of allegiance by virtue of association; instead, it represents



With a growing number of Catholic priests refusing communion to Catholic politicians disobeying doctrinal matters is Senator Kerry's right to communion in jeopardy?

allegiance to universal truth. In other words, Catholic moral teaching is not valid by virtue of its Catholicism, but rather, by virtue of the objective truth vested therein, often called “natural law.” Thus theoretically, every politician—Catholic, Jew, Muslim, Hindu, and atheist alike—should adhere to the natural law; the only difference with Senator Kerry and his ilk is that they have chosen explicit membership in the Church, and are consequently subject to its jurisdiction. As the Vatican’s *Doctrinal Note on Some Questions Regarding the Participation of Catholics in Political Life* (2002) asserts, “For Catholic moral doctrine, the rightful autonomy of the political or civil sphere from that of religion and the Church—but not from that of morality—is a value that has been attained and recognized by the Catholic Church and belongs to inheritance of contemporary civilization.” As the document later notes, imposing religion on state law inevitably leads to strife; but the pro-life, pro-family position is the same as our public obligation to the poor, elderly, downtrodden, and weak: they are not exclusively religious, but global. However, simply because morality may be associated with a religious institution, its bearing on the general population by no means diminishes. The natural law is ubiquitous in the public sphere: it instructs us to fight racism, to ensure freedom, to guard property, and to protect human dignity. Like the pro-life, pro-family position, these are Catholic principles, yet also public truths. And as Pope John Paul II wrote, “Truth and freedom go together hand in hand or together they perish.”

Judging from Burke’s position, it would seem consistent to deny Communion to *all* those who supported an ideology against the grain of moral law. Indeed, that is what many of his critics have suggested. While it is integral that Catholics comply with the truth, the Church is also practical: for the average layman who has little bearing on legislation or policy, accordance with Catholic moral teaching is important insofar as it impacts his relationship with God, his life, and the lives of those around him. Thus, while these people must be in line with natural law, it would be absurd for a priest to root out dissent given the secondary impact these people have on state affairs. The Church is not the Gestapo.

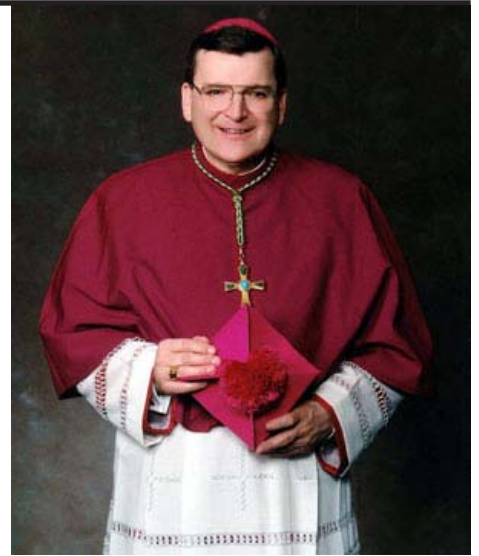
As expressed in Luke 12:48, the Church instructs, “Much will be required of the person entrusted with much, and still more will be demanded of the person

entrusted with more.” Moreover, as the Pope writes in *Evangelium Vitae*, leaders and lawmakers have a “grave and clear obligation to oppose” legislation which violates the moral law. A politician commits a personal and public disservice when he signs a piece of pro-abortion legislation—he has personally violated the natural law, in addition to enabling millions of others to do the same. As the bishop does, a politician must take ownership of his flock—the American people; and for the sake of the most marginalized, impressionable, and dangerous people in his custody, those decisions must be morally upright.

An elected official’s unique power extends to popular opinion, as well. Thanks to constant media exposure, John Kerry has become America’s most prominent Catholic of late; accordingly, as the election proceeds, he will inevitably dictate public perceptions about American Catholics just as JFK did, perhaps misrepresenting and sully their name. More seriously, Kerry has the power to direct others’ decisions; not only are his peers in the Senate, and perhaps White House at risk, but so are American youth, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. Kerry has a duty to faithfully represent Catholic America, whether he likes it or not.

Of equal gravity, the Church must be concerned with its own legitimacy, too. In an era when orthodoxy has dissolved in favor of pluralism, Catholicism has resisted many dangerous trends. However, the Church will remain credible insofar as it can defend its positions against the tide of popular opinion. In a recent *National Review* column, Professor Robert George explained, “The Church cannot permit such [people] to pretend to share in the faith [they] so publicly [defy].” If the Bishops continue to issue empty threats and apply only gentle pressure to radical politicians, they present themselves as a toothless hound: all bark and no bite. It confronts the public with the uncomfortable question, “Do they really mean what they say?” And as soon as the Church’s defense of marriage, the unborn, and elderly falls into passivity, so will our progress against these public evils. Short of excommunication, denying Communion to a Catholic is the most powerful statement of severance from the Church, and may finally resound among these deviant politicians.

