

Freshman Issue

September 2005

PRINCETON TORY

A Conservative Voice on a Liberal Campus



*This Ain't Your
Daddy's Princeton*

THE PRINCETON TORY

September 2005

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From the Publisher

Dear freshmen,

Twenty-one years ago this month, a group of Princeton students led by Yoram Hazony '86, Daniel Polisar '87, and Peter Heinecke '87 decided that the rampant liberalism overtaking Princeton's campus had to be checked. These enterprising individuals founded *The Princeton Tory* as a voice of moderate and conservative political thought to act as a counter to the liberal bias that had saturated the administration and many professors alike. The bad news is that today liberalism is still well entrenched in this educational institution. However, across the nation, liberalism is finding itself caught in a much harder fight to keep its predominance on college campuses. The growing campus conservatism movement is finally taking ground back from its Princeton's liberal overseers. The *Tory* was one of the first student groups to answer the call to arms, and we hold in high esteem those who came before us.



Even with the gains made by our predecessors we still have a lot of work ahead of us. As one of the most-read publications on campus and the only one with a true conservative lean, we have an obligation to further the discussion and debate of conservative ideals and their relation to the politics of the moment. For this objective, we need you. Yes, we need those individuals in the Class of 2009 who came to Princeton thinking they would be accepted by their peers for their reasoned, conservative beliefs and instead found themselves isolated and spurned for what they saw as rational common sense.

Our two-fold purpose here is to act as a rallying point for the campus conservatism movement and to facilitate the exchange of ideas in the arena of political thought. For this, we need writers, copy editors, web designers, and people who just want to get out there and fight for a cause. Read the issue. The Freshman Issue is where we highlight some of our strongest articles from last year and give you a look at what exactly the *Tory* does. If you like what you read, send us an e-mail or find us at the Activities Fair on Friday, September 16th. If you don't find yourself agreeing with our message, read on nevertheless. You'll be surprised how much one can learn from hearing the other side's argument.

With this charge, I proudly present to you the first issue of the *Tory* for the 2005-2006 academic year. I hope many of you enjoy reading it as much as we on the staff enjoy writing it. Welcome to Princeton! May your four years here be intellectually engaging and full of wondrous new experiences.

Sincerely,

Ira Leeds '06
Publisher

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

THE
PRINCETON TORY

September 2005

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POINTS & PUNTS

4 The *Tory* comments on:

- Princetonians in the nation's service
 - Paul Krugman
 - Judge Roberts' nomination
- and more...

CAMPUS

6 **Barbarians at FitzRandolph Gate**

How liberals are stifling Princeton's financial development.

Paul Thompson '06 - May 2005

8 **The Other Presidential Battle**

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

Powell Fraser '06 - January 2005

10 **Lawrence v. Princeton**

The fight for gender equity inside the ivory tower.

Christian Sahner '07 - March 2005

NATIONAL

13 **Why Women Should Vote Republican**

The wage gap and other tall tales.

Juliann Vikse '08 - March 2005

15 **Our Founding Principles**

The need for a flat tax.

Jurgen Reinhoudt '06 - January 2005

THE LAST WORD

14 **22 Minutes**

Bush's philosophical revolution.

Powell Fraser '06 - March 2005

The Princeton Tory Online

www.princetontory.com

POINTS & PUNTS

➤ As this issue went to print, the feature story on Princeton's website profiled students involved in service activities around the world, such as Princeton-in-Asia and Princeton-in-Africa. Indeed, this is not particularly unusual as University seeks to encourage students to fulfill its unofficial motto of "In the nation's service, and in the service of all nations" by joining such programs. However, as is also often the case, the efforts of several dozens students who have devoted their summers to serving their nation in one of the most demanding ways possible are barely mentioned in the archives of the website. Thus, in light of this oversight, the Tory would like to recognize all those students who devoted a part or all of their summer to training with the various officer and leadership programs affiliated with the United States Armed Forces and give special thanks and gratitude to the ten members of the Class of 2005 who, following their graduation last May, chose to accept commissions in the United States Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

➤ Last year, when Dean Malkiel forced through her grade deflation program, one enormous selling point was the promise that other universities would follow Princeton's lead. It's been a year, and have any other good universities (Harvard, Yale etc.) followed Princeton's lead? The Tory is still waiting...

➤ In response to a wish by the United Nations to take over control of the internet from an American organization, Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN) wrote the following: "The first priority for the United Nations must be fundamental reform of its management and operations rather than any expansion of its authority and responsibilities. The Internet has flourished under U.S. supervision, oversight, and private sector involvement. This growth did not happen because of increased government involvement, but rather, from the opening of the Internet to commerce and private sector innovation. Subjecting the Internet and its security to the politicized control of the UN bureaucracy would be a giant and foolhardy step backwards." We could not have said it better ourselves.

➤ Earlier this summer in Tucson, women stormed an Army recruiting center demanding to enlist. This was not your typical anti-war protest, but five "raging grannies." Five women, ages 57 to 92, requested to join the ranks in the War on Terror and take the places of their grandchildren fighting in Iraq. Though it certainly made for good press, their efforts are neither helpful to the Army's efforts or, indeed, their own. Clearly trading an aging grandmother for a trained US Army soldier will not solve the problem and such demonstrations only make it harder for the Army to meet its recruiting goals and can only be harmful the morale of recruiters and Army personnel in general. Such declines in recruitment and morale will only make life harder for the troops in Iraq who these women think they are helping. There are plenty of legitimate channels by which these grannies can make their voices heard without bothering and harassing those who, after all, are also somebody's grandsons and who are also making significant sacrifices for their country.

➤ Evidently it's only a hate crime when a minority is killed. Earlier this summer in White Plains, New York, a beloved white mother of two was slain by a black ex-con. Convicted rapist Philip Grant spoke

to the court with candor: "She was not innocent. She was white," he said. Grant added, "I just wanted to kill a white person." Shockingly, leftist anti-hate crime groups were nowhere to be found.

➤ In his July 29, 2005, column titled "French family values," Professor Paul Krugman writes that "There are several reasons why the French put in fewer hours of work per capita than we do. One is that some of the French would like to work, but can't: France's unemployment rate, which tends to run about four percentage points higher than the U.S. rate, is a real problem." There should be a correction there: France's unemployment rate, at 10.1%, is not "about four percentage points higher" than the American rate, but more than 5%, that is, about 100% higher than the U.S. rate. We'll grant Krugman that the French tax system is extremely "family friendly," if by family friendly, you mean having 4, 5, or 6 children and paying a much lower tax rate. Of course, paying a lower tax rate implies that you have income to pay taxes on, and with unemployment at 10%, not everyone is so lucky.

➤ In his May 23, 2005, column, Professor Paul Krugman writes: "Of course, the coming of the New Deal was hastened by a severe national depression. Strange to say, we may be working on that, too." This type of fear-mongering might be useful in France and Germany--countries which, if nothing is done, will soon slide into deeper economic recession because of misguided tax-and-spend economic policies--but not in the United States. Krugman's belief that a Depression (with a capital D) is imminent shows how far he is in his denial of reality. He has trouble accepting that free-market economic policies lead to greater general welfare than his favored big-government interventionism. The real question is: when will he be forced to admit that the Bush tax-cut advocates were right?

➤ A recent article titled "Child Population dwindles in San Francisco" notes that "San Francisco has the smallest share of small-fry of any major U.S. city. Just 14.5 percent of the city's population is 18 and under." The article notes that due to government restrictions on new home building (restrictions which Frisco's liberal environmentalists love), "A two-bedroom, 1,000-square-foot starter home is considered a bargain at \$760,000." 760 thousand, for a starter home? Who can afford that?? San Francisco is an example of what happens when elite liberals' ideas are put into practice: it's a catastrophe. No family of normal means can afford to live in San Francisco. Only extremely wealthy liberals. What San Francisco needs is a healthy dose of free-market conservatism. Build! Build away!

➤ A blogger on tpmcafe.com writes: "The Roberts nomination represents a stunning blow to the average citizen, and a stunning victory for the capital class." What is he referring to when he says "capital class?" Unfortunately, the days of a stratified owner/worker society are over. A majority of Americans own stock. We are in a new ownership society. When this blogger says Roberts' nomination is a victory for the capital class, what he really means is that Roberts' nomination is a victory for the majority of Americans.

➤ Over the objection of liberal Senators, President Bush put John Bolton in his job as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

POINTS & PUNTS

through a recess appointment. As one Republican Senator said: "We don't need someone who will tip-toe through the tulip fields." The United Nations is an institution that has to be reformed from the ground up. If, at times, Bolton has to bang his fist on the table to stop the anti-Americanism so prevalent at that institution, that's not a problem. In fact, being able to say "STOP!" to another big-government or world-government initiative at that institution should be a requirement for any U.S. ambassador nominated to represent America at the UN.

