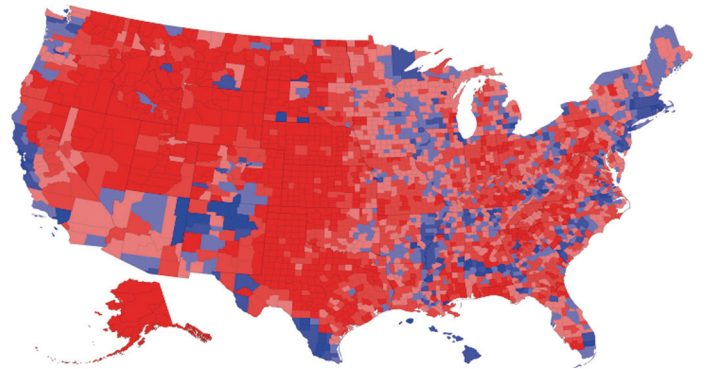


January 2005

# PRINCETON TORY



## A National Victory



## A Campus Defeat

*Plus: Lincoln and Bush, Religious Toleration Abroad  
and Uganda's Fight Against AIDS*

# THE PRINCETON TORY

January 2005  
Volume XXI - Issue VI

*Publisher*                      *Editor-in-Chief*  
Ira Leeds '06                      Duncan Sahner '06

*Managing Editors*  
Brad Heller '05  
Powell Fraser '06              Jurgen Reinhoudt '06

*Financial Manager*  
Paul Thompson '06

*Production Team*  
Stephen Lambe '06              Ruben Pope '07

*Publisher Emeritus*              *Editor Emeritus*  
John Andrews '05              Evan Baehr '05

*Staff Writers*  
Julie Toran '05                      Eleanor Mulhern '07  
Michael Fragoso '06              Christian Sahner '07  
Marissa Troiano '06              Clarke Smith '07  
Stuart Lange '07                      Matt Martin '08  
Ward Benson '07                      Jordan Reimer '08  
Nene Kalu '07                          Will Scharff '08  
Matt MacDonald '07                  Juliann Vikse '08

*Board of Trustees*  
Peter Heinecke '87              Anna Bray Duff '92  
David Daniels '89              Brian Tvenstrup '95  
Mark Banovich '92              Wickham Schmidt '99  
Timothy Webster '99

*The Princeton Tory* is a journal of conservative and moderate political thought written, edited and produced by Princeton University students and delivered free of charge to all Princeton students and faculty. *The Princeton Tory* is a publication of The Princeton Tory, Inc. Opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the editors, trustees, Princeton University, or the Princeton Tory, Inc.

*The Princeton Tory* accepts letters to the editor. Direct correspondence to: P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, NJ 08542; or by e-mail: [tory@princeton.edu](mailto:tory@princeton.edu). Advertisement rates for *The Princeton Tory* can be found on the magazine's website at [www.princeton.tory.com](http://www.princeton.tory.com). Donations to *The Princeton Tory* are fully tax-deductible. Please mail donations to: P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, NJ 08542.

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

The Princeton Tory, Inc. is a non-profit corporation registered in New Jersey. No part of this publication should be construed to promote any pending legislation or to support any candidate for office. No part of this publication may be reproduced without express written consent of the Publisher.

Copyright © 2004, The Princeton Tory, Inc.

## From the Publisher

Dear fellow Princetonians,

A number of weeks ago I happened to be performing my daily chore of reading the *Daily Princetonian* when I ran across an opinion piece that was not the usual bland statement of the obvious. Deviating from the usual drivel coming out of the Op/Ed offices of the *Prince*, this writer voiced an opinion that was actually thought-provoking. Unfortunately, the more I read, the more of what she had to say I found infuriating.

In "Carrying American baggage abroad," Catherine Rampell '07 expressed how shamed she felt every time someone complained about America's arrogance abroad during her visit to Beijing this summer. Apparently, she could not take a cab or eat at a restaurant without someone accosting her for just how awful her country was. Rampell, a self-described liberal who did not even support the policies being attacked, ultimately decided to be "Icelandic" for the remainder of her time in China.

After reading of Rampell's plight, I am beginning to think I am one of the few people who sees the hypocrisy of these individuals, which went unaddressed in the opinion piece. In the middle of a country that commits more human rights violations in a day than the Patriot Act will ever commit, an American is not proud to stand up for the country of her birth. Rampell rode in taxis only a few miles from where 5-ton tanks rolled over nonviolent protesters, and the drivers had the gall to tell complain about *her* country.

I do not know if it is the Princeton bubble or simply part of human nature that encourages so many students here to think the grass must be greener elsewhere. For anyone who has even the slightest grasp on world events and history, it is laughable to think that China or Italy, both implied to be better places than the United States by various *Prince* columnists, come even close to the quality of life enjoyed by an average American citizen.

I do not mean to suggest that criticism of the United States makes one un-American, but I do question this knee-jerk reaction by many Princetonians who see the world as being wonderful anywhere but here. Yes, we are a proud country, as are most countries that have anything to be proud of. That we actually back up our beliefs with action may be a model for those weaker-minded governments around the world. We have certain values such as liberty and equality that we give the highest priority. To remain loyal to our beliefs, we must be willing to risk our lives for those beliefs.

Those shared beliefs constitute the reason why our internal debate does not prevent us from showing a unified front to the world. While we can deliberate amongst ourselves until the end of time, the differences between American citizens are insignificant when compared to non-citizens. By giving a unified appearance to the world, we affirm that the values we share will always be greater than our subtle differences in opinion. To disagree with the current administration has never in itself been considered "un-American." To refuse to recognize oneself as an American because of ridicule or fear of rejection, however, directly challenges the loyalty to one's nationality that a true citizen should profess.

Sincerely,  
Ira Leeds '06



## Letters to the Editors:

[tory@princeton.edu](mailto:tory@princeton.edu)

P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, New Jersey 08542

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

---

THE  
**PRINCETON TORY**

---

January 2005

www.princetontory.com

---

## LETTERS

4 **Sharing in Juliann Vikse's "Freshman Experience"**

## THE RANT

5 **The *Tory* comments on:**

- Totalitarianism at the Daily Princetonian
  - Liberal Depression
  - Oil for Food
  - John Kery
- and more...



## COVER STORY

**The Other Presidential Battle**

*Powell Fraser '06*

PAGE 7

## CAMPUS

7 **The Other Presidential Battle**

Analyzing the political forces and motivations behind the tumultuous USG presidential elections.

*Powell Fraser '06*

## NATIONAL

9 **George W. Bush Revisited**

A great American president?

*Bradley Heller '05*

## INTERNATIONAL

11 **As Easy as 1, 2, 3**

ABC, AIDS, and Uganda's Lessons for the Rest of the World

*Christian Sahner '07*

## THE LAST WORD

14 **Tolerance Under Fire**

Radical Islam comes to free-thinking Amsterdam

*Jurgen Reinhoudt '06*

*The Princeton Tory Online*

www.princetontory.com

JANUARY 2005

THE PRINCETON TORY • 3

---

## LETTERS

---

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.

Written in response to "Courtesy Lacking in the Freshman Experience," appearing in the October 2004 issue, by Juliann Vikse '08:

Dear Juliann,

I enjoyed your article in the Tory. Keep fighting the good fight.