The crisis also reveals several alarming trends in today’s political arena. First and foremost, many elected officials



Raymond Burke, Archbishop of St. Louis, has stated his intent to deny communion to any Catholic politicians publicly supporting abortion.

have corrupted the principle of political democracy to justify ethical pluralism. The diversity of opinion that fosters healthy discourse on economic policy, diplomacy, and social services has been extended to morally-relevant legislation as well. Indeed, as the *Doctrinal Note* observes, “Ethical pluralism [has become] the very condition for democracy.” In reality, what enables debate on the Senate floor is not moral relativism, but instead, a common, uncompromising moral standard. Perhaps the disintegration of this foundation in recent years can account for the extreme bipartisanship in Washington and for the activist jurisprudence in today’s courts.

Insofar as John Kerry is directly involved, statements from his camp inform that he is “personally opposed” to abortion, but publicly supports the freedom to choose. Furthermore, in a January interview with the *St. Louis Dispatch*, Kerry stated, “What I believe personally as a Catholic is an article of faith is an article on faith. And if it’s not shared by Jew or an Episcopalian or a Muslim or an agnostic or an atheist or someone else, it’s not appropriate in the United States for a legislator to legislate your personal religious belief for the rest of the country.”

Senator Kerry’s comment is dangerously two-faced. He simultaneously asserts a private morality in line with Church teaching, but justifies a divergent public morality for fear of trespassing the First Amendment. Consider the logical fallacy of delineating between these two ethical spheres: as voters, we must ask ourselves, “If Kerry doesn’t vote as he really believes, then exactly *what* does he believe in?” He is

either dangerously incoherent, or simply disingenuous.

Taken at face value, the Senator seems to have selectively muted his own moral compass in favor of accommodating his liberal constituency. And while it is important that his voting reflect the prerogatives of his supporters, when their wishes oppose objective morality, the politician has an obligation to uphold the truth. Nor should the identification of a position with a certain religious principle intimidate a politician from supporting it. As countless others have noted, the situation is analogous to proclaiming, "While I'm personally opposed to slavery, mine is a

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equal, if not greater responsibility to listen to the majority. Consider Justice Antonin Scalia words "the whole theory of democracy is majority rules; that is the whole theory of it. You protect minorities only because the majority determines that there are certain minority positions that deserve protection."

It is for this reason Bush has called for a Constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage. While I do not necessarily agree with an amendment, the process that entails amending the Constitution is a glorious opportunity to understand both viewpoints. Liberals should rejoice in this; consider the failure of the flag burning amendment. This turned out to be a stunning- and in my opinion tragic- victory for the liberal interpretation of the first amendment. If they provide a stronger case for supporting same-sex marriages than conservatives do for opposing it, there is no reason to suggest this amendment would pass in spite of it.

Liberals have also cried "states' rights, states' rights" as another complaint, but I find this particularly appalling. The paltry power still "reserved for the states" sickens me, and it would any one of the founding fathers minus dear Ole Alexander Hamilton. Yet neither party truly cares about this. It is only publicized when one party is at odds with the rest of the nation. Then they start preaching states' rights just to save face. At the very least, a constitutional amendment gives the state legislatures a voice in whether or not this becomes a national policy. People will use this voice, even if it is reduced because they know from cases like Roe V Wade and Bush V Gore, the U.S. Supreme Court has no interests in States' Rights. Why run for office when you can be appointed to make everyone's laws?

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religious objection I cannot impose on others." Or, "though I personally believe in civil rights, I do not want to trespass on either the law or the morality of my constituents." And while it seems self-evident to combat slavery and support civil rights, they belong to the same natural law tradition that pro-choice, pro-euthanasia, and pro-equal marriage supporters denounce.

I dare say that Senator Kerry would ever oppose any civil rights legislation, but as soon as moral law treads on issues of sexual freedom (birth control, abortion, marriage), he shrinks up in resignation. Clearly it is inappropriate to support albeit

As long as this is a legal situation there can never be reconciliation. That is why I propose, in true "separation of church and state" fashion, to simply remove "marriage" entirely from the realm of government. Marriage is intrinsically religious. It has only joined as a social institution because American culture has such underling religious themes. Homosexuals, and even Atheists, should be offended that the government only offers this one term- marriage- when this term does not and should not apply to them, at least in the socio-religious context.

Economically of course, this is entirely different. However, because there is no way to distinguish the two, Conservatives are forced to support this economic discrimination in order to obey their consciences, while Liberals are torn in the opposite direction. But if the government were to setup an institution distinctly different from marriage, such as civil unions, the majority would be less opposed to it and certainly less openly opposed to it. After all, it would be no different than state funded LGBT groups or birth control education. People may not like these policies, but can accept them as a 'separation of church and state.'