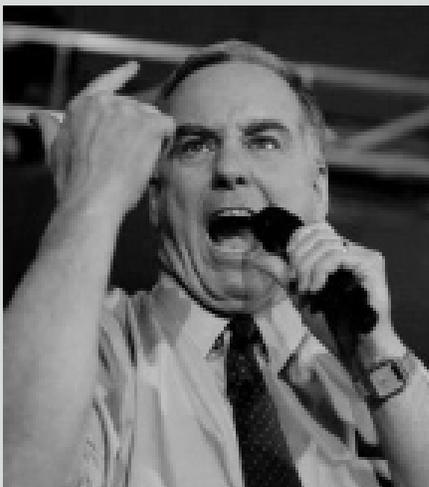
➤ . In July, President Bush nominated John Roberts to the U.S. Supreme Court, to replace the perennial swing voter and liberals' favorite "conservative", Sandra Day O'Connor. O'Connor had become, by the end of her term, an activist judge. When Roberts was confirmed to the Court of Appeals, his nomination attracted support from Democrats and Republicans alike. Some 146 members of the D.C. Bar signed a letter urging his confirmation, including numerous Clinton administration officials. The letter said: "He is one of the very best and most highly respected appellate lawyers in the nation, with a deserved reputation as a brilliant writer and oral advocate. He is also a wonderful professional colleague both because of his enormous skills and because of his unquestioned integrity and fair-mindedness." He should be confirmed speedily without a glitch. But all the bipartisan support didn't stop extremists like Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Chuck Shumer (D-NY) from smearing him. "From what we know now, John Roberts had a hand in some of the most aggressive assaults on civil rights protections during the Reagan administration," Kennedy screamed in late July. In 1987, President Reagan nominated Yale Law School Professor Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. Ted Kennedy said then that "Robert Bork's America is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters [...]" You get the idea. Now Kennedy is asking for documents that he can scour to create more smears. In response, the Bush Administration actually released 75,000 pages of documents and memos which John Roberts worked on during the Reagan Administration. As National Review said, "Having already given too much, it should give no more."

➤ . In early August, North Korea's main envoy said Tuesday his country won't give up its nuclear weapons until an alleged U.S. atomic threat against the communist nation is eliminated, the first public comments from the North after eight days of six-party negotiations. The United States is negotiating with the North Koreans a bit like we did in the early 1990s, when Jimmy Carter reached an agreement. The North Koreans began to violate the agreement almost immediately, even as US taxpayers were paying for large quantities of assistance to North Korea. Making an agreement with North Korea's Kim Jong-Il is like making a deal with Stalin: the US will be taken for a bad ride. The US can do one of two things: we can either open up relations with North Korea completely, if, as the NY Times's Kristoff says, the best weapon of the West is portly businessmen, OR we can engage in active attempts to undermine the regime, by forcing China to accept North Korean refugees (which will lead to an exodus from N. Korea) and smuggling hundreds of thousands of mini-radios into North Korea which will counteract government propaganda. Sadly, almost all North Koreans believe official propaganda. 99% of North Korean defectors said they believed North Korean propaganda and stopped believing it only when they arrived in South Korea. The reason they fled was not for political reasons, but because they were starving. If anything is clear, it's that, unfortunately, the current attempts by the Bush Administration to get North Korea to disarm are not working. A change of strategy is in order.

➤ . Batman went to Princeton...fortunately for him, Bruce Wayne was admitted before green hair became a huge admissions plus.

➤ . Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA) in 2005: "Judge Roberts represented clients in each of these cases, but we have a duty to ask where he stands on these issues." The Senator in 1967 in regard to the Supreme Court nomination of Thurgood Marshall: "We have to respect that any nominee to the Supreme Court would have to defer any comments on any matters, which are either before the court or very likely to be before the court." We'll pass...

-- Compiled by the Editors



Angry?

Tell us what you're thinking...

Send the *Tory* an e-mail at tory@princeton.edu. We'll run your letter unaltered in the next issue.

Barbarians at FitzRandolph Gate

How Liberals are Stifling Princeton's Financial Development

Paul Thompson '06
May 2005

Princeton University is a rich institution. According to the 2004-2005 Princeton Profile, it has an endowment of \$9.6 billion, placing it among the wealthiest institutions in the United States (Harvard, Stanford, Yale, and the University of Texas have more). The endowment is both the result of generous giving on behalf of alumni and other donors and good investment management. That same Princeton Profile states that the endowment has had an annualized return of 14.7 percent per year over its nearly 28-year history. The endowment has garnered this high return by investing in many different asset classes, most of which are only available to wealthy individuals and institutions

example of Old Nassau's admirable ability to retard progressivism's advance, even in the face of increasingly liberal administrators. Given the present political climate on campus, however, PCAIR will probably succeed in its goal of creating an advisory committee. PCAIR's resolution to create an advisory committee passed in the Undergraduate Student Government, and seems to have the support of the right people in the administration.

According to its website, PCAIR's committee would provide input from students, alumni, faculty, and administrators in making recommendations to the trustees as to how the University should vote its shares. Although PCAIR's mission statement professes that the group has no partisan ties, its underlying ideology

protesting their use of genetically altered crops in food production. Norman Borlaug and the millions he saved as a result of the Green Revolution could not be reached for comment.

It's likely that PCAIR would show disdain if its moral beliefs were called "religious," but the only difference between PCAIR and the nuns is cosmetic. Instead of radical nuns, Princeton would have anti-capitalist professors and their students trying to impose their will on a world that has resoundingly rejected their worldview. To paraphrase the Big Lebowski: the bums lost. They know that the only way to impose their will now is to use the democratizing power of capitalism against itself. On their own, PCAIR and other groups like it cannot affect much change. After all, that would require hard work and success in the capitalist system. The real perversion of capitalism in the case of Princeton, then, is that PCAIR hasn't contributed a dime of the money it wants to control. The endowment's donors never granted the power that PCAIR seeks. Although the university has total control of the money once it leaves the hand of the donor, a sudden change to a socially responsible investing philosophy is a violation of the spirit in which the donations were made. A socially responsible investment committee added to the already controversial way the university has handled the Robertson gift to the Wilson School could give more potential donors cold feet.

Another reason to be skeptical of PCAIR's proposal is that it will ultimately run counter to the purpose of the endowment, which is long-term capital appreciation to supplement the "continuing needs" of the university. By being a socially responsible investor—from here on out, I'll refer to that as being an activist investor—the university would almost certainly be forced

Rather than allowing the university to invest and vote the way it sees as most beneficial to its financial interests, PCAIR would sell out the university's current endowment many times over for a narrow code of ethics that the entire university community surely does not agree with.

like Princeton. Those asset classes include hedge funds, venture capital, private equity, real estate, individual stocks and bonds, and other illiquid assets.

The financial power of college endowments has attracted the attention of liberal activists across the country. Princeton is unique among its peer institutions in that it does not currently have an advisory committee to monitor the university's investments, particularly the way the university exercises its proxy votes. The Princeton Coalition Advocating Investor Responsibility (PCAIR) wants that to change. To *Tory* readers, the fact that it has taken this long for such a movement to pick up steam is just another

is unmistakable. Citing issues such as workers' rights, the environment, and corporate hiring policies, PCAIR's liberal bias is hardly disguised.

Socially responsible investment has its origins with more religious investors trying to impose their religious beliefs on corporations (the humanity!). *60 Minutes* once ran a report on a group of Catholic nuns that controlled a nominal amount of Philip Morris stock—now Altria—who set out on a mission to destroy the company's cigarette business. Needless to say, they were unsuccessful, but they did garner much attention from the media. Groups of nuns have since started taking on Altria and its competitors,

to accept lower returns on its investments. This loss of return is largely from two things: a price for supporting shareholder initiatives detrimental to companies' bottom lines and the constraint on diversification due to the avoidance of certain companies. The potential loss of return from outright shareholder activism needs no explanation. The loss of return due to the lack of diversification does merit explanation, however.

The most influential portfolio theory in finance—the Capital Asset Pricing Model—holds that the optimal portfolio of risky assets for an investor to own is the market portfolio. Investors own the market portfolio in proportion to their level of risk aversion. “Risky assets” here will simply mean all stocks. Investors hold the same market portfolio as a risky asset because it is the portfolio that maximizes the return-to-variance ratio given the many assumptions of the CAPM regarding investors' homogeneous characteristics. The CAPM rests on some very strong assumptions, but it is highly regarded for its accurate description of the world of investments.