To me the fascinating thing about the current political system is how really bright and intelligent and well read people can come up on different sides of the same issue.

Some of my college friends of the 60's are as much entrenched in their liberal world as I am in my conservative world - only I'm right.

In studying this issue, I believe the important thing to realize is that in general we all hold very common basic beliefs. The difference comes from how to best achieve the results we are looking for. Here are two examples:

1. We all want to achieve a decent standard of living for every American. Conservatives believe this is best achieved by stressing education and self reliance. Liberals believe this is best achieved by government action.

2. We all want a world where countries are at peace. Conservative believe that at times you have to drain the swamps and kill the bad guys. Liberals believe the bad guys will just go away.

I am sure that with a little thought you could come up with a dozen other examples where both sides want the same end result and differ on the best means to achieve it. To bolster the conservative arguments, one needs to read modern history and see how the government based approached has not only failed to solve the problems but made the fundamental problems worse. Thomas Sowell, the black conservative economist, has written books on the subject.

I hope you will challenge yourself to continue your education with regard to a broad range of conservative issues and will challenge both your fellow students and professors. Professors like Krugman are a disgrace and should be challenged for their total idiocy.

Good Luck

Dave Baraff '66

Written in response to the October 2004 issue:

Dear Tory,

I would like to comment on Juliann Vikse's article "Courtest Lacking In the Freshman Experience". It is an article with an aim that I think most people could agree with, and in that respect I give her my regards. Her plea for tolerance, consideration, courtesy, and respect in political dialogue is one that we should all take note of. While I do believe that judging someone according to their political positions is different from judging them based on superficial and unchosen qualities such as race, nationality, or sexual orientation, due to the fact that one's politics amount to the set of values that they have *voluntarily* accepted, open-minded discussion is no doubt always preferable to rude dismissals or condescension.

That said, I must admit that I burst out laughing when I read this article in a magazine that had as its front cover a man with a shotgun and the headline "Open Season on Liberals". I am sure that Ms. Vikse was not aware of the cover that her article was going to be printed behind, but the editors must have. The call for political tolerance behind such a rude, offensive, grossly heavy-handed image is extremely ironic and makes me think that the Tory's commitment to respectful dialogue is not a little disingenous. This is a gaffe that is both embarrassing and hypocritical. What were you guys thinking?

Best regards,  
James Loxton ['06]



Did our latest attack on liberalism offend you? Well, join the crowd. While you're at it, send us a letter, and let your voice be heard.

Send all letters to the editors to:  
[tory@princeton.edu](mailto:tory@princeton.edu)

# THE RANT

---

➤ The USG has a new president: Leslie-Bernard Joseph. Mr. Joseph has proposed sweeping reforms, not the least of which is a “Princeton in the Nation’s Service Day.” This proposed day of compulsory volunteer work, we are told, is an effort to “fulfill Princeton’s motto.” Fulfill Princeton’s motto? Well, that’s a capital idea! The problem is that such a “Nation’s Service Day” doesn’t fulfill the school’s motto at all: Princeton’s motto is *Dei Sub Numine Viget* (“Under the Power of God She Flourishes”). It seems if we wish to fulfill Princeton’s motto we need to stay on the Almighty’s good-side. How about mandatory church attendance? Rosaries and King James Bibles for freshmen? Firing Peter Singer? Just a few suggestions.

➤ Since puppet democracies are oh-so difficult to maintain, it appears that the Daily Princetonian Business Office has given up the charade of fair elections and simply appointed the 2005 business manager by managerial decree. One must wonder if the incredibly avant-garde editorial board at the Prince will be daring enough to pick up an issue that hits so close to home. Obviously the editorial board must be careful. If the Business Office has already done away with elections, what is to stop a great purge a la Stalin?

➤ Democrats still have not gotten over the electoral shock of 2004: the United States county electoral map shows a country bleeding red, with a few blue dots (literally, a few blue dots) in California and Massachusetts. Don’t believe the trendy skewed national diagrams that look like a Mercator Projection Map on an LSD trip. Not only was President Bush re-elected over a Massachusetts liberal, but Republicans won overwhelmingly in

the Senate and the House. The total number of Republican Senators has risen to 55. When, when will Democrats learn that on moral values, they are completely out of touch with the American people? The average American does not like abortion, euthanasia, high taxes, big government, banning prayer in schools, pushing every vestige of God out of public life, racial quotas, or giving up national sovereignty. The “values” of Democrats are values of Ivy League professors, not those of normal Americans. 2008 sure looks exciting from a conservative point of view: if Shriillary runs on this same platform, the Democrats can expected to be trounced once again.

➤ Some of the *Tory* editors have found their weekly therapy sessions cancelled as psychologists are overrun with depressed liberals. Pseudo-doctors nationwide are forced to order more copies of *The New Republic* and *The New Yorker* as their waiting rooms fill with the disheartened *intelligentsia* of America. Post-election syndrome has swept the nation in fashion reminiscent of Genghis Kahn. To address this epidemic, the *Tory* might be willing to switch positions on a minor issue for the time being and endorse medical marijuana. As the Republican victory goes marching on, we can easily foresee a day when liberals are simply too depressed to get out of bed in the morning – and then who would teach our classes? Let us rush the forbidden herb to the beleaguered leftists! Living in a fantasy world might be the only way they can make it through the next four years. Staying perpetually stoned is probably the only move that the Democrats could make that would leave them even *more* out-of-touch with reality.

➤ As the party of Lincoln, you would think the Republicans would get a little more love from the black voter, but three presidential elections in a row have shown them supporting the Democratic nominee by 90%. The silver lining is that today the GOP needs their votes about as much as the country needs Julian Bond handling reparations. With Hispanics continuing to dwarf blacks as the dominant minority, it is comforting to know 44% of them are on the Right side, fueling the national conservative movement.

➤ We understand now: diversity is only a virtue when championed by the Democratic Party. When President Clinton appointed Madeline Albright to be the first female Secretary of State, the press swooned. When President Bush appointed Colin Powell as the first black man to ever hold that position, on the other hand, he was called an “Uncle Tom.” Now, with the appointment of Condoleeza Rice, the first black woman ever to run Foggy Bottom, the liberals had to go digging through their playbooks to find a derogatory term for the Republicans’ latest progressive act. A Wisconsin talk-radio host stumbled on a particularly terrible one: “Aunt Jemima.” If Dr. Rice were judged on the same criteria that liberals use for college admissions and public works contracts, she would be praised for her skin color regardless of her qualifications. Because she has been appointed by a Republican, however, she is accused of being a traitor to her race and little more than a yes-

*continued on next page*

**Want to help the student conservative movement but don’t want to write?**

**That’s okay!**

**We need layout people, web managers, and business staffers to print the *Tory* each month!**

E-mail [tory@princeton.edu](mailto:tory@princeton.edu) for more info.

woman for President Bush. We're glad to know that the Democrats are only willing to pay lip service to the values that they claim to hold in such high esteem.