Of course, a common concern with my suggestion is that some churches would inevitably marry homosexual couples, bringing back the whole controversy, but I disagree. After all, some Protestant religions teach that the Pope is the Devil, and all Catholic jokes aside, he is not. But the ability to believe or not believe this is the beauty of religious freedom. We decide for ourselves what religion(s) we feel is acting in unison with God's teachings and which ones' are not. However, legalizing same-sex marriages by the state forces everyone to

and other Catholic politicians express such trepidation to confirm any moral line or offend will prevent him from making decisions altogether; judging by his own criteria, it would seem that any decision is bound to offend someone, and therefore, perhaps he will not be able to make decisions at all. The contrary is equally plausible, that pluralistic attitude will prompt him to separate the two is to likewise confess an incoherent set of beliefs; personally opposed to slavery. P

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accept this, if nothing else, just by the fact we are all citizens of the state. It is tantamount to legalizing a belief in God. Atheists, who would vehemently disapprove and disagree with this claim, would be powerless to distance themselves from it.

Though there is a lot of fear around the handling of this issue, if done correctly, it provides a much needed redemption of the American system. By eliminating the government's harmful interference with the biblical conception of marriage- whether through same-sex marriage or the No-Fault divorce laws- we can ensure the protection and rights of the many citizens who hold these views. In addition, by allowing the state to setup civil unions, we protect both the homosexuals, atheists, and non-religious individuals who have no taste for these sentiments in their life, but rightly seek the benefits that go with it.

Though at times this seems to be a battle between Radicals and Reactionaries, it is only because the majority of people have let them do it. By rejecting the framework of our ancestors, by not supporting or producing modest proposals, we all are to blame for this deadlock. At the same time, since we are the majority, we have both the power and the responsibility to change it. The only question becomes...when we will do so? P



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THE NEXT MOVE

The dire need for systematic reforms to U.S. immigration policy

Jurgen Reinhoudt '06

There is no issue on which there exists as wide a gap between normal Americans and members of the American elite as immigration. A thorough survey of 2,400 “normal” Americans and 400 members of the “elite” (including business leaders, Congressmen and academics), found that while 70 percent of the public thinks that reducing illegal immigration should be a “very important” foreign-policy goal of the United States, a mere 22 percent of those in the elite shared this opinion. The survey, conducted by the Council on Foreign Relations, also found that most Americans are particularly upset at current levels of immigration: 60% considered immigration to be a “critical threat to the vital interests of the United States”. Only a small 14% of the elite felt this way.

In the United States, unlike in many other countries, there has been very little political debate on the issue of immigration, especially mass immigration. Aside from Canada, the United States has the loosest immigration policy in the world.

The lack of debate is in large part due to the “establishment consensus” regarding immigration; both major parties do not want to alienate immigrant voters and continue to support unparalleled levels of mass immigration to the United States. They are under the belief that supporting mass immigration will increase immigrant support for their party. They forget that the overwhelming majority of immigrants are here legally, and not supportive of people who “cut in line” by entering illegally.

Recently, President Bush dismayed his base of law-and-order conservatives by supporting a proposal that is an amnesty in everything but in name. The proposal would allow existing illegal workers to apply for a three-year work visa that can be renewed to six years with the possibility to apply for permanent residency status. Once permanent residents, workers could become citizens. That is an amnesty.

In addition, foreign workers will be able to apply for visas to take jobs in the United States that would be posted on a government-run database. The goal of this database is to match “any willing [American] employer with any willing employee [anywhere in the world]”. There would be no numerical limit on the jobs posted in the database: businesses will be able to hire foreigners for just a fraction of the wages they pay American workers. The idea is not good for workers, and Americans know it.

The proposal shows just how odd this nation’s debate on immigration has become: despite an overwhelming public desire for more controls on immigration, the cheap-labor industrialists continue to win the debate. The amnesty proposal is favored by many politicians, big business (anxious

for labor that is even cheaper than what it already has), and Karl Rove, the President’s political adviser, who believes the amnesty proposal will make the President’s re-election easier. The proposal is opposed by a majority of Americans and a majority of Hispanics. A recent New York Times poll indicates that two-thirds of Americans oppose a temporary worker program for illegals. Vice-President Dick Cheney carefully avoided talking about the proposal at the 2004 American Conservative Conference. Speaker after speaker at the conference criticized the proposal as a repeat of the 1986 Amnesty, which was supposed to be a “one time deal”. The 1986 amnesty was at least partly responsible for the doubling of the number of illegal aliens, from 4-5 million to 10-11 million.