The university is no longer investing in the optimal CAPM portfolio of risky assets when it abstains from investing in certain companies or industrial sectors. In other words, it's not properly diversified. Since most other investors are not activist investors, the university then faces more constraints to optimizing its return. By not using its proxy votes in a manner to maximize company profits and avoiding companies whose business practices PCAIR's committee doesn't agree with, the endowment would lose a small fraction of its annual return. While the loss would probably look small on an annual percentage basis, it could be astounding when applied to an endowment the size of Princeton's and subjected to compounding. The difference between investing at a rate of 15 percent to 13 percent for another 28 years is the difference between having an endowment of \$500 billion to \$300 billion, and that's not including the possible loss of donors who don't agree with PCAIR's values. If we halve the future difference to \$100 billion, the present value of this amount discounted at five percent interest is around \$25.5 billion or five times the size of our current endowment.

It is worth noting that individual stock holdings that have proxy-voting rights amount to only three to five percent of the endowment. Therefore, activist investing is rather innocuous for Princeton, right? That

naïve view ignores the incremental nature in which liberalism works. Once they get the keys to the kingdom, who knows how many doors PCAIR and its cronies will want to open? Proxy voting is only the beginning. They would demand to know exactly to whom Princo farms out the endowment and whether they, too, follow the same ethical code. Does Princeton's private equity firm only invest in companies that use green technology? What about a “living wage” requirement for all workers? Those are just two of the many questions an activist investor committee would start asking, inevitably leading to more constraints to the endowment's return.

The sad part is that the astronomical financial sacrifice of PCAIR's pet project doesn't matter to its members. They openly admit it in their advertising campaign which states something along the lines of “It's not just the size of your endowment that matters; it's how you use it.” Nice double entendre, guys, but the jokes and righteous indignation can't hide the fact that it is PCAIR that is the truly selfish one here. Rather than allowing the university to invest and vote the way it sees as most beneficial to its financial interests, PCAIR would sell out the university's current endowment many times over for a narrow code of ethics that the entire university community surely does not agree with. It wants to shrink the pie for everyone while telling us we're somehow better off that way. Do they honestly think that donors like Peter Lewis can't make ethical decisions on their own before giving to Princeton? He seems fully capable of deciding how to donate in a responsible manner. Even though this author doesn't like some of his choices, it would be pretty arrogant if I were to take his generous gifts to the university as a whole and use them as a means to further my own personal political agenda. The university should simply trust its benefactors to know what is happening with their donations and leave the ethical decisions to them.

Viewing PCAIR's proposal from a distance, we can see it is a divisive, elitist liberal initiative that would run counter to the purpose of the endowment. Although being activist investors seems rather harmless on its face, we have seen that its effects are highly significant with just a few back-of-the-hand calculations. The most harmful effect, though, is the way in which the bond between alumni will be weakened by pursuing a narrow social agenda with the endowment. Giving to our alma mater has brought Princetonians of different political



Liberals have almost surmounted the gate. Who knows what will happen once they get inside?

stripes together for generations before us, which is evident in the fact that Princeton has the highest giving participation rate in the U.S. *News and World Report* college rankings at roughly 60 percent. By using the endowment to further its own ends, PCAIR seriously risks sacrificing that special bond by turning Princeton into the equivalent of a liberal NGO. I would ask the Board of Trustees to please reconsider the wisdom of PCAIR's proposed endowment advisory committee and to keep the gates closed. **P**



Paul Thompson '06 is an Economics major from Boone, Iowa. He is pursuing a certificate in Finance.

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THE OTHER

PRESIDENTIAL BATTLE

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

Powell Fraser '06
January 2005

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 never politically charged. The major battle fought



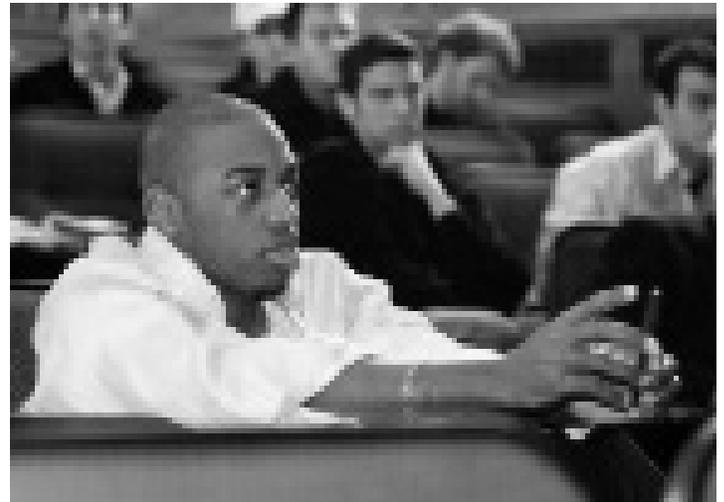
Callaghan '06 was an integral member of the previous administration led by Matt Margolin '05.

under his predecessor, P e t t u s Randall '04, regarded the affirmative action case before the United States S u p r e m e C o u r t . Amidst much controversy, t h e

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 o v e r w h e l m i n g 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 address universal student concerns, such as grading policy, precept quality, guidance



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.

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 Leslie-Bernard Joseph '06." They reveled in his vision of dramatic changes to Princeton, including his promises

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.

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 he 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. ¶

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LAWRENCE V. PRINCETON: THE FIGHT FOR GENDER EQUITY IN THE IVORY TOWER

Christian C. Sahner '07
March 2005

Newspapers over the past month have been littered with stories about MIT biologist Nancy Hopkins, who purportedly almost “threw up” and “blacked out” at a January 14th meeting of the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Judging from her symptoms, it sounds as if Dr. Hopkins had just come from a wild night at an MIT frat, but there was no alcohol, nor illness, nor assault to speak of at the otherwise mundane NBER conference. So what caused Nancy Hopkins’ evident distress? According to the esteemed professor herself, the culprit was Harvard president Lawrence Summers, whose “degrading” comments amount gender equity had practically pushed Hopkins to the point of physical infirmity. Yet Summers’ speech has been blown out of proportion and distorted in the weeks since its delivery. Indeed, what began as an aside comment couched in ample caveats and justifications has become a lightning rod for feminists and liberals to cry wolf over gender discrimination in American universities.

Summers, a former Treasury secretary under Bill Clinton and hardly a right-winger himself, has been dogged by controversy throughout his tenure at Harvard. Princetonnians will remember the highly publicized feud between Summers and Cornell West in 2001 over the famous professor’s dubious “hip-hop scholarship”—a dispute which ended in West’s departure for a prestigious professorship at Princeton.

A transcript of Summers’ controversial NBER address was released by Harvard University on February 17th, roughly a month after its original delivery. Previously, details of the closed-door comments had been largely filtered through conference participants and other second hand reports. According to the transcript, Summers was musing on

the underlying causes for the well-acknowledged gender gap within the hard sciences (i.e. physics, engineering) when he suggested a novel theory. Declaring, “[I am] going to provoke you,” Summers then proposed that, “...in the special case of science and engineering, there are issues of intrinsic aptitude, and particularly of the variability of aptitude; and that those considerations are reinforced by what are in fact lesser factors involving socialization and continuing discrimination.” As both the transcript and testimonies from several conference attendees indicate, Summers did not so much endorse the theory, as submit it for academic debate. Within the context of the nine-page address, the mention of “intrinsic aptitude” was little more than an aside within a much broader discussion of how to bring more women into the sciences. And as Summers himself repeated throughout the speech, in

just couldn’t breathe... Let’s not forget that people used to say that women couldn’t drive an automobile.” In a separate interview with the Boston Globe, Hopkins gave even greater spin to Summers’ speech, declaring, “It is so upsetting that all these brilliant young women [at Harvard] are being led by a man who views them this way,” as if Summers were an abusive headmaster who seized books from his female students.

The response from women at Princeton has been especially passionate, and in light of the university’s recent and concerted efforts to recruit more academic minorities—namely women—their volatile reaction comes as unsurprising. In a most melodramatic column published in the *Daily Princetonian*, Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering professor Emily Carter confessed that she can finally “turn to my male colleagues who keep insisting that there are

If Princeton, Harvard, and other elite universities are truly committed to academic discourse, all ideas deserve thorough inquiry. But as the Summers backlash has pitifully demonstrated, ideas which may be perceived as “irresponsible” or “damaging” (to quote Maria Klawe) apparently deserve no such investigation.

an effort to preempt charges of sexism and clarify his own personal sentiments on the matter, “I would like nothing better than to be proved wrong.”