➤ It seems there are two command centers operating in Qatar: one for the American invasion of Iraq, and the other for the Arab war on America. The former was established by US Central Command; the latter was established by the paragon of journalistic excellence that we know as Al-Jazeera. While playing the video of a US marine shooting a wounded Iraqi over and over again, Al-Jazeera refuses to play the video of Margaret Hassan, an aid worker, being shot at close range by Iraqi rebels. Al-Jazeera shows its anti-American bias for the nth time, but this time it's serious: most Arabs are unaware of the grizzly atrocities Iraqi rebels are committing in the name of Allah, while the incident involving the US marine is dinnertime conversation in hundreds of millions of Arab households. Al-Jazeera will do whatever is necessary, no matter how unethical or biased it may be, to incite and evoke anti-American feelings in the Arab world. The US government needs to take all necessary and appropriate actions to crack down on the outrageous lies, misinformation and biased coverage that flows forth from that stinking rathole Al-Jazeera calls its editorial room.

➤ We expect that numerous international officials were placed on Santa's "naughty" list as the full extent of the UN Oil-for-Food scandal becomes apparent. Investigators now speculate that Saddam pocketed around \$21 billion, double previous estimates. UN Undersecretary-General Benon Sevan, who was in charge of the program, received several million dollars in the form of oil vouchers from Saddam in exchange for keeping his mouth shut. Charles Pasqua, the former French Interior Minister received no less than 12 million oil vouchers, worth about \$6 million. Bernard Merimee, former French UN ambassador, received 3 million vouchers, worth about \$1.5 million. And now U.S. officials have identified a French organized crime figure who was a conduit for

bribe payments to French President Jacques Chirac himself. We also find that relatives of Palestinian suicide bombers benefited as Saddam's favorite charity. The *Tory* proposes a new deal:

*Dear Secretary-General Kofi Annan,  
Can we get the UN to buy the Tory some weapons? In exchange, we will give you substandard food – all the PUDS you want!  
Sincerely,  
Le Torie Princetonne  
P.S. Send our regards to Kojo. We understand that your son has done quite well for himself.*

➤ Did you know that the founders of America were all atheists, and that God did not exist in 1776? That's right, Christianity was only recently sprung upon the feeble-minded of Middle America in the past few decades – or at least, that's what the left would have our children believe. Steven Williams, a fifth grade teacher in Cupertino, California put together a lesson plan on the religion of the Founding Fathers which included excerpts from the Federalist Papers, George Washington's journal, and the Declaration of Independence. The principal of Stevens Creek Elementary School ruled that class handouts explaining the basic American belief that the rights of man come from our Creator were not acceptable material for an American History class. Now, thank God, Mr. Williams is suing the California School System. Is the left simply ignorant to the role that religion played in the philosophy of the founding, or have they consciously chosen to rewrite history in an anti-Christian fashion? Or is the government simply too incompetent to be entrusted with the education of our children?

➤ John Kerry has said he may well run in 2008. We'll pass...

-- Compiled by the Editors

**YES!** I want to help *The Princeton Tory* keep conservatism strong at Princeton. I am enclosing my tax-deductible contribution for:

<input type="checkbox"/> \$25	<input type="checkbox"/> \$250
<input type="checkbox"/> \$50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$500
<input type="checkbox"/> \$75	<input type="checkbox"/> \$1,000
<input type="checkbox"/> \$100	<input type="checkbox"/> \$ _____

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Class of \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

# HELP!

We cannot continue to spread the conservative message without your financial support. The magazine receives **no funding from the University**, so we rely on you.

Remember, a gift of \$25 or more gets you a year's subscription to *The Princeton Tory*, and a gift of \$500 or more gets you a lifetime subscription. *Thank you!*

Mail to:  
The Princeton Tory  
P.O. Box 1499  
Princeton, NJ 08542

# THE OTHER PRESIDENTIAL BATTLE

Analyzing the political forces and motivations behind the tumultuous USG presidential campaigns

*Powell Fraser '06*

On November 2, George W. Bush and the voters of America dealt a crushing blow to liberals across the country. The Princeton campus, from precepts to parties, slipped into a period of mourning, and professors publicly bemoaned what they perceived as the death of good government. But on December 7, the campus liberals struck back, playing their traditional trump card of diversity to catapult one of their own into the USG Presidency. Equally as disturbing as the election of an unabashed liberal to the head of the student government, however, was the nature of the debate surrounding the election. Just as the nationwide Republican victory illuminated the issues that truly concern most Americans today, Leslie-Bernard Joseph's victory has shown us the nature of politics on campus, and the conclusions are very disturbing.

The Margolin presidency was



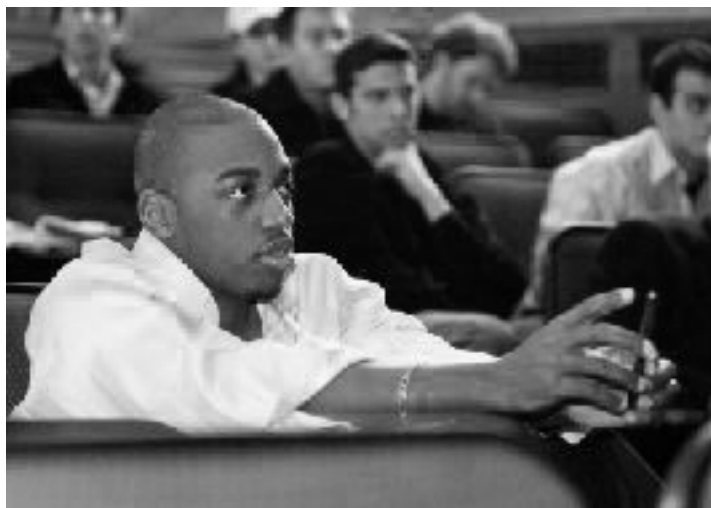
*Callaghan '06 was an integral member of the previous administration led by Matt Margolin '05.*

controversy, the Undergraduate Student Government voted to sign and send a letter in support of the University of Michigan's race-based admission policy, despite an outcry from conservatives in the student body. But the major issue under Matt Margolin '05 has been Dean Malkiel's grade inflation policy, which went into effect despite overwhelming

objections from the students. For Margolin's tenure, the student body was united in opposition to a certain administration policy. Ideological issues were subordinated to pressing pragmatic concerns.

Into this absence of ideological debate stepped presidential candidates Shaun T. Callaghan '06 and Leslie-Bernard Joseph '06. Callaghan, at the time Vice President of the USG, ran on a platform pledging a continuation of the Margolin administration, while promising to expand the scope of his goals and improve communication with the faculty and student body. While the USG had not been successful in derailing Dean Malkiel's grade deflation policies, Callaghan had helped coordinate an organized response to the administration and, most recently, had successfully lobbied to have the new policy and its context explained in detail on all student transcripts.

Joseph criticized Callaghan for lacking vision. The USG's attempts to



*Joseph '06 has gained quite the reputation for being a "mover and shaker" on campus. It came as no surprise to see his second USG presidential campaign incorporate the same radical ideology as his other endeavors.*

address universal student concerns, such as grading policy, precept quality, guidance for freshmen, and campus drainage were labeled as "nuts and bolts" issues by Joseph. He promised a radically different USG that would seek to stress service and diversity. Joseph received ringing endorsements from numerous racial minority groups, such as the Black Student Union, of which he was president. The LGBT also threw their support behind Joseph, and the College Democrats soon fell in line. But how would the rest of the campus respond?