Despite the flawed nature of his proposal, the President did the nation a service by bringing the issue of immigration back to public debate. There are currently about 10 million illegal aliens living in the United States, including immigrants who overstayed their visas. Most, like San Diego construction worker Jose Lopez, are innocent workers who cross the US border daily in search of “well-paying” jobs. Ac-



The United States has over six thousand miles of international borders. Over nine thousand federal agents are responsible for guarding and regulating all individuals crossing these established boundaries.

ording to the magazine "Native Voice", more than 500,000 Mexicans cross the border to work every day in California alone. The magazine, written primarily for Native Americans, quotes one of these workers, Lopez, as saying he has "a lot of friends and family that work in the States." He makes "mucho dinero," here, \$10 to \$12 an hour but would make just \$8 to \$9 a day in Mexico. Unskilled American workers, unskilled legal foreign workers, but especially unskilled illegal workers themselves are paying the price for all this competition. The steady stream of cheap labor into the United States has exerted a downward pressure on already-low wages that has further widened the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots" in the United States.

The National Research Council (NRC), in its 1997 report entitled *The New Americans* (Edmonston and Smith, 1997), estimated that immigration has had a negative effect only on the wages of high school dropouts. The NRC concluded that the wages of this group, 11 million of whom are natives, are reduced by roughly five percent (\$13 billion a year) as a consequence of immigration. That's a very modest amount, but one that equals \$130 billion over ten years nonetheless. The inflow of unskilled workers and the resulting competition for low-skilled, low-paying jobs is one reason to be concerned: the wage gap in the United States is increasing. The competition for low-skilled jobs is one reason for why most Hispanics

support more significant curbs on immigration. A survey by the Tomas Rivera Center of 1,621 Hispanic-Americans found that a majority are not in favor of the current lenient policy. In Texas, for example, 59 percent supported curbs on immigration, while only 30 percent opposed them. In California, opposition to immigration outpolled support 47 percent to 39 percent. Even Hispanic non-citizens joined Hispanic-Americans in showing support for reducing immigration, ranging from 29 percent in California to 41 percent in Florida. Other polls show more opposition: one Zogby poll showed that 70 percent of Hispanics feel a strong increase in border enforcement is needed. A 2000 Wall Street Journal poll showed three times as many Hispanics viewed immigration as "too open" than "too closed."

Illegal workers may think they are getting a good deal, but employers often treat them like objects: easy to purchase, disposable and forever replaceable. The Associated Press reported recently that "The jobs that lure Mexican workers to the United States are killing them in a worsening epidemic that is now claiming a victim a day, an Associated Press investigation has found. Though Mexicans often take the most hazardous jobs, they are more likely than others to be killed even when doing similarly risky work." Although a 1996 law mandates the Federal Government fine employers who hire illegal aliens, from 1992 to 2002, the number of companies fined for hiring illegal workers fell from 1,063 to 13. Ev-

ery time the INS (now BCIS at the Department of Homeland Security) has tried to enforce immigration law by fining employers, it has been slapped down. This is truly unfortunate; fining employers who hire illegals would be the easiest way to reduce illegal immigration in the United States. Illegals, through no fault of their own, often do the jobs few people wish to do, and make use of public services at a high rate.

A study made by the U.S.-Mexico Border Counties Coalition, an American lobbying group, found that U.S. hospitals in border states provide at least \$200 million a year in uncompensated emergency care to illegal aliens. This may seem a relatively small amount, but in the four border states, 77 hospitals now face a medical emergency. Uncompensated health care to illegal aliens cost the Copper Queen Hospital in Bisbee \$200,000 out of a net operating income of \$300,000, the University Medical Center in Tucson \$10 million, and the Good Samaritan Regional Medical Center in Tucson \$1 million in just one quarter. The Southeast Arizona Medical Center in Douglas is on the verge of bankruptcy. Some emergency rooms and pre-natal units have closed because they can't afford to stay open.

Education resources are stretched thin as well. Commenting on California's public education crisis, Stanford University Professor Michael Kirst notes that "the state of California grew six million people between 1980 and 1990. Several years our school enrollments went up by over 200,000 a year. We grew four million people between 1990 and 2000. So we're always having 100,000 more students to accommodate, and the rapid growth often takes place in areas that don't have the financial wherewithal to build schools rapidly to meet them."

It would be nice if leaders of countries that are a source of illegal aliens would support initiatives to curb illegal immigration. In that regard, the attitude of some leaders, like Mexican President Fox, has been disappointing: during his last visit to the United States, Fox lectured the American President on immigration policy, even as the August 14 edition of the Washington Times reported that Mexican authorities, in an initiative called "Plan Sur," are "clamping down on the hundreds of thousands of



Central Americans crossing Mexico's southern border." Mexico deported 150,000 illegal immigrants in 2000, and another 100,000 in the first six months of 2001.

In many cases, unfortunately, it is American policies that lead to real victims. So-called "sanctuary policies" bar law enforcement officers from inquiring about a suspect's immigration status in many cities. In a March 2003 episode that demonstrates just how these so-called "sanctuary policies" can be dangerous, Walter Alexander Sorto, a 25-year-old foreign national and illegal alien, abducted, raped and murdered two Houston women. Sorto had repeatedly been picked up by Houston po-



At a time when many law-abiding immigrants face strong obstacles in getting into the U.S. (such as the new U.S. VISIT fingerprinting requirement for citizens from allied countries), the Federal Government has very little control over the Canadian and Mexican borders.