Yet Summers’ comments have inspired enmity from women academics across the country, stirring a flurry of criticism from all fronts. Diatribes from prominent female scientists, including Princeton President Shirley M. Tilghman, have peppered newspapers for weeks now, eclipsed in quantity only by the number of apologies Summers seems to have issued in response. Nancy Hopkins, certainly the most theatrical of the bunch, told the New York Times, “When he started talking about innate differences in aptitude between men and women, I

no more problems for women in academia and I can tell them what my inner soul has been saying all these long years: the problems [of gender bias] remain.”

The inner soul of Maria Klawe, dean of Princeton’s School of Engineering and Applied Science, seems to be a little less anguished, but nonetheless perturbed, saying, “[Larry Summers’ comments] have added credibility to beliefs frequently held in our society that women are less able to succeed in science and engineering.” Klawe’s subsequent comments at a February 7th faculty meeting were less polite, indeed altogether catty, when she referred to “a certain president of another school who is prepared to sacrifice his career for the sake of [certain

statements regarding] women engineers.”

President Tilghman has certainly been at the fore of the criticism, though. In 2001, Tilghman, along with Summers and seven other presidents from leading research universities, convened at MIT to commit to a common goal of building gender equity in science and engineering. Princeton mobilized by commissioning a gender equity task force, whose 2003 report stated that the situation was far from ideal, though progress was visible—evidenced by the increase among women scientists from 8.4 percent in 1999 to 13.9 percent in 2002. Tilghman then selected psychology professor Joan Girgus as the first “assistant dean of the faculty to oversee gender equity.” Girgus’ office “help[s] new faculty figure out how to organize their lives at Princeton,” and as a recent statement from President Tilghman and other women faculty intimates, with the goal of “address[ing] the multitude of small and subtle ways in which people of all kinds are discouraged from pursuing interest in scientific and technical fields.” What these “small and subtle ways” are specifically, she fails to elaborate on, but judging from her responses to Larry Summers’ address, claims of “intrinsic aptitudes” certainly count among them.

Some of Tilghman’s most pointed criticism has been toward Summers’ administrative form in public, for as she noted in the *Daily Princetonian*, “A university president inevitably speaks in public forums for



Lawrence Summers, President of Harvard University, has recently come under attack for comments made about women in the sciences.

his institution, especially when the subject touches on educational matters.” Tilghman should swallow her own advice; indeed, thoughts of green-haired students and the Vagina Monologues start popping up, but I digress.

President Tilghman’s silly rhetoric

contrary.

Of any faculty member at Princeton, President Tilghman, a renowned molecular biologist, should at least recognize that certain discrete neurological differences exist between the sexes. As Doreen Kimura observed in her 2002 *Scientific American*

President Tilghman, a renowned molecular biologist, should at least recognize that certain discrete neurological differences exist between the sexes.

reached its worst at the aforementioned faculty meeting, where she stuck it to Summers by promising that Princeton is “prepared to become the Ellis Island” for marginalized female scientists. And while Tilghman’s analogy is cute, it further exposes what many have perceived as a suspect tendency at Princeton toward female appointments in senior faculty and administrative positions. If the university is so concerned with gender bias, it should be worried by Tilghman’s call to use gender as the foremost determinant in hiring within the sciences. And from a more rudimentary perspective, President Tilghman’s “Ellis Island” proposal is simply another unprofessional slap in the face to Larry Summers, whom Tilghman already painted the fool in 2001 when she welcomed Cornell West and the “alternative” scholarship that the “narrow-minded” Summers had failed to appreciate at Harvard. The “Ellis Island” statement is especially worrisome, for if Tilghman remains committed to the *common* goal of gender equity as laid out at MIT in 2001, then she should stop lambasting Summers, and gift some of Princeton’s many female scientists to Harvard.

Yet the question remains, is Summers’ theory of innate difference between the sexes valid? Tilghman shrugs off the notion, noting the “absence of good social science research that would support the view that intrinsic aptitudes between genders explain their differential inclusion in science and engineering.” Psychology professor Emily Pronin, in another *Prince* article, instead attributed the dearth of female scientists to “anxiety and concern about being judged according to negative stereotypes and about having one’s performance viewed as confirmation of those negative stereotypes.” This ambiguous, rather vague claim stands in marked opposition to the rigorous, verifiable research that indicates strongly to the

article, “Sex Difference in the Brain,” cognitive disparities between men and women arise at the earliest stages in human development, due in large part to the organizational powers of sex hormones. Indeed, it appears that the emergence of androgens (male sex hormones) around the third month in the gestation period (before which all fetuses are female) yield a variety of neurological changes within the networking patterns of the brain. In consequence, behavioral studies strongly indicate that men and women excel at different cognitive tasks. For instance, men consistently perform better on examinations which test spatial manipulation and perception. Likewise, they on the average eclipse women in mathematical reasoning, navigation skills, and target-directed motion. Women, by contrast, defeat men in tests of verbal memory, fluency, fine motor skills, and rapid identification.

Despite the compelling evidence in favor of cognitive disparities between men and women, as Kimura notes, it remains important to remember that on the average, “variation between men and women tends to be smaller than deviations within each sex.” She continues, though, warning, “[but] very large differences between the groups do exist.” To be sure, there are plenty of exceptionally gifted women, but as far as averages go, tests in mathematical and scientific thinking consistently indicate that women aggregate in the middle band of testers, while men are divided between the top and bottom of the sample set—as one commentator said, “hitting stellar highs and humiliating lows more frequently.” In short, there will most certainly be talented female scientists vying for posts at Harvard and Princeton, but statistically speaking, more are likely to be male.

This phenomenon is plainly demonstrated by countless studies, though perhaps

most compellingly by the Johns Hopkins University Talent Search for mathematically precocious youth. Among the thirteen year-olds who scored above 700 on the SAT math section of this exam since 1971, roughly thirteen out of fourteen were boys. Though advocates for gender equity argue that girls are simply discouraged from pursuing mathematical and scientific studies, this explanation falls short of rationalizing the truly gross imbalance in the JHU study, and fails to even confront the research on hormonal organization and notion of cognitive talents. Other disgruntled feminists attribute differences between men and women to socialization, namely to the purported lack of collaborative learning and encouragement girls receive in the classroom. Sounds about as concrete a proposition as the “small and subtle” ways of discrimination that hold women scientists back at Princeton.

Ultimately, as University of Alaska Fairbanks psychologist Judith Kleinfeld wrote in a recent column, “The fight boils down to a paltry point—more males than females are apt to have off the map talent that lands them professorships in [the hard sciences], especially at elite universities.” This, however, should not undermine the commendable progress and contributions women have made in other academic fields, including the law, medicine, social sciences, and humanities—which were all previously dominated by men.

The Larry Summers fiasco also raises important questions concerning the place of provocative ideas within the academy. Professor Carol Armstrong, the director of Princeton’s Program in the Study of Women and Gender, believes that, “In the position [Summers] holds, he should be more careful in the opinions he expresses... There’s provocation that’s useful, and there’s provocation that isn’t.” Joan Girgus concurs, asserting, “When you talk about it in an unsophisticated way... it gives a misimpression about what we know and we don’t know.” After all, she continued, “When you’re the president of Harvard, everybody listens.”

But what Girgus fails to realize is that’s the point. Summers is just the type of person needed to elevate discourse about the genesis of gender inequity out of the well-trodden feminist arguments, and consider what science has long believed: that innate differences exist, and may be at the root of the acknowledged disparity between men and women in certain cognitive tasks. As Summers himself noted in his closing remarks, “I have served my purpose if I

have provoked thought on this question and provoked the marshalling of evidence to contradict what I have said.” But the academy is too concerned with upholding impartiality and minority rights to behave in such an intellectually honest fashion. And as Summers further recommended at the end of his speech, “I think we all need to be thinking very hard about how to do better on these issues and that they are too

all of this is simple: we are entitled to know whether the evidence for inherent cognitive disparities is true. But the very universities best equipped to perform the research are too afraid of being flagged for misogyny and too blinded by partisan presuppositions to even test the waters.

And what if science were to discover, once and for all, that men are indeed better suited toward achievement in the hard

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Summers’ Soviet style confession of
sin attests to a vicious absence of courtesy*

important to sentimentalize rather than to think about in as rigorous and careful ways as we can.”

If Princeton, Harvard, and other elite universities are truly committed to academic discourse, all ideas deserve thorough inquiry. But as the Summers backlash has pitifully demonstrated, ideas which may be perceived as “irresponsible” or “damaging” (to quote Maria Klawe) apparently deserve no such investigation. What Nancy Hopkins, Shirley Tilghman, and their allies have effectively affirmed is the existence of a de facto speech code which prevents any polite person from voicing opinions that might either perpetuate negative stereotypes or somehow compromise another’s self esteem. With that in mind, let me now formally apologize to the Tory’s female readership who may have decided to drop their plans for a BSE after reading this article.