The Daily Princetonian, in a very conflicted and lukewarm editorial, endorsed Callaghan for President. Despite their apparent reluctance to support the Callaghan campaign, however, the 'Prince' displayed an uncanny understanding of the issues at hand for the election. In their decision, printed on December 3, 2004, the editors stated, "If we were endorsing a candidate for president of the United States this December, we would happily support

## Current USG Services

How to get USG to save the world.

Social Welfare Programs for Princeton's Homeless.

Projects Board: Obtaining Funding for Buying Out an Eating Club

Active campaigns and committees for income redistribution.

*The Tory's suggested redesign for the website based on Joseph's '06 campaign promises.*

Leslie-Bernard Joseph '06." They revealed in his vision of dramatic changes to Princeton, including his promises to make the campus "more inclusive" (by way of changes to the Eating Club system) and "service-oriented" (by a day of required community service). But they concluded that Joseph's goals were quite lofty and not backed by any tangible plan for execution. Since the position in question was the USG presidency, not that of the United States, they endorsed Callaghan as a candidate who would continue the legacy of the Margolin administration: "one that has not had any history-making achievements but one marked by commitment to student issues large and small."

The students, however, did not heed the 'Prince' editors' wisdom and instead flocked to the candidate that they indeed might have desired to see in the Oval Office. Still smarting from the Republican triumph in November, the liberal majority on campus yearned for a leader with a leftist vision like the one that the nation had rejected. More importantly, they wished to instill a progressive spirit on campus. Joseph sensed this and shrewdly shaped his campaign around their longing. Making stump speeches in dining halls, he pitched

himself as an alternative to the status quo as represented by the Margolin presidency and Callaghan's membership in the exclusive Cottage Club, and repeatedly pointed to himself as a symbol of racial diversity by virtue of his skin color.

At the USG presidential debate on December 1, the nature of the upcoming race became clear. The moderators asked questions that had been submitted by various campus groups, almost all of which were geared toward Joseph's campaign of service and inclusiveness. Joseph had the opportunity to publicly expound on his visions for elevating numerous groups who felt excluded in the current environment: racial minorities, sexual minorities, and students who felt "intimidated" by institutions like the Eating Clubs. Rarely were the "nuts and bolts" issues – the more general concerns of the student body – brought to the forefront of the debate, except by Callaghan, desperate to get the discussion back on track. When he tried to champion his leadership and experience credentials, the debate moderator chastised him for deviating from the questions pertaining to sweeping policy changes.

Joseph, in true liberal fashion, stepped forward to offer government

solutions to a wide variety of problems. At no point was either candidate asked to analyze whether a given problem was or was not the responsibility of the Undergraduate Student Government. Nor would a conservative answer to any question be well-received by the student body: when tolerance was spotlighted, Joseph pledged to build a center for students with differing sexual preferences, while Callaghan voiced support of speech codes and a "social honor code." The debate eventually abandoned pragmatism altogether and became a verbal battle to see which candidate could paint himself as a better liberal. Callaghan's informed assertions regarding what the USG can and cannot do were trampled underfoot by Joseph's vision for what the USG should do to transform the campus and remake Princeton in his image.

The final election results were extremely close. Joseph won by 11 votes out of over 2600, a margin of less than half a percent. With no punch-card ballots to be examined, the Callaghan campaign could not opt for the Democratic strategy of demanding recounts until more favorable results emerged. There was no choice but to concede defeat. In doing so, however, Callaghan stopped short of wishing his opponent the best: he instead expressed a cautious blessing for next year's USG, skeptical of its ability to undertake the sweeping changes proposed by its new president while continuing to address the practical concerns of the student body.

So we go boldly forward into the next year, led by a student with no experience in student government and a vision to radically alter the Princeton we know and love. Under Joseph, we can expect the USG to switch its focus from campus-wide concerns like precept reform to the private agendas of special interest groups like the LGBT. If his campaign is any indicator of his upcoming Presidency, Joseph will bring us a year of boisterous rhetoric, racial pandering, and impractical idealism. Happy New Year, Princeton. P



*Powell Fraser '06 is a politics concentrator from Atlanta, GA. He is Commodore of the Sailing Team and a columnist for the Daily Princetonian.*

A monthly dose of the *Tory* is just not enough? Go online.

[www.princetontory.com](http://www.princetontory.com)



# GEORGE W. BUSH

## REVISITED

### A great American president?

*Bradley Heller '05*

The consensus among the majority of students on Princeton's campus, indeed of most Americans, is that America is now a nation deeply divided. This sentiment has come to dominate much of the discussion over our country's present state of affairs in the spheres of domestic and foreign politics. For those with a short memory of United States history, it may seem as though America has never before undergone such vehement disagreement over so many issues. But this notion could not be farther from the truth. The Civil War epitomized the destruction wrought by a truly divided nation and it was because of the courageous leadership of Abraham Lincoln that America was able to recover from these disastrous times. Upon a closer examination of this era, we see striking parallels, and a couple contrasts, between the administrations of Abraham Lincoln and George W. Bush in both their visions for America and the strategies they pursued in securing them.

Many might believe that such a claim is laughable, especially at the

superficial level where Lincoln is regarded as one of the most beloved American figures. This anachronistic perspective is not completely accurate, however. Today we see Lincoln through the comfortable lens of history, selectively remembering his huge successes like the defeat of the Confederacy and the liberation of the slaves. But the

would best resolve the situation. America voted against war in 1860, but voted for it in 2004.

It would be foolish to assert that simply winning the popular vote is enough to proclaim that any president has been given a mandate. But the results of elections in the House of Representatives and the

---

***“When the incumbent president is elected and his party is granted control of the entire legislative body, he has earned a mandate from the American people.”***

---

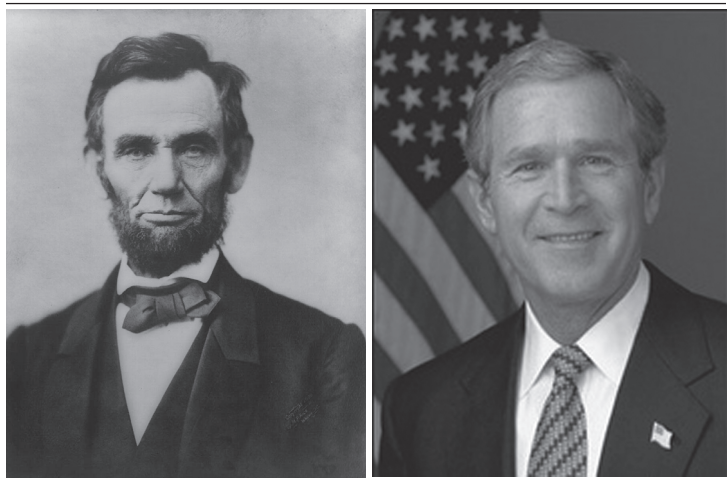
average voter in 1860 was not convinced that Lincoln's anti-slavery stance was in the best interest of the nation; he received only 40% of the popular vote in his successful bid for the presidency. If two Democrats had not split the vote, Lincoln would have lost the popular vote and perhaps the election as well.