At a time when many law-abiding foreigners face strong obstacles in getting into the US, the Federal Government has very little control over the US-Mexican border, or the Canadian border. 9,000 agents are in charge of defending 2,000 miles of US-Mexican border as well as 4,000 miles of U S - C a n a d i a n

border. This is not a good situation. The desire for a sensible immigration policy comes from well-respected corners. George F. Kennan '25 expressed strong doubts regarding the wisdom of mass immigration in his 1994 memoir *Around the Cragged Hill*. Samuel Huntington, the noted Harvard scholar and author of "The Clash of Civili-

her reforms. Chain migration was left untouched, though Congress did undertake some action against illegal immigration. In 1996, around 916,000 immigrants legally entered the U.S., of which the majority (65 percent) were chain-migration based, while a small 13 percent were employment related and 14 percent were refugees or asylum seekers.

It is imperative that this nation have a sensible immigration policy. President Bush's proposal will not provide it, and will instead lead to more illegal immigration. The proposed amnesty will not be a winning issue come election time; the overwhelming majority of immigrants came here legally, and are opposed to an amnesty for those who cut in line.

Creating a sensible immigration policy will require hiring more border patrol agents to turn back illegal aliens at the border, working with municipalities to end sanctuary laws, allowing local police officers in this country to perform the function of immigration agents, and fining employers who hire illegals.

"Despite the flawed nature of his proposal, the President did the nation a service by bringing the issue of illegal immigration back to public debate."

lice for moving violations and driving without insurance, but the police were prevented by Houston's sanctuary policy from reporting Sorto to federal immigration authorities. What's more, Sorto had already been convicted of robbery and sentenced to 10 years probation when the murders took place. Had the state done its job, Sorto's conviction would have been reported to federal immigration authorities and Sorto would have been deported for criminal immigration violations. Besides Houston, a great number of cities have so-called "sanctuary policies" in place; they include New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego, just to name a few. The "Railway Killer," Angel Resindez, was able to enter and reenter the United States repeatedly despite a lengthy criminal record and three deportations.

zations", warned in the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine that the today's it urged reduction in immigration numbers that are now so high as to harm the most vulnerable American workers and their families. The commission recommended eliminating chain migration in addition to eliminating the visa lottery.

Congress immediately began moving legislation to carry out the Jordan recommendations. When that legislation came to the floor of the House, an amendment was introduced to strip the chain migration reform. House Democratic leaders had counted on a sufficient number of Democrats to work with Republicans who resisted lobbying from cheap-labor industrialists. But two days before the vote, the Clinton-Gore administration surprised everyone by renegeing on the support it had pledged to Barbara Jordan when she first introduced

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THE INTERSECTION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Same-sex marriage and the role of the U.S. government

Ruben Pope '07

The phrase “separation of church and state” conjures a host of stereotypes ranging from Conservative cross-burners to Liberal baby-killers, neither of which is an accurate portrayal of the respective parties as a whole. However, the fact that offering an opinion in favor of or against this doctrine immediately demonizes or sanctifies your beliefs is quite frankly absurd, but not unexpected.

Though we cannot always revert back to the ideology of the founding fathers, if they were alive today, it is by no means a stretch of the imagination to consider them as moderates. Clearly none of these men were atheists but they don’t spring from the pulpit either. Operating inside this medium provides a wonderful framework for obtaining rational views on morality and its place in government.

This framework is being stretched more and more as the question of same-sex marriage sweeps across the nation. People are uncertain as to whether this will have a negative or positive effect on marriage and sincerely torn between their religious beliefs and their desire for equality. Not to mention the question of states’ rights and governmental implementation is always in the back of their minds. So in order to make sense of this awfully contentious issue, let us address the validity of these many fears.

Withholding any judgment, it is safe to say that legalizing same-sex marriage marks a distinct change in the traditional view of marriage. Based solely on that fact, there should be a moment of pause to consider if it is necessary and any historical precedents that might address this. Though I promise to consider interracial marriage later on, I am first going to present certain fears of the Right and what precedents support them.

Throughout the 1970s and 80s No-Fault Divorce laws crept into the law books despite vehement opposition from the Right and specifically the Religious Right. On the surface, it is easy to see why this legislation passed. Proponents of it promised that marriage would actually become stronger due to this law. Parents would no longer suffer through unhappy marriages, domestic violence would be greatly reduced, and children would no longer live in unstable homes racked with parental quarreling. To be fair, No-Fault Divorce laws did play a role in lowering domestic violence, but it has

Of course, in order for all of this to be relevant it must relate to same-sex marriage and though by no means are the two cases identical, they both represent a radical break between Church and State on marriage. Seeing the terrible results that happened last time, Conservatives are not eager for government interference in the Church’s sacred institution.