As absurd as that apology was, President’s Tilghman’s position on “innate differences” is even more so. Judging from all the diversity rhetoric that comes out of Nassau Hall, we are led to believe that Princeton supports the exchange of opinions and theories. The Harvard controversy, however, has illuminated the fine print: you can say whatever you please in the ivory tower presuming it conforms to the prevailing orthodoxy. And in the case of Larry Summers, any proposition of intrinsic aptitude is unacceptably out of step with standards of propriety. Tilghman’s knee-jerk reaction serves to simply underline another of these detested stereotypes, as conservative commentator Jonah Goldberg said in a January 19th column, it affirms the idea “that feminists and the Left are pro-science and pro-scholarship as long as they already agree with the conclusions.” The point of

sciences? It would be further confirmation that definite differences exist between the sexes, but any husband and wife without a Princeton Ph.D. could tell you that. Unfortunately, Summers’ critics seek to gloss over this divergence in the hope of imposing an artificial equivalence on men and women. The sexes are, without question, equal in value, but differently skilled. Look at the anatomy of a man and a women, and one instantly recognizes that while dissimilar, they are complimentary. The same can be said of their behavior and respective cognitive aptitudes, which when paired together, help form a complete whole—nature’s way of assuring that men and women bond, and ultimately, form families.

Clearly Larry Summers’ comments have broad implications for how the academy is to properly handle gender inequity. The notion of intrinsic aptitude should not scare us, but merely prompt us to stop pointing fingers at society, and instead, examine ourselves when we wonder about disparities between the sexes. But as one commentator said, Summers’ Soviet style confession of sin attests to a vicious absence of courtesy within the academy. And with Summers’ job on the line because of the controversy, we must ask ourselves whether it is honorable to crucify a man and his reputation for the sake of a petty ideological battle and an informal public comment. Perhaps we too should follow in the footsteps of our president in forcefully demanding recompense for hypocrisy and dishonesty from Nassau Hall. ¶



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WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE REPUBLICAN

THE WAGE GAP AND OTHER TALL TALES

Juliann H. Vikse '08
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It is endlessly entertaining listening to feminists—who supposedly represent the powerful, influential modern woman—demand more support from the federal government. Angrily parading around Washington with angry scowls can't hide the fact that they are essentially groveling to Uncle Sam. When women accept the government as their caretaker, they are seen as—and are—less independent. I see women and men as intellectual equals, driven by the same broad ambitions, aversions, and needs. There are important issues facing this

individualism and freedom to make personal economic choices. This contrasts with the Democrats' agenda, which is in essence to expand government and pander to women as members of a special interest group who are incapable of making their own decisions. Larry Elder, an African-American libertarian author and radio show host, often complains about racial condescension: that is, the notion that the government should cater to blacks as if they were powerless to help themselves. Women can and should identify with this line of thought. Mary Katherine Ham, a writer for the Independent Women's Forum, asserts, "I simply don't believe I need the help of men like [John

many of whom are obviously women—and choosing how it should be spent.

Enticing as government-paid health-care, daycare, and forced extra paid leave and higher wages may seem, they support the government's role as our benefactor. Furthermore, these mouth-watering entitlements hide subtle realities that undermine the strength and moral fiber of our society. Subsidized federal childcare would crowd out private providers, and as a result, women would be left with far fewer childcare options. Mandates on employers make hiring more expensive and job opportunities more scarce. Thus, these mandates can be seen as beneficial for women only when analyzing the job market from the point of view of a neglected underling. We are continually painted as being victimized by a tyrannical, chauvinist stratum of powerful men, even as America's 9.1 million women-owned businesses employ 27.5 million people and contribute \$3.6 trillion to the economy.

An influx of government spending (mainly on programs organized and implemented by an absurdly inefficient bureaucracy) leads to higher taxes, which is a burden on families. The 2004 Republican convention's theme of creating an "ownership society" involves returning power to individuals through tax cuts, Social Security reform, and health savings accounts. Alternatively, feminists who almost unfailingly support big government see women as unable to stay afloat in the free market and thus reliant on a powerful federal presence to regularly step in on their behalf. It is insulting to suggest that a government that levies an onerous tax load in the name of spoon-feeding healthcare, education, welfare, and social security is what women need in order to achieve the highest possible place in society. Granted, every contingent of society benefits from some governmental assistance and incentives (tax relief to small business startups, college financial aid, or expense credits), but it should be applied across the

Women should embrace these differences—which do not and should not inhibit them from pursuing any career to any degree—and turn to a party which fosters individual empowerment through fair treatment rather than by assuming the role of caretaker.

country that are, for the most part, concerns of both men and women. According to a recent Time Magazine poll, there is no distinguishable "gender gap" when it comes to interpreting current political affairs. Women and men think alike when it comes to the war on terror, jobs and the economy, and both gender groups rated these three issues as the most important factors entering into their minds when they decided to favor George W. Bush on November 2nd.

In a New York Times/CBS News Poll conducted a few weeks before the election, women who were registered to vote—and likely to vote—said they favored President Bush over Kerry by 48 to 43%. This serves as a sharp contrast to the 2000 election, in which women favored Gore over Bush, 54 to 43%. They clearly preferred the conservative agenda, one with a focus on

Kerry] and the government to make it in life, nor am I up for forking over my tax dollars to cheapen my achievements with a special set of girly rules."

There is a current faction actively pursuing women in order to convince us that we need the Democrats in power because we're victims. Representative Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA) said, "Historically, it has been the Democratic Party that women have turned to, because it is the party of inclusion, equality and compassion..." But I wholeheartedly disagree: a party that favors far greater intervention in the economy, government-provided healthcare, an over-extensive system of regulations on businesses, and steeply progressive taxes is one of *dependence*, and should not be considered a shelter for women. All of the aforementioned measures involve taking money from taxpayers,

board, not according to gender.

Some would argue that gross discrepancies in earned wages are a basis for gender-based government assistance. It is often stated that women make seventy-seven cents to every dollar made by men; this figure is often used to justify grievances (sometimes well-founded grievances, to be sure) about inequality, especially in the workforce. However, the number is used so often that its relevance is often misunderstood. It is derived from the 2002 census survey, in a section that compared yearly median earnings of full-time working women to those

employment in order to raise her family, it seems fair to allot higher wages to the man who has ten more years of work experience. As we all know, experience is valued in the work force. While a number of raises are apportioned relative to success and exceptional work, a substantial number are proportional to seniority. In his latest book, *Why Men Earn More: The Startling Truth Behind the Pay Gap and What Women Can Do About It*, Warren Farrell claims that women prefer jobs that involve nominal danger, minimal travel, and incorporate social skills. In the book, he cites statistics showing that men

raising families, so to speak, when assessing careers, by choosing lower-paying jobs with more work flexibility. An important issue facing modern women is management of family and work; while men are, on the whole, more free to choose employment based on income, women are more inhibited by their commitment to raising their children. It is tempting to suggest that men with families are faced with the same choices, and consider factors such as work hours and location at risk of making less money. It is true that the aforementioned factors do play a part in men's employment decisions, but these factors play a lesser role for men than they do for women with children.

Equal outcomes are often times not the correct means to assess fairness. This is reflected by the effects Title IX has had on male sports programs. Since athletics are, in general terms, less popular with women than men, it is easiest for universities to enforce Title IX (and in doing so avoid government inspection and litigation) by eliminating men's sports teams; over 100 men's NCAA teams were cut in 2003 alone. An important question to address is whether the fight for women's rights should undermine the rights of men.

It is time for women to assume a more individualistic outlook. We are currently more than willing to accept the benefits of being intrinsically different than men (such as maternity leave policies), but balk at the existence of a wage gap—even though its existence can be attributed to our own employment decisions. It is the Republican Party that champions the individualism that women must embrace in order to achieve truly equal status. It is naïve to reject the existence of intrinsic differences between women and men. Instead, women should embrace these differences—which do not and *should* not inhibit them from pursuing any career to any degree—and turn to a party which fosters individual empowerment through fair treatment rather than by assuming the role of caretaker. P



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We are continually painted as being victimized by a tyrannical, chauvinist stratum of powerful men, even as America's 9.1 million women-owned businesses employ 27.5 million people and contribute \$3.6 trillion to the economy.

of their male counterparts. The median of the two lists (including a wide selection and variety of job descriptions) were compared, thus creating the basis for remonstrance. The important question is whether the aforementioned process substantiates women's grievances and consequent calls for "equal pay for equal work"—that is, whether the statistic accurately depicts the current wage-earning status of women.