In contrast to Lincoln in 1860, President Bush earned not only the majority of the vote in the 2004 election but also a mandate to continue to aggressively pursue

his policies here and abroad. The 60% of Americans who voted against Lincoln were opposed to further exacerbating the rift between the North and South that would lead to civil war. But in the midst of a deadly conflict in Iraq, 21<sup>st</sup> century Americans decided to stay with the leader they felt

Senate speak for themselves – the Republican Party now controls the legislative branch comfortably with a margin of 11 seats in the Senate and 31 in the House. And as a further blow to the leadership of the Democrats, the minority leader was ousted for the first time in 50 years. When the incumbent president is elected and his party his granted control of the entire legislative body, he has earned a mandate from the American people.

Besides the contrasting implications of the respective elections of Bush and Lincoln, there are important similarities in the way they have chosen to lead the country in the face of tragedy. In the wake of 9/11, President Bush vowed to confront those nations that harbor or support terrorists in a bold political move that was to preface his eventual subscription to a policy of pre-emption. In doing so, he sent a powerful message to all enemies of America signaling the beginning of a renewed international effort to counter terror. The only problem is that this mission has yet to be forcefully backed by some of the most important members of the international community. President Bush



*A possible resemblance?*

was forced to make tough decisions that pushed our nation towards war even though it meant doing so virtually alone. With only a cursory review of history, we see that Abraham Lincoln's defense of the

American values that they know and trust. Under the guise of abolitionism, Lincoln was able to secure the popular support he needed to stay in power and rationalize the blood spilled for the cause of unity. In a letter to

*"We know how favorably history has remembered Lincoln—the question is whether the outcome of Iraq will cast Bush as a great American president or a great American failure."*

United States was a similarly unilateral task. Indeed, Great Britain and France were much closer to aiding the Confederacy than the United States. It was only through the successful blockade of southern ports and the capture of New Orleans did the possibility of European intervention begin to evaporate. Both Lincoln and Bush had difficulties in convincing foreign powers to help defend America, but they persevered despite this challenge and went ahead with the policies they knew to be in the best interest of their homeland.

In implementing these strategies, both presidents appealed to the sense of

*New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley, Lincoln said that "...my paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it...". Many would cite the Emancipation Proclamation as evidence to the contrary; this is not, however, a valid argument. This document was an empty political gesture, freeing slaves only in Confederate-controlled states where there was obviously no authority to enforce this act in the first place. Anyone who believes that slavery was Lincoln's primary concern is mistaken.

The Bush Administration has adopted a similar strategy, playing to the liberal fancies of the Democrats and the international community by identifying the invasion of Iraq as a humanitarian undertaking. Just like Lincoln, President Bush has used morality to connect the popular appeal of humanitarianism with the more contentious goal of rebuilding a broken nation. The beauty of the situation is that instituting a just democratic government in Iraq is a boon for Iraqis and Americans alike – the Shiite majority will have the say it deserves while the basic human rights of every person regardless of their ethnicity or gender will be protected. Such a shining example of freedom in the Middle East will serve only to starve terrorism from the radical Islamic Fundamentalists it needs to survive. Even though the success of democracy in Iraq and the security of the United States is inexorably linked, the paramount object in this struggle is protecting our nation, not the rights of Iraqi Shiites.

In closing, consider the words of Lincoln in his address to Congress at an emergency session called after Fort Sumter fell in April of 1861. There he described the intensifying conflict as "a people's contest...a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of man". Not surprisingly, this is also an apt description of the war on terror. President Bush may lack Lincoln's eloquence, but the fact remains that both are tied by their similar historical roles as leaders who take uncompromising stances to protect the future of the American ideal at all costs. Both had earned a moral mandate to finish the job they started whether it is for the benefit of the Iraqi people, the national security of United States or the reunification of a house once divided. We know how favorably history has remembered Lincoln – the question is whether the outcome of Iraq will cast Bush as a great American president or a great American failure. ¶

## Congratulations to Juliann Vikse '08!

Vikse is the recipient of the  
2004 Peter B. Hegseth '03  
Freshman Writing Prize



*Juliann Vikse '06 sings with the Tigressions, an all-female a capella group. She also is active in IRC and Princeton Model UN. Vikse receives the prize for her article on a freshman's first week on campus and the ensuing debate her article has produced in print and overheard around campus.*



*Brad Heller '05 is a molecular biology major also pursuing a certificate in Neuroscience. Brad hails from Long Island, NY.*

# AS EASY AS 1, 2, 3

## ABC, AIDS, and Uganda's Lessons for the Rest of the World

*Christian Sahner '07*

The AIDS pandemic is a global crisis unparalleled at any other plague in human history. Sub-Saharan Africa, however, has unquestionably suffered the most. Since the first cases of HIV/AIDS appeared in the early 1980's, 25 million Africans have died, leaving an additional 12 million children orphaned. Of the 42 million currently living with HIV/AIDS worldwide, 72% reside in sub-Saharan Africa. Among these individuals, 3.2 million die every year—a rate which roughly corresponds to the death of 8,700 Africans per minute. Government response programs have experienced varying degrees of success. Although the Western model of AIDS prevention has enjoyed widespread implementation, recent data from Uganda

contradicts the value of this contraception-based strategy. Indeed, Uganda has employed an abstinence-based program which has effected far greater reduction in AIDS infection than any condom-centered policy. Uganda's dramatic turn-around should prompt both Africa and the West to consider implementing programs which seek to reduce high-risk sexual behaviors, and reassess the dubious value of a condom-based approach.

Commonly referred to as "ABC", Uganda's national strategy to lower AIDS infection rates encourages people to practice *A*bstinence, *B*e faithful, and as a last resort, use a *C*ondom. It must be stressed, however, that marital fidelity and abstinence are the primary prongs of the policy, with contraception occupying only a very secondary role. To be sure, as Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni said in response to Western-styled AIDS

programs which rely upon contraception, "We are being told that only a thin piece of rubber stands between us and the death of our continent."

The preliminary results of ABC in Uganda were astounding: in 2001, the Ministry of Health of Uganda reported a stark decline in national infection rates—a staggering drop from 15% to 5% since 1991. Within the capital of Kampala, HIV/AIDS among pregnant women fell from 30% to 10% during the same ten-year period. And in other rural areas, the incidence of HIV/AIDS among pregnant women fell by more than half.

Although some critics have contended that Uganda's AIDS profile was unusually favorable even before the implementation of ABC in the late 1980's, the ravages of the disease in Uganda were all too typical. The earliest instances of HIV/AIDS arose in 1982 near Lake Victoria, and by 1990, every district within the country reported cases of infection. In 1992, certain urban populations witnessed HIV/AIDS rates rising well over 30%. Every sector of Ugandan society was impacted. Too bedridden to work, many Ugandans lost all sources of income. With the inevitable death of these individuals, 1.8 million children were abandoned by 1999—the highest number of AIDS orphans anywhere in the world. In rural areas, HIV/AIDS victims attempted to stem their declining productivity by cultivating easily liquidatable crops. While this practice avoided the exhaustion of labor-intensive farming, it strained domestic agricultural markets by denying food supplies to impoverished regions of the country. Uganda's national health care was also seriously burdened, with 55% of hospital beds regularly committed to HIV/AIDS patients. Within the realm of government, an estimated 15% to 27% of public office-holders died due to HIV/AIDS between 1995 and 1999—



*Bush and Museveni have worked closely on the AIDS crisis since both share the moral principles behind the ABC program.*

ravaging a state already compromised by war and poverty. These disasters collectively contributed to an annual .9% decline in GDP. Quite clearly, Uganda's AIDS profile was desperate.