However, as deeply rooted as these fears are, they are by no means greater than those from the Left. The history of America is an inescapable paradox of egalitarian rhetoric and discriminatory

“The whole theory of democracy is majority rules; that is the whole theory of it. You protect minorities only because the majority determines that there are certain minority positions that deserve protection.”

-- Justice Antonin Scalia

significantly failed in every other endeavor, just as those on the Right had feared.

Every state that has passed these laws has seen a radical increase in divorce rates. This in turn has led to more single parent homes and a general trend towards the instability No-Fault Divorce laws were seeking to guard against. It was ludicrous and still is, to think that a law allowing one to end his or her marriage for no actual reason could serve to protect it. The bottom line is that the government chose to distance the legal view of divorce from the traditional, clerical one and in turn, distanced the legal view of marriage in the same way. This divide caused societal confusion over what marriage is and should be, thus resulting in an unresolved question over how serious the commitment of marriage truly is? The sheer fact this is even a question contributes to the growing degradation of the institution itself.

practices. It is this paradox that the Left is desperately trying to avoid. We cannot go back in time and abolish slavery or renegotiate Indian lands, but they believe we can show how we have learned from these mistakes by avoiding any discriminatory policies against the gay community.

Liberals immediately point to the horrific struggle for Civil Rights and specifically to interracial marriage. After all, certain states held the belief that “traditional marriage” was between a man and a woman of the same race, thus, the eventual end to such laws involved the same kind of redefinition of marriage as would be called for by the advent of same-sex marriages. So what is the difference?

Well according to the African-American community, the people subject to this comparison, it is a great one. According to a recent Gallup poll well over 50% of

African-Americans would support a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage. Such a strong rebuttal of this idea by a fellow minority group, and for all intensive purposes, the minority group, shows that this constant comparison between interracial and same-sex marriage is not as self-evident as the Left would have people believe.

Let's face it, gays have never had to sit on the back of the bus, drink at a separate water fountain, or go to a "separate but equal" school. Though I am not ignorant of certain indiscretions against homosexuals, these are all isolated; they are by no means a systematic culture of hatred and racism like African Americans experienced. On every other issue outside of marriage- equal opportunity housing, employment, college admissions, etc. - homosexuals have been protected, if the issue even arose at all. But what does this point prove?

On one hand, it shows that the people who oppose same-sex marriage are not savage remnants of the KKK. Clearly homosexuals were (and are) protected in ways African Americans never were during the Civil Rights movement.

But, on the other hand it still does not show a clear difference between the discrimination of interracial marriage and same-sex marriage. Yes, there is a difference in the scope and the degree of discrimination, but it does not sufficiently prove there is a difference in the fundamental act. It only proves there is a difference in the perception of it.

So we have come full circle and still lack the answer to this question. Deep down though, I think everyone knows the answer. It is what most Conservatives have been burning to say, yet for fear of "separation of church and state" many of us have not openly declared this. The difference is Biblical. Though I feel strongly that the previous reasons stated above are genuine concerns, they pale in comparison to this one. Keep in mind, I am not talking solely about bible thumpers here, there is a large number of very moderate individuals and/or non-church goers that still can not part with fundamental tenets in the Bible. While some churches may have claimed that interracial marriages were not Biblical, there is not one scripture that says anything against it, and the absence of such support showed how false the claim truly was. However, in regards to same-sex marriage or homosexuality in general, there are numerous accounts in both the New and

Old Testaments resembling Leviticus 20:13, "if a man also lie with mankind as he lieth with woman kind both of them have committed a n abomination."

Now at first glance, the Left will read my explanation and though they may believe it, find it wholly lacking in political merit.

After all, the wall of separation has grown

substantially in the past few decades, is not a religious argument archaic, if not entirely debunked? But I would answer that this is not a religious argument at all, it is a biblical one and there in lies the fundamental contrast between the public's reaction to this issue versus the public's reaction to previous cases involving church and state.

Consider the landmark case of Murray Vs. Curlett. This case epitomized and to a large point verified the doctrine of separation of church and state. It struck down organized prayer in school. The public reaction to this, as with any substantial change, was mixed at first, yet the antipathy for this ruling has subsided in all but the most vigorous areas of the Bible Belt. It is not because people are becoming more secular, church attendance has been on the rise in the last decade; the reason is that the majority of people saw this as a religious issue, not a biblical one.

Certain churches had a problem with prayer being yanked out of school, just as certain churches had a problem with interracial marriage, however, even though our Founding Fathers called for state sponsored religious schools (via the Northwest Ordinances) "our Father, Lord in heaven" does not explicitly mention prayer in schools. Granted, this parallel is slightly tenuous, but here is the point.

Prayer in school can be seen as a grey area, and in such areas, people find it easier to yield to "separation of church and state." However, "separation of church and



In the last couple of years, gay activists have forcefully engaged American society to answer this question. Much of the debate has been framed in religious rhetoric.

state" can only justify so many things. Supporters of same-sex marriages believe they are only asking us to resist discrimination. What is so difficult about that? Yet in reality, they are asking us to go directly against what we believe is not only right, but righteous.