This begs the question why any businessperson whose focus is purely on the bottom line would not hire women only, if female labor is so drastically less expensive than male labor—this is the basic principle of supply and demand. It is important to note that a greater proportion of full-time working women hold lower-paying types of jobs than men: women do not necessarily get paid less than men *if they have the same type of job*.

The seventy-seven cents figure that has been embraced by the feminist movement as a basis for indignation does not account for several important factors, including levels of education, occupational choice, and years of experience. Take the example of a mother who leaves the work force for a period of ten years in order to care for her young children. Lengthy absences from the workplace are not accounted for by the "unequal pay for equal work" figure. If a man and woman of the same age and of a similar educational background hold the same job, they should obviously be granted equal pay. However, if the woman has taken a ten-year leave from

make up 92% of occupational deaths because the most hazardous occupations—including construction, mining, and firefighting—are employed primarily by men (in most cases, 96-98% of employees are male).

There have been several studies that have used control groups in attempts to create a more accurate number than the commonly used 75 cents per dollar. One study in particular focused on a population which consisted of childless men and women aged 27 to 33. It found that the women earned 98 cents for every male dollar. Other studies, however—such as a recent report by the General Accounting Office—concluded that after controlling for education and occupation, a significant gap remained, close to eighty cents for every dollar earned by men. However, the GAO study warned that this disparity cannot necessarily be linked to gender bias because "we cannot determine whether this remaining difference is due to discrimination or other factors that may affect earnings." The report emphasized the point that women often trade income for flexibility in order to manage their families and care for their children.

It is easy for ambitious, Ph.D. seeking Princeton women to judge their peers using their own standards. The average woman with a family is less likely to consider maximizing her income as the most important issue when deliberating over job choice, when compared to men and single women. Even single women may "plan ahead" for

OUR FOUNDING PRINCIPLES:

REPUBLICANS MUST PUSH FOR FLAT TAX

Jurgen R. Reinhoudt '06
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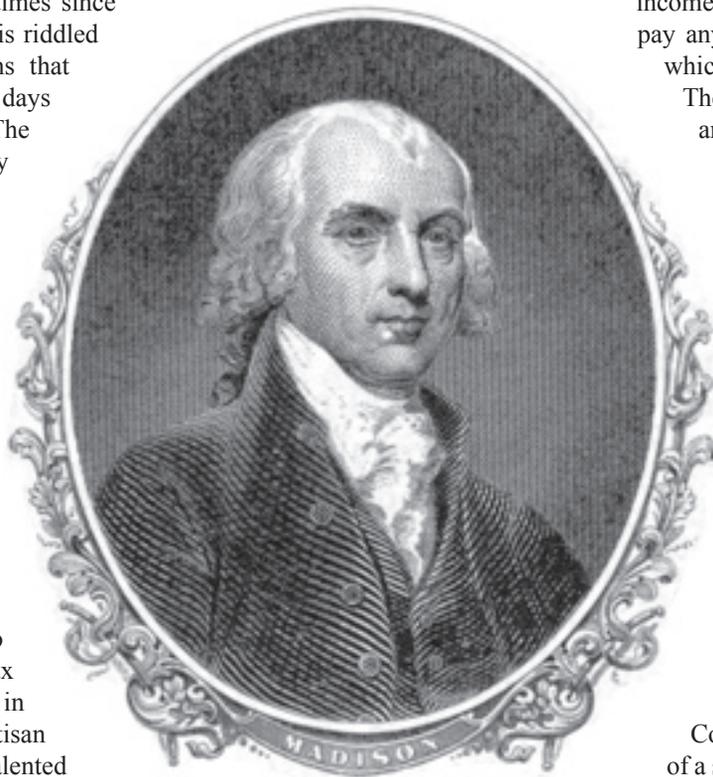
April 15th, the deadline for filing tax returns, recently passed. The gruesome date reminded all Americans that the current tax code, at more than 60,000 pages, is an abomination. The code has been altered more than 7,000 times since 1986 alone, to the point that it is riddled with loopholes and exemptions that require many families to spend days filling out their tax returns. The loopholes, in turn, primarily benefit wealthier Americans, who can afford to hire people to scour the code for these loopholes. Burton Malkiel, a Princeton Economics Professor, has written widely on the disincentive costs of the current tax code in "Corporation Finance."

President Bush seems to agree that reform is long overdue. After he won reelection by a very comfortable margin in November of 2004, he created a commission to study reforming the American tax code. The commission, created in early January of 2005, is bipartisan in nature and includes talented Democrats such as former Sen. John Breaux of Louisiana. What James Madison, Class of 1771, wrote in the Federalist No. 62 applies today: "It will be of little avail to the people, that the laws are made by men of their own choice, if the laws be so voluminous that they cannot be read, or so incoherent that they cannot be understood." The tax code has long passed that point and must be scrapped in its entirety. But what should replace the current monster?

Several proposals have been floating around recently; they range from creating a national sales tax to creating a flat tax. President Bush has said he is open-minded on the

subject of tax reform, and Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist '74 has not taken a firm position on tax reform either. So which one is better? A sales tax or a flat tax?

A flat tax is attractive in many respects, and it used to be the norm in civilized countries until Karl Marx called for a "a heavy progressive or graduated income



Apparently, James Madison understood the danger of big government much better than we do today.

tax" in his economically destructive and ill-conceived "Communist Manifesto" of 1848. It should come as no surprise that every flat-tax country in the world today (except Hong Kong) is a former communist nation that has experienced the woes of redistribution firsthand. A flat tax would be the right choice for this country as well.

The United States, of course, used to have no Federal Income tax at all. Congress attempted to create an income tax in 1894 through the Income Tax Act,

which imposed a tiny federal tax of 2% on incomes over \$4,000. Opponents rightfully criticized it as "communistic", and federal courts (before any liberal judges believed in a "living constitution") struck it down as unconstitutional. Undeterred, politicians created an Amendment to the United States Constitution, which became effective in 1913. The amendment resulted in a minimal income tax: 49 out of 50 Americans did not pay any income tax, and the small group which did paid a maximum rate of 7%.

The top rate rose quickly thereafter, and the high-point of taxation came in 1944, when the top tax rate in the United States rose to an astonishing 94% for income earned above \$200,000. Somewhere, Karl Marx was glowing.

The effect of income taxes in World War II was felt much more strongly than during World War I, because middle-class Americans were increasingly affected by the income tax as their share of the tax burden rose. The top tax rate stayed in the 90%-range throughout the 1950s, and it fell to 77% in 1964 only thanks to President Kennedy. In 1964, President Kennedy was no longer alive, but Congress passed his tax-cut plan out of a sense of obligation to his legacy and his principles. No true further relief came until the 1980s; the top rate eventually fell to 28% in 1988, thanks to the unceasing efforts of President Reagan. By eliminating a large number of exemptions, tax revenues increased sharply despite the fact that tax rates were cut. In addition, the economy grew at a rapid pace, a phenomenon referred to as "Reagonomics." Recently, President George W. Bush also substantially cut taxes.

While the tax cuts of both President Reagan and President W. Bush are significant improvements, they leave something to be desired: simplicity. In their

quest to cut taxes, both Presidents made the tax code much more complex in the process, in an attempt to get Congressmen on board who wanted special attention for their pet causes.

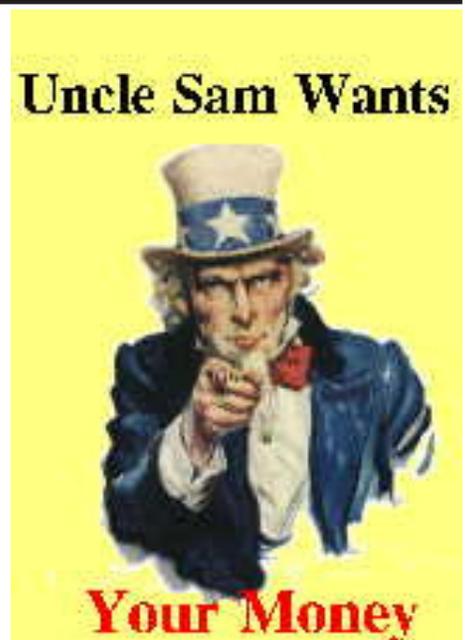
The flat tax, in contrast to the current tax code, would be simple, transparent, and best of all, friendly to the taxpayers' wallets. Much like Steve Forbes '70, the former Republican Presidential candidate has argued, a flat tax discourages tax evasion, rewards hard work and productivity, and does not penalize citizens for earning additional income. Republicans who have proposed a flat tax in the past have argued for a rate of around 19%, with a personal exemption (an amount on which you don't have to pay taxes). I would argue against a personal exemption because then the "flat tax" is not a flat tax, but a system with two rates: a 0% tax rate for income up to, say, \$20,000, and a 19% tax rate for income earned above that amount.