As Uganda quickly learned, combating HIV/AIDS required a comprehensive strategy which could produce more enduring change than the ephemeral solution condoms seem to provide. Uganda therefore attempted a broad revision of normative sexual behavior. ABC attacked rising infection rates by increasing the age of sexual debut, reducing the incidence of premarital sex, emphasizing faithfulness, and discouraging the practice of serial polygamy.

However ambitious these goals were, their implementation was even more challenging. Yet, Uganda made great inroads by effecting these changes in multiple sectors of society. Awareness certainly proved the most powerful weapon against rising infection rates. Yoweri Museveni himself was a key public advocate, urging Ugandans to temper their risky sexual practices in the cause of both self-preservation and patriotism. As the President bluntly recounted in a 2002 BBC interview, "I would shout at them [in every public meeting], 'You are going to die if you don't stop this [having sex with multiple sexual partners]. You are going to die.'" The government bolstered awareness of ABC through extensive public education

programs, distributing flyers and brochures throughout the general population, as well as delivering special literature to high-risk demographics, such as truckers and prostitutes. Grass-roots movements were highly effective as well: community groups, many of which incorporated HIV-positive Ugandans, were powerful tools of peer education, and worked to dispel stigmas commonly attached to HIV/AIDS victims. Likewise, universal primary education both encouraged awareness among the young, and gave critical structure to the lives of AIDS orphans who might have otherwise contracted the disease while wandering alone. Moreover, the national media in Uganda functioned with great autonomy, permitting the effective dissemination of the ABC message through multiple modes of communication. In addition, the government was conscious to accommodate Uganda's myriad ethnic groups, printing medical labels and instructions in multiple dialects.

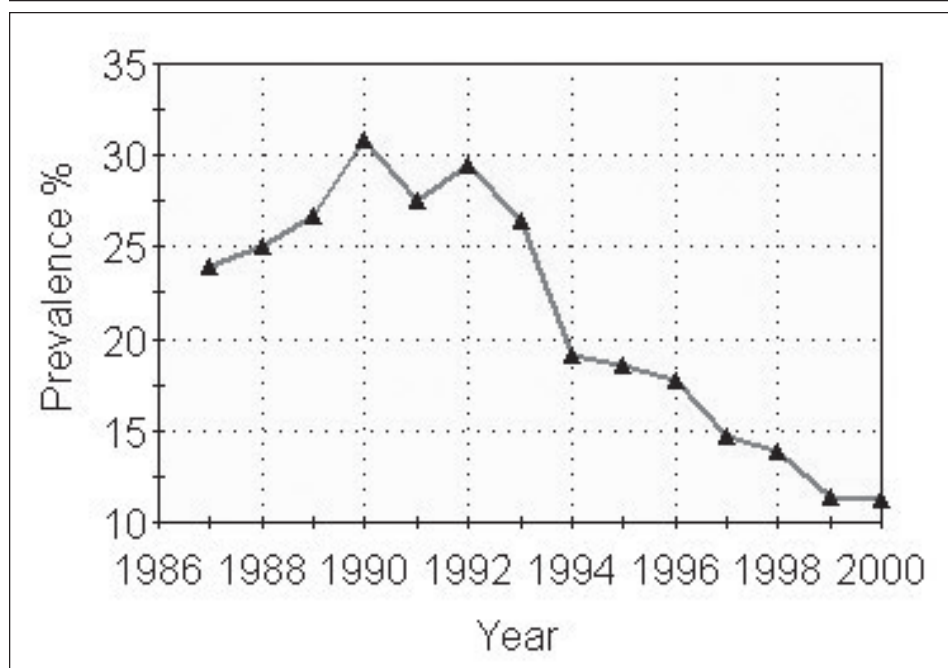
Uganda also implemented important legislative reforms to reduce the risk of infection among women, who are 1.5 times as likely to contract HIV/AIDS than men across Africa. Due to their subordinate social status, women are frequently vulnerable to high-risk sexual behavior, exposing them to infection in greater numbers and at a far earlier age than men. Uganda responded to this disheartening situation by legislating improvements in

women's social status, economic power, and legal protection.

Faith-based organizations were perhaps the most essential collaborators in the implementation of ABC. Both Christian and Muslim groups published educational materials about abstinence, trained local religious officials in community prevention measures, and worked closely with the government to achieve the goals of ABC. Indeed, among the chairmen of Uganda's AIDS Commission have been a Catholic and an Anglican bishop. While many perceive only deep institutional divisions between religious relief groups, the highly effective Inter-Religious Council of Uganda is a testament to the cohesion of the faith-based effort. With assistance from like-minded organizations overseas, this bloc has helped lift stigmas, administer hospitals, provide medicines, and offer vital spiritual support to victims.

Uganda's multilateral ABC strategy led to an astounding revision of sexual behavior among the general public. The 2000-2001 National Demographic and Health Survey reported that 93% of the population had changed its sexual practices to reduce the risk of HIV/AIDS infection. 98% of men who were surveyed reported either no occurrence of extramarital sex, or claimed total abstinence. More specifically, the average age of sexual debut increased by roughly a year during the 1990's. Within the 15-24 demographic, both men and women witnessed a decline in premarital sexual activity—from 35% to 22%. Moreover, the Global Programme on AIDS (GPA) observed a staggering reduction in the incidence of extra-marital/non-cohabiting relationships between the late 1980's and early 1990's. Women's rates had fallen from 16% to 6%, while men saw a drop from 35% to 15%. The GPA also registered a 54% to 33% decline among unmarried men engaging in multiple regular partner relationships. "Core-transmitters" of HIV/AIDS, men with three or more non-regular partners, experienced the most dramatic adjustment of all, falling from 15% to 3%.

Many critics of ABC have cited Uganda as a commendable, but ultimately unrealistic model for AIDS prevention elsewhere in the world. An examination of other successful nations, however, reveals the work of similar abstinence-based strategies. Indeed, the only other nation in Africa to stem HIV infection during the 1990's was Zambia, which witnessed comparable changes in sexual behaviors—



The above plot shows estimated prevalence rates of HIV among Ugandan citizens as the percentage of clinic patients being treated for AIDS/HIV. The data was collected by *avert.com*, a nonprofit, UK-based AIDS prevention organization.

including stronger marital fidelity, rising abstinence, and reduced age of sexual debut. Outside of Africa, countries such as Jamaica, Thailand, and the Philippines also experienced a decline in the prevalence of HIV/AIDS through abstinence/ marriage based initiatives. ABC is clearly an exportable strategy which can make great headway in diverse parts of the world.

Yet, in light of the strong evidence in favor of ABC, why is the rest of sub-Saharan Africa faltering so severely? Much of the problem has to do with political leadership. For example, in South Africa, which boasts among the highest HIV/AIDS rates in the world (with an average adult infection rate of 21.5%), the government has taken virtually zero ownership of the national epidemic. In consideration of President

inapplicable in the context of an entire nation.

A far more insidious ideology is at work in the AIDS debate, as well. Many critics of ABC assert that it is inappropriate for government to encourage “behaviorial change.” Indeed, in light of the prevailing opinion that it is impossible to change the sexual habits of gay men, contraception advocates believe that the same must be true of heterosexual men and women in Africa. Instead, they offer a band-aid solution, one which technically reduces risk, but ultimately fails to address the root of the problem. A 2003 UNAIDS report explicitly affirmed this problem, stating, “There are no definite examples yet of generalized epidemics that have been turned back by prevention programs based primarily on condom

programs such as ABC which take an entirely different track.