Now, there is inconsistency here. After all, there is substantially less opposition to homosexuality behind closed doors than to same-sex marriages in the public sphere; and according to my previous biblical assertions the opposition should be the same in both cases, since it is the same underlying act.

The difference springs from blending of the framework set up by the Founding Fathers. It is possible to tacitly acquiesce to "private acts," not because they are any less immoral, but because these "private acts" are not being shoved down on our throats. We are not being forced to make a decision on it, but the polarizing issue of same-sex marriage does not leave people any other option. Keep in mind, this is not a foreign policy issue, one cannot analyze news briefs and consumer reports to arrive at a decision; this is a moral conception. Is it any wonder the majority of people are drawing their views from the most popular document on morality, the Bible?

Of course, while the government does have a right to protect minorities, at the same time, the government has an

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AN OBSOLETE FINANCIAL INSTRUMENT?

Revisiting the economics of financial aid

Paul Thompson '06

It's always great to hear and see Princeton University dropping the statistic that around half of the student body gets some form of financial aid and that none of that aid comes in the form of loans. Admission decisions at Princeton should certainly be made on a need-blind basis. But by allowing students to get the best undergraduate education in the world at a greatly reduced cost, these grants necessarily introduce a separation between costs and benefits. Separations of costs and benefits usually lead to problems by distorting behavior and creating inefficiencies. This phenomenon is not unique to Princeton, but is spreading everywhere and becoming a prominent issue in national politics.

Conventional political thinking holds that a college education should only cost full price for those who can afford it. During the Democratic primaries, John Edwards campaigned on a proposal to provide a free freshman year of college to students that would work a part-time job. His reasoning? It didn't hurt him to work in order to pay for his education. In fact, he implied that he is better off because of it. Maybe that logic flies at the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, but in reality, most *Tory* readers can figure out that he's pulling a fast one on them. John Edwards actually said that he strove to do better in college as a result of the hard work he had to endure while paying for it, evidence against his own policy proposal.

Although Edwards may be out of the presidential race, his ideas have found a place in John Kerry's platform. One of Kerry's new initiatives is the "Service for College Plan" in which he pledges to give four years of college tuition to a student attending a state institution in exchange for two years of government service on the part

of the student. Along with his "Service for College Plan," the Kerry campaign created a "Misery Index" which uses college tuition as one of its main components. According to the Kerry campaign's study that produced his "Misery Index," public university tuition has increased 13% from 2000 to 2003. That would be an alarming increase for any other good during a period when the Federal Reserve openly feared an outbreak of *deflation*. Underneath all the rhetoric, however, introductory economics is at work. What actually happened was that the true cost of a university education started to reveal itself when states finally realized that artificially low prices (tuitions) could not be maintained in a time of economic difficulties.

Curiously, private university tuition increased by only 5% during that period. This is further evidence that the large increases in tuition at public institutions aren't due to inflation; it is simply a shift in the burden of who is paying for it. In an economic sense, this shift of the cost burden is actually a good thing because it creates a stronger link between those who are paying and those who benefit.

Anyone who keeps up on past and present economic indicators knows that inflation has been quite low for the past four years (another reason for Kerry's new "Misery" metric). So in that light, even the 5% increase in private tuition sounds rather steep, right? Well, no. Higher education doesn't benefit the way normal businesses do from increases in productivity. Lectures and precepts are still at least fifty minutes long and it doesn't look as if they'll be getting shorter any time soon. The library is still going to buy scholarly journals that nobody reads. These are a couple of reasons why tuition increases faster than the prices of goods from businesses that actively seek new ways to stretch their dollars further. This contrast between the practices

of academia and normal businesses is the ubiquitous example used by intro textbook authors to show the economics of productivity at work in the students' own lives.

Looking back, remember Kerry's "Service for College Plan?" If you think about it, Kerry's plan would pay students in terms of college tuition. We know from the previous paragraph that that is a wage that would grow much faster than the rate of inflation. Such a job is great if you can get it. Of course there is only one place other than academia that offers this kind of increase in pay without a comparable increase in productivity: government.

How is all this applicable to Princeton? We at Princeton have a similar separation that exists because of financial aid and there are two main detrimental consequences: it discourages saving both before and during college and it reduces the prudence of those that control the university budget.

Given Princeton's and other top colleges' generous aid packages, what is the incentive to save before and after enrolling? Princeton essentially says that it will request portions of the assets that a student and his or her parents have and annually change the parental contribution based on changes in a family's financial situation. Right away, you can see that any prior financial planning or improvement in a family's financial situation will find its way into Princeton's coffers. The present system hits hardest those families and students who planned ahead for college by saving. These families are those from the middle class who choose to live modestly but have a mid to high net worth. At the other end, the families who get off easiest are those that have a moderate to high annual income, but rather than saving it, consume it. These families have a low or even negative net worth because of outstanding debt. The University encourages consumption further by

excluding a family's home equity from its aid calculations. Word to the wise: buy an expensive home before coming to Princeton.