The benefits of a flat tax are numerous: for one, a flat tax would save billions of dollars by eliminating the jobs of 115,000 tax bureaucrats. A flat tax would also eliminate the 33 million penalty notices the IRS sends out every year, as well as the 5 million error-filled correction letters distributed to taxpayers across the country. Likewise, Americans would save the \$223 billion they currently pour into tax consultation; they would also save an estimated 6.6 billion hours in tax preparation time, and even prevent the destruction of the 294,000 trees used every year to print the 8 billion forms which taxpayers must fill out. A significant benefit of the flat tax would be reduced tax evasion; fewer people will resist paying a low rate than the current 33% rate. The IRS

where people are now extremely skeptical of any politician advocating a Marxist "graduated income tax". This past March, even Poland's left-of-center government announced that it would introduce a flat tax system by 2008. The new scheme would set taxes on all personal income and corporate profits at 18 per cent. Russia and Slovakia, Romania, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Serbia, Ukraine, and of course Hong Kong, have all preceded Poland, and perhaps Russia's example is most instructive.

President Putin adopted a 13% flat tax in 2001, and in the following two years, tax revenue rose 50% in inflation-adjusted terms. This surprised many who believe that higher taxes lead to more revenues, but it did not surprise economic conservatives and others who know that lower taxes lead to much higher compliance and less tax evasion. As President Bush said in Russia in 2001, "I am impressed by the fact that [Putin] has instituted tax reform -- a flat tax. And as he pointed out to me, it is one of the lowest tax rates in Europe. He and I share something in common: We both proudly stand here as tax reformers."

President George W. Bush was equally impressed by the economic wisdom of another former country in instituting a flat tax, and said, upon a visit to Slovakia in February of this year, "I really congratulate ... your government for making wise decisions." Western European politicians were considerably less excited. Former French Finance Minister and Presidential contender Nicholas Sarkozy opined that if Eastern European countries are "rich enough" to afford a flat tax, they should not need any structural European help from Western European countries. German Chancellor Gerhard



growth, and convenience for taxpayers who don't have to spend days calculating the amount they owe the government.

Estonia was the first Eastern European country where the flat tax was introduced. According to Prime Minister Mart Laar, who pushed through the reforms in 1994: "[...] if 'old Europe' is to compete effectively with 'new Europe,' it will have to lower taxes and rethink the social-welfare systems that high taxation supports. Ten years ago Estonia became the first country in Europe to introduce flat rate proportional personal income tax, a policy designed to energize our people and stimulate growth. It was a huge success. Latvia and Lithuania followed, then Russia, Ukraine and now Slovakia. [...] It looks quite possible that within five years the whole of Central and Eastern Europe will move to flat-rate income taxes." In Estonia, the flat tax increased productivity, capital formation, wages and job creation.

All this wisdom is not lost upon Western Europe, and many economic experts see the need for a flat tax; in the summer of 2004, Germany's council of economic advisors, under the leadership of Herr Doktor Wolfgang Wiegand, recommended the government introduce a flat tax of 30 percent. Chancellor Schroder's government said (big surprise) that was out of the question: it contradicted the class-warfare ideology of the ruling SPD party. In France, meanwhile, President Chirac has had to put his income-tax proposal on hold as the economy falters. During the 2002 election campaign, the President promised to cut income taxes by 1/3, but he now says there is no financial room for him to give those tax cuts. Chirac is putting the cart

Across the world, the flat-tax movement is spreading because of its success. It originated in formerly communist countries, where people are now extremely skeptical of any politician advocating a Marxist "graduated income tax".

estimates that the current "tax gap," the difference between what people should pay and what they actually do pay, is between \$257 and \$298 billion. This expensive problem of underreporting and evasion would largely be solved by a flat tax with a low rate.

Across the world, the flat-tax movement is spreading because of its success. It originated in formerly communist countries,

Schroder, a socialist, and Swedish Prime Minister Goran Persson, an old-style Swedish socialist, voiced similar thoughts and feel that the rich should be much more heavily taxed in formerly communist countries. Eastern European nations aren't tinkering with their flat tax because one cannot argue with success: the flat tax has led to a strong drop in tax evasion and tax fraud, an increase in tax revenues, rapidly increasing economic

before the horse, in a manner of speaking, because cutting taxes increases economic growth: after all, as President Reagan showed, tax cuts pay for themselves.

Perhaps the most interesting example of Western European support for a flat tax comes from the Netherlands, a country long saddled by high taxes and a complicated tax code. Dutch Finance Minister Gerrit Zalm recently voiced support for the creation of a flat tax. In the Netherlands, the flat tax would be high, around 35%, but such a rate would already be a major improvement over the current system's top rate of 52%. The current rate has discouraged hard work and entrepreneurship and has encouraged substantial tax evasion and even emigration by people with higher incomes to countries where the tax burden is lower, countries such as Belgium, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

What about a sales tax? It is the major competitor to the flat tax in the field of conservative ideas. A federal sales tax is unattractive because it would be complex, easy to raise, and because it would not replace the current income tax, but supplement it.

A sales tax would be complex because "basic goods" such as bread, water, etc. would be granted tax-exempt status in order to not hurt the poor. And while food in general is a basic necessity, what about hamburgers and pizza, or even French cheese? Would the government encourage the consumption

of "healthy" foods by granting them tax-exempt status? Would the government also encourage "environmentally friendly" products by granting tax-exempt status to hybrid cars and punish "polluting" products such as SUVs and heating oil systems? Would the government help the elderly by making motorized carts (an item of necessity for some) tax-exempt? It is clear that a federal sales tax system would be costly, complex, and prone to frenzied lobbying.

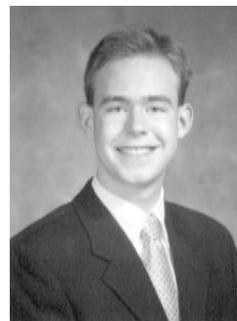
In addition, raising the tax would be deceptively easy, because raising the sales tax by a small amount (say 2%) doesn't exactly cause a revolution, either in the economy or in the public eye. A federal sales tax would only make it easier for politicians to raise taxes. European countries are a case in point: in the Netherlands, the sales tax increased by 58% between 1969 and 2001 without so much as a whisper of protest. In the long run, gradually raising a sales tax is deeply economically harmful, but in the short term, few seem to notice, and even fewer seem to care.

The biggest problem with a sales tax, however, is that it would not *replace* a federal income tax, but *supplement it*. Americans would get stuck with a federal income tax and a federal sales tax. This has happened in nearly every European country, because the income tax is *never* repealed after a sales tax is introduced. The United States could be an exception, but this is highly unlikely.

For these three reasons, in this

author's opinion, the flat tax wins hands down from the sales tax in terms of simplicity and desirability.

With Eastern Europe economies booming in large part thanks to the flat tax, and a number of Western European economists openly considering it, there is no reason why the United States should stay behind. If the flat tax has helped the economies of Eastern European nations grow to such an extent as it has, one can only imagine the economic benefits the United States would reap if it introduced the flat tax. Filling out tax returns on a postcard may soon become a reality. All concerned Republicans should push 2008 Republican Presidential contenders to accept a flat tax as a replacement for the current system. For far too long, Americans have been forced to contend with a tax code which, in practical terms, is excessively costly and complex, and from an ideological point of view, stands in blatant opposition to America's historical commitment to economic freedom through low taxation. **✚**



Jurgen Reinhoudt '06 is a Politics major from Ossining, NY. This past fall he campaigned with the Bush campaign.

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22 MINUTES:

BUSH'S PHILOSOPHICAL REVOLUTION

Powell Fraser '06
March 2005

Standing in the frosty air at a security checkpoint in downtown Washington, I wondered what lay ahead. Literally, I could not see over the heads of the thousands who had thronged to our nation's capital to witness the swearing in of the President. But there was also a certain mystique, an excitement in the air, a question of whether or not we were standing at the crossroads of history. Such conclusions are much easier to make in hindsight, but occasionally history tips its hand and lets you know that you may well be witnessing an event the significance of which will echo through the ages.

So far as inaugurations go, some have captured our imaginations more than others. George Washington's second inaugural speech was about a paragraph long. Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural address has become one of the most cherished pieces of rhetoric in our history. And William Henry Harrison never had the opportunity to give a second inaugural address because he caught pneumonia giving his first. I suppose that the main question on the minds of his supporters was an anxious curiosity over whether or not the speech would ever end—the long-winded Harrison braved the wind-chill and spoke for almost two hours.

No one watching the ceremony on TV could have possibly missed the Harrison anecdote, as every pundit repeated it at one point or another. Pundits have a field day whenever the President speaks, and the Inaugural Address and the State of the Union are always prime targets for analysis. In his State of the Union speech, President Bush outlined an ambitious plan to restructure Social Security, guaranteeing the employment of many economists and policy analysts for the next few years. With rumors of war with Iran or North Korea circulating, the brigades of armchair generals enlisted by the news networks will be able to feed their families until both countries give up their nuclear ambitions. One other group will also benefit

unexpectedly: thanks to the inauguration, political theorists and philosophy professors can also have their day.

Bush's second inaugural address was more than a policy forecast; it was more than a declaration of doctrine; it was more than crowd-pleasing rhetoric for the legions of faithful who crowded the mall on that morning. In his speech, President Bush laid forth what he declared to be the driving philosophy of his administration (and, indeed, of America as we know it). The philosophy is a coherent one, despite pulling from a wide range of the greatest political thinkers in Western civilization. And given the theoretical undercurrents of the speech, to attempt to understand its policy implications without engaging its origins would be impossible.

The first philosophy to surface in the Bush address is the work of British thinker John Locke. "From the day of our Found-

Another allusion to the Declaration and to Locke is also tucked into the speech within the first few minutes. Bush argued that "we are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion: The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands." This statement is Bush's version of a self-evident truth, an idea that also originated from Locke. "Reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it," wrote Locke in defending his ideas. Locke believed that logic was God's gift to mankind, and when Bush asserts that the answer to our national security concerns lies in "common sense," we are hearing the echoes of Locke.

The next philosopher called into service by President Bush is Immanuel Kant. "The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world," said Bush in his address. In saying this, Bush is referencing a concept known as "the

A policy aimed at "ending tyranny in our world" is certainly ambitious, and critics will call it absurd. Bush, however, believes that such an achievement is possible; in fact, he believes it is inevitable.

ing, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this earth has rights, and dignity, and matchless value, because they bear the image of the Maker of Heaven and earth," Bush said in his speech. A historian would quickly identify this as an allusion to the Declaration of Independence. But the originator of this idea was Locke, who derived the value of the individual from the sanctity of the work of the creator. In his *Second Treatise on Government* (1690), Locke described men as "the workmanship of one omnipotent and infinitely wise Maker... they are his property, whose workmanship they are, made to last during his, not another's pleasure." Locke then proceeded to suggest the idea of inalienable rights to life, liberty, and property. In Locke's world—and Bush's—human rights exist through God.

democratic peace," originally proposed by Kant in his essay "Perpetual Peace." The definitive articles of this peace treaty include stipulations that "the civil constitution of every state shall be republican" and that "the right of nations shall be based on a federation of free states." Many of Kant's ideas reappeared in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, making such goals the policies of our "idealistic nation."

Bush also channels Kant in describing freedom as a moral imperative. "We will persistently clarify the choice before every ruler and every nation: The moral choice between oppression, which is always wrong, and freedom, which is eternally right," Bush mandated. Kant wrote, "There can be no conflict between politics, as an applied branch of the right, and morality, as a theo-

retical branch of the right.” When Bush said, “All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: the United States will not ignore your oppression, or excuse your oppressors,” we hear him echoing Kant’s demand that we must “let justice reign, even if all the rogues in the world must perish.” In this vein, Wilson asserted in 1917 that “the world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.”

Placing Bush in the same foreign policy arena with Kant and Wilson signifies a dramatic departure from the traditional school international relations theory advocated by the Republican Party. Advisors to Bush’s father like James Baker and Brent Scowcroft were the guardians of an international relations philosophy called “realism.” Scowcroft’s protégé was a professor at Stanford’s Hoover Institution named Condoleezza Rice, who would later become one of the chief foreign policy advisors to George

he stated at the Inauguration. In such a scenario, the US can only survive in the realist world by clinging to its idealistic beliefs. In such a construct we choose to wage not just a war against a specific enemy but rather a War on Terror – by Bush’s philosophy we are not simply pursuing strategic goals but also moral ones. Fred Barnes of *The Weekly Standard* sees parallels here between the elder Bush and his son: just as George Bush oversaw the unification of East and West Berlin, George W. Bush has torn down the wall between realism and idealism (“Bush’s Breakthrough,” 1/20/2005).

What are the policy implications of this philosophical revolution? Bush made his point very clear: “So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.” *The Wall Street Journal* editorial board noticed a potential pitfall of this strategy. “Critics

rial written for *The New York Times* (“The Doctrine That Never Died,” 1/30/2005), saw echoes of the Monroe Doctrine and a 19th century American belief in manifest destiny. He follows the doctrine from its beginning, the American assertion its right to interfere in governments in the Western Hemisphere, to its modern version, the American quest to bring democracy to the entire world. He points to Teddy Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, and George Kennan as the torchbearers of this doctrine, which encourages America to reject its “splendid isolation” in favor of taking an active role in world affairs. In a moment of humor, Wolfe wonders why no one at the Woodrow Wilson School has noted this “fourth corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.”

As Bush closed his address, he announced to his shivering audience, “we are ready for the greatest achievements in the history of freedom.” And suddenly, after only 22 minutes, the speech was over. In his first four years, Bush had led America through a terrorist attack and two wars in two countries. In his first half hour of his second term, he had completely redesigned American foreign policy and given it philosophical underpinnings that seemed downright liberal. Yet for some reason, the Americans present seemed more excited than ever. Now we have four years to see what direction the Bush Doctrine will take, and a lifetime to judge this bold move in hindsight.

John F. Kennedy proposed in a speech that history, when standing in judgment of our lives, will look back and ask if we were men of courage, judgment, integrity, and dedication. On January 20, 2005, President George W. Bush offered us with his own revision of the Kennedy rubric: “Did our generation advance the cause of freedom? And did our character bring credit to that cause?” These are the criteria upon which Bush wishes to be evaluated, and these are the questions that will determine whether we truly stood at the crossroads of history on that January morning. P

Placing Bush in the same foreign policy arena with Kant and Wilson signifies a dramatic departure from the traditional school international relations theory advocated by the Republican Party.

W. Bush. “Idealism,” “moralism,” and “Wilsonianism” have all been hallmarks of the Democratic Party, espoused by Franklin Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy.

Realism is generally understood to be an extremely cynical approach to international relations. It sees the world as a state of anarchy, comprised of individual self-interested actors. Hans Morgenthau, in espousing the principles of realism, asserts that morality has no bearing on states or their actions and that states’ sole goal is to ensure their continued existence. Realists argue that states’ values should play no role in the decision-making process and the sole goal of any state action should be to guarantee the continued existence of that state. In a realist world, “the enemy of my enemy is my friend,” and Nixon’s trip to China makes sense at the height of the Cold War.

So is Bush a realist, like his predecessors in the party, or has he gone to the left and embraced Wilson? While this question is compelling, it implies that the two schools of thought are mutually exclusive. Bush does not believe he must choose between realism and idealism. “America’s vital interests and our deepest beliefs are now one,”

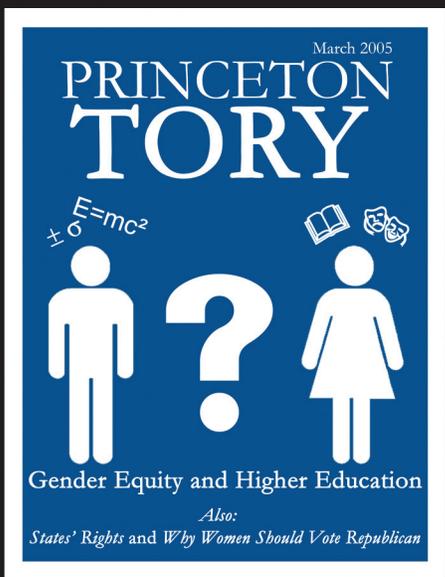
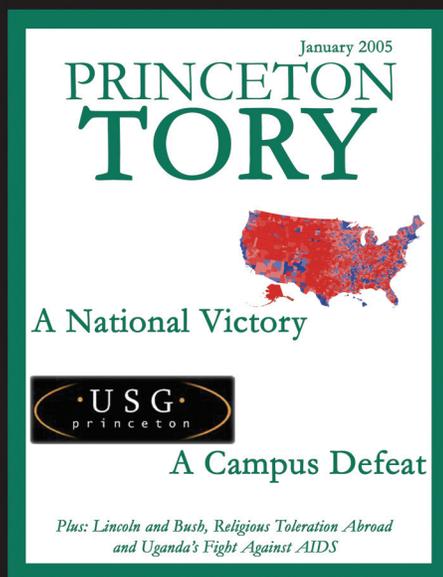