Lastly, the condom-based strategy raises several significant moral questions about the transmission of AIDS in Africa. As the pre-ABC statistics in Uganda demonstrate, the foremost source of infection is non-marital sexual activity. This sort of behavior—whether in Africa or the West—is a moral evil and defies the appropriate place of sex in an exclusively marital context. Indeed, marriage is an institution specially ordered for spousal unity and procreation, and any conjugal act which serves either of these aims independent of one another is ethically unjustifiable. Condoms facilitate just this, rendering procreation impossible and objectifying intercourse toward a non-marital end. Therefore, to promote contraception as a method of blocking AIDS necessarily grants moral legitimacy to non-marital sexual intercourse. This behavior is not only ethically unjustifiable, but as the survey data suggests, serves to facilitate disease transmission.

USAID, the Joint UN Program on HIV/AIDS, the World Health Organization, and countless other reputable agencies agree: the most successful policy for reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS is ABC. There is no clearer way to avoid the contraction of a sexually-transmitted disease than to refrain from intercourse. Condoms cannot make such a promise—indeed, they do not enable safe-sex, but only “safer sex,” and fail to promote the long-term social transformation necessary to control HIV/AIDS. The pandemic has been spreading for more than twenty years now, with little sign of decelerating. Given the proven failure of contraception in slowing infection rates and the phenomenal success of Uganda’s ABC strategy, perhaps it is time to revise the line of attack. Though challenging, abstinence reform not only promises to stem HIV/AIDS transmission, but to improve the hazardous and unethical behaviors which enable the disease’s spread. P

---

***“As Uganda quickly learned, combatting HIV/AIDS required a comprehensive strategy which could produce more enduring change than the ephemeral solutions condoms seemed to provide.”***

---

Museveni’s dynamic role in Uganda’s fight against HIV/AIDS, it is easy to envision the injurious effect an inactive leader might have on his country. Likewise, social stigma, ignorance, poor infrastructure, inadequate medical supplies, and poverty all work to exacerbate the impact of HIV/AIDS on Africa.

The silent culprit in the crisis, however, is self-righteous foreign aid. Many Western nations and NGO’s are quick to address the African epidemic by providing condoms, clean needles, and blanketing the continent with safe-sex literature. Indeed, these groups are so convinced of the efficacy of their Western approach that even in Uganda, they attribute the drop in HIV/AIDS to “extensive condom promotion” (as stipulated by the Global HIV Prevention Working Group). While this contraception-based response may have been an effective strategy in New York or San Francisco during the early 1980’s, the AIDS crisis in Africa is statistically and sociologically incomparable to the American situation. In contrast to the infection profile in the US, where the majority of HIV/AIDS victims are homosexual men, nearly every sector of the population in Africa is infected. This strategy, designed to address the sexual customs of a very narrow demographic, is virtually

promotion.” In truth, a condom-based policy is intrinsically faulty. UNAIDS determined an average 90% rate of success in condom use. Thus, any containment strategy which relies heavily upon condoms automatically condemns 10% of all users to potential HIV/AIDS exposure. Moreover, contraception does nothing to actually discourage the high-risk behavior which spreads the disease: rather, it grants individuals a false sense of security, a license to continue with their highly dangerous lifestyles. Not surprisingly, the four countries in Africa with the greatest condom availability—Zimbabwe, Botswana, South Africa, and Kenya—have some of the highest rates of HIV/AIDS anywhere worldwide.

The safe-sex position is above all else patronizing. It presupposes that African populations are incapable of curbing their sexual appetites in favor of responsible behavior modification—as though to say, “Poor savages, you cannot restrain your urges, so use a condom.” Inherent in this line of thinking is the assumption that Africans do not know what is best for themselves, and would pursue promiscuity over responsibility for their actions. This attitude is decidedly paternalistic, even neo-colonial, and does not allow nations the opportunity to generate domestically driven



*Christian Sahner ‘06 is a prospective Art and Archaeology major from Maplewood, NJ. Away from the Tory, he runs on the Track and Field team.*

# TOLERANCE UNDER FIRE

## Radical Islam comes to free-thinking Amsterdam

*Jurgen Reinhoudt '06*

Theo van Gogh, a Dutch movie maker and descendant of 19<sup>th</sup> century painter Vincent van Gogh, was shot, stabbed, and nearly beheaded by an Islamic radical on November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2004. Shortly before his brutal murder, Van Gogh had made the movie "Submission," a controversial film which criticized the treatment of women in fundamentalist Islamic circles. Van Gogh was killed as he was riding his bicycle in Amsterdam, one of the world's most "tolerant" cities. Mohamed Bouyeri fired several rounds at van Gogh, proceeded to stab him, and finally slit his throat, with such force that van Gogh was nearly beheaded. According to bystanders, before he was stabbed, van Gogh screamed out: "Have mercy! Have mercy! We can talk about it!" Bouyeri then planted a 5-page letter on van Gogh's stomach using a long dagger. After standing bent over van Gogh for several minutes to make sure he was dead, Bouyeri ran into the city park. Police (finally at the scene) chased Bouyeri as shots were exchanged (several bystanders and police officers were injured) and eventually succeeded in capturing him. A series of tit-for-tat Mosque and Church bombings followed the murder, as ethnic tensions increased.

The letter which Bouyeri planted in Van Gogh's stomach contained a series of threats, including a promise of Jihad against infidels in the Netherlands. These "infidels" include Member of Parliament Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a former Islamic fundamentalist who immigrated to the Netherlands from Somalia a number of years

ago and who has made it her mission in life to fight for the rights of women in radical Islamic circles. The letter's tone is frightening: "There will come a day when one soul cannot help another soul. A day that goes paired with terrible tortures, ... when the unjust will press horrible screams from their lungs. Screams, Ms. Hirsi Ali, that will cause chills to run down a person's back, and make the hairs on their heads stand straight up. People will be drunk with fear, while they are not drunk. Fear will fill the air on the Great Day. [...] I know definitely that you, Oh America, will go down. I know definitely that you, Oh Europe, will go down. I know definitely that you, Oh Netherlands, will go down. I know definitely that you, Oh Hirsi Ali, will go down."

Two days after the Van Gogh murder, Dutch special operations forces fought two suspected terrorists in a 14-hour shootout in the Hague. Four officers were injured when one of the two terrorists threw a hand grenade in a neighborhood, a neighborhood which fortunately had been evacuated in its entirety. Needless to say, the Dutch, already irked by supposed Islamic radicalism in their midst, were absolutely terrified by the particularly savage and vicious murder of van Gogh and the succeeding instability. "We are not going to tolerate this. We are going to ratchet up the fight against this sort of terrorism," said Vice Prime Minister Gerrit Zalm. "The increase in radicalization is worse than we had thought," he added. The leader of the free-market VVD Party, Jozias van Aartsen, said, in rhetoric unusually clear for Dutch politics: "The jihad has come to the Netherlands and a small group of jihadist terrorists is attacking the principles of our country. I hope the Netherlands will now

move beyond denial and do what is fitting in a democracy — take action. These people don't want to change our society, they want to destroy it."

The murder shows what many had already suspected: that there are a number of extremist Islamists operating in the Netherlands who will not shy away from using violence. Of the 1 million Muslims in the Netherlands, only a tiny proportion fall into the group of radicals, but this tiny group of people poses a significant threat. So far, the Dutch government has not shown enough forcefulness in dealing with these militants and in shutting off their money supply. This is part of a wider problem in Europe: governments have not been aggressive enough in going after radicals and turning off the money supply which keeps them equipped. The ongoing problems regarding Islamic extremists in the Netherlands show that no matter how tolerant a host country is, extremists will not be deterred in their drive to kill people they consider infidels.

Van Gogh was unusual not only for his unyielding criticism of extremist Islam; he was also one of very few public commentators to support Pim Fortuyn at a time when Fortuyn was demonized by the entire Dutch political establishment. Fortuyn was the highly popular small-government, anti-immigrant, homosexual politician who was shot to death by an environmental activist shortly before the elections. Like Fortuyn, van Gogh had severe concerns about mass immigration from Muslim countries. Many immigrants, van Gogh argued (as did Fortuyn) do not hold Western values, and he shared Fortuyn's view that it would be better to severely restrict

---

## THE LAST WORD

---

immigration until all the immigrants already in the Netherlands were well-integrated.

Lest we forget, it was difficult to support Fortuyn at a time when many referred to him as the Anti-Christ, but van Gogh never hesitated. The environmental activist who shot Fortuyn felt he was doing society a service by ridding it of this man. Anyone who reads what Dutch opinion makers said about Fortuyn can understand why a deranged environmental activist could get such an idea. This is what liberal columnist Matty Verkamman wrote to Fortuyn in a newspaper column, not long before Fortuyn was murdered: "You dirty, bald fake Professor, you have the intelligence of Adolf Hitler and the charm of Heinrich Himmler. You live off of hatred and that's why I hope that you get AIDS in that darkroom of yours as soon as possible." Labor Party leader Ad Melkert (whose Party was severely punished by furious Dutch voters in the elections): "Fortuyn opens the way for unlimited discrimination. For a very different type of society, where you can set different groups up against each other. He passes a border that one cannot cross. Holland, wake up!" Retired Labor Party leader Marcel van Dam lost his temper altogether in a televised debate with Fortuyn on a show which van Dam himself hosted: "You are an extremely inferior human being, you know that?"

After Fortuyn said he wanted to ban immigration by Islamists, Thom de Graaf, former party leader of D66, said, "Here, at walking distance, stands the Achterhuis, where Anne Frank wrote, 60 years ago, under horrendous circumstances, in her diary: 'I hope just one thing: that this hatred will be of a passing nature.' [...] This morning, Pim Fortuyn finally threw off his mask!" Liberal columnist Bart Tromp: "Our miniature Mussolini despises democracy." Dr. Netjes, psychologist, in a newspaper interview: "Hitler, Stalin, what kind of men are they? I think [Fortuyn] falls into that category." German Chancellor Gerhard Schroder, referring to Fortuyn: "Forces of hate and intolerance are poisoning the political climate."

What were Fortuyn's sins? He said what many people thought: that the left-wing Dutch political elite was completely removed from normal society and primarily concerned with itself; and that there was far too much immigration. He was an unabashed supporter of the United States, and, *extremely* unusually for a European politician, a vocal supporter of Israel as well.

For all of these things, Fortuyn was vilified and widely reviled by the Dutch establishment. Van Gogh never wavered in his support for Fortuyn and never shied away from saying what he thought. As it turns out, Fortuyn and van Gogh were right

United States and Israel, and someone who had no qualms about Bush's "axis-of-evil" rhetoric or tough stance against suspected terrorists. When Saddam was captured, van Gogh wrote: "My sympathies go out to Jan Mulder, Marcel van Dam, Femke Halsema,

---

***"The jihad has come to the Netherlands and a small group of jihadist terrorists is attacking the principles of our country. I hope the Netherlands will now move beyond denial and do what is fitting in a democracy — take action. These people don't want to change our society, they want to destroy it." - Jozias van Aartsen, Leader of the VVD Party***

---

in several respects: there are many immigrants who are not well-integrated into Dutch society; there exists a small number of immigrants from Middle Eastern countries living in the Netherlands who truly hate Dutch society; *and* most Dutch people wish to see immigration severely restricted. These three factors are common to many European countries. Today, these issues can be openly discussed, but they could not be uttered 5 years ago without someone filing a racism lawsuit and winning. It's very sad that two men had to die and that voters had to revolt at the ballot box before the left-wing Dutch political establishment finally accepted the will of the people and undertook firm action to reduce immigration, help integrate immigrants and take action against radicals.

What many people forget in this discussion, or what many people seem to want to forget, is that freedom of speech is absolute. A great many people have argued in recent months that certain things should not be said in a democracy, and that van Gogh should not have said certain things. I disagree. Van Gogh led the charge in exposing the morally bankrupt politicians who demonized Fortuyn; he was unyielding in his criticism of left-wing Dutch commentators and politicians such as Elsbeth Etty, Marcel van Dam, Jan Mulder, and Paul Rosenmoller, but he was every bit as unyielding when it came to Christians and radical Muslims. Van Gogh did not discriminate against anyone, and was an equal-opportunity provoker (some would say offender).

Much like Fortuyn, van Gogh was an oddity in Dutch politics: a fan of private enterprise, a tremendous supporter of the

Paul Rosenmoller and all those other great thinkers who would have allowed Saddam to continue murdering and torturing until his death." But an evangelical Christian (or even a Christian) van Gogh was not.

He once referred to Christians as "followers of that rotten fish from Nazareth". The Dutch Reformed Church was rather insulted (as was yours truly), but no one threatened or attacked van Gogh for his comments. An Islamic radical who was outraged by van Gogh's movie about the lack of women's rights in extremist Islamic circles thought differently, and felt compelled to silence him once and for all.

What separate the West and moderate Islam from radical Islam are a tolerance for dissent, a love for public debate, and a love for freedom of speech and freedom of expression. When Theo van Gogh was shot, stabbed and nearly beheaded, tolerance in the country that once offered the Pilgrims, John Locke and countless others a tolerant haven in centuries past suffered one more staggering blow, one from which they must struggle to recover. P



*Jurgen Reinhoudt '06 is a Politics major from Ossining, NY. Jurgen also works closely with the College Republicans, serving Treasurer. He is originally from the Netherlands.*

# 2005 Princeton Tory Agenda

10. Give up Heinz Ketchup; start using Hunt's.

9. Convince Ann Coulter to stop posing in leather.

8. Convince CVS to stop selling green hair dye.

7. See at least one conservative judge appointed without having them die of old age due to a Democratic filibuster.

6. Help LGBTQ buy a vowel.

5. Find out why the University administration has stopped providing us with a shopping list of things for us to complain about. We're getting bored here...

4. Send the Daily Princetonian a new editorial board.

3. Criticize the Tiger without being sexually compromised.

2. Survive the year without being tarred and feathered.

1. Continue to be the most-read, all-student publication, providing a unique voice to the liberally-dominated campus environment.



The Princeton Tory  
P.O. Box 1499  
Princeton, NJ 08542

Printed in the U. S. A.

First Class  
Mail