As a reader who is skeptical of the *Tory*, you might be thinking the previous paragraph is a load of misinformation. To the contrary, a recent article in the *New York Times* (the preferred newspaper of skeptical *Tory* readers) about the increasing proportion of high-income students at top

colleges states: "Colleges have meanwhile increased tuition rapidly, causing the number of students on financial aid to jump and creating an impression that they are from a wider economic spectrum than in the past. In reality, financial aid simply stretches far higher up the income ladder than before."¹

The statistics behind the article came from a study done at UCLA in 2000 that found that 55% of college students came from families with incomes in the top quartile of the U.S. population whereas only 33% came from families in the middle 50%. That is in stark contrast to a similar study performed in 1986, which found that the percentages of students from those same income categories were 46% and 41%, respectively.² At Princeton, a third of current aid recipients have household income of \$100,000 or higher.³ From these data, one can see that financial aid is not solely the domain of the truly downtrodden. As a result, the current system of aid is even failing at its highest purpose, which is to further socioeconomic diversity of the student body.

The second consequence of Princeton's financial aid system is a lack of fiscal discipline on the part of the administration. When only the "lucky" students must pay for increases in the budget, there is little incentive to restrain increased spending—or tuition increases. *Tory* alum Brad Simmons took up this issue last year on the pages of the *Prince*, recommending that either a non-aid parent be granted a seat on the Priorities Committee or that the University tap into its largesse to greatly reduce tuition for *all* students. William Robinson countered Simmons with the "lucky" argument and that Princeton's tuition was comparable to that of its peers. Robinson's response was a nice way of saying that



Professor Robert Shiller

Princeton will simply rest on its laurels for the time being. That type of response to a valid concern is troubling for Princeton's future, not to mention to the "lucky" families whose good fortune is becoming harder to afford. Something must be done to change the status quo.

While perusing the *Wall Street Journal Online* last summer, an interview with Yale economist Robert Shiller grabbed my attention. Shiller wrote

the prescient bestseller *Irrational Exuberance*, published in 2000, in which he explained reasons the stock market's ascent was unsustainable. Shiller said that the funding crises that many states were facing in higher education could be prevented in the future by private funds that invest in college students. He mentioned the only currently existing fund called MyRichUncle (MRU). What MRU does is not complicated; in fact, it is so simple that it and other funds like it could revolutionize the way higher education is financed.

MyRichUncle grants students money (literally investing in them) to put towards the payment of tuition. In exchange for the investment, students agree to pay MRU a certain percentage of their future income for a fixed period of time. Once that fixed period is over, students are no longer obligated to the company for anything. Through this form of financing, what the student pays to MRU is exactly proportional to what he or she gained from college. An added bonus is that students will never have the crushing burden of debt from student loans because there is no principal to be repaid.

These investments in students eliminate the unfair consumption effect of traditional financial aid and shield students from poor budgeting on the part of administrators. They also open the door on a new way for states to fulfill their obligations to higher education. They could do the same thing as MRU by simply granting students a certain amount of money to be used at any accredited institution in the United States and then increase the students' post-graduate income tax rate. After implementing such a policy change, states could privatize their universities and allocate their resources elsewhere. This type of funding

structure would eliminate the need for the federal government to support the states through programs like Kerry's.

Since MRU is an investment fund, it is only natural that certain students will be more valued than others. Engineers and finance majors will probably have a smaller portion of their incomes taken by MRU than students who pursue the humanities. Many academics will lament this, but MRU and funds like it will naturally act as Adam Smith's invisible hand, nudging students into the areas which society values most.

The only barrier to accessing this windfall for college students is ignorance. My proposal to prevent that would be for Princeton to establish a working relationship with MyRichUncle or a similar company. Such a relationship benefits Princeton by putting it on the cutting edge of college finance and it benefits MyRichUncle by putting it into contact with some of the most ambitious students in the country. At the very least, I hope the University would provide a link on its financial aid website to MyRichUncle to show current and potential students how they can leave Princeton without debt even if they don't get the aid they expected. You can check it out for yourself at www.myrichuncle.com.

Princeton has a chance to gain an advantage over its peers again in the college admissions battle and make attending this institution as affordable as it will ever be. Let's hope the ball starts rolling soon.



Notes

¹ Leonhardt, David. "As Wealthy Fill Top College, New Efforts to Level the Field." *New York Times*

. 22 April 2004.

² Leonhardt, David. "As Wealthy Fill Top College, New Efforts to Level the Field." *New York Times*

. 22 April 2004.

³ Burdman, Pamela. "Dollars & Sense." *Princeton Alumni Weekly*

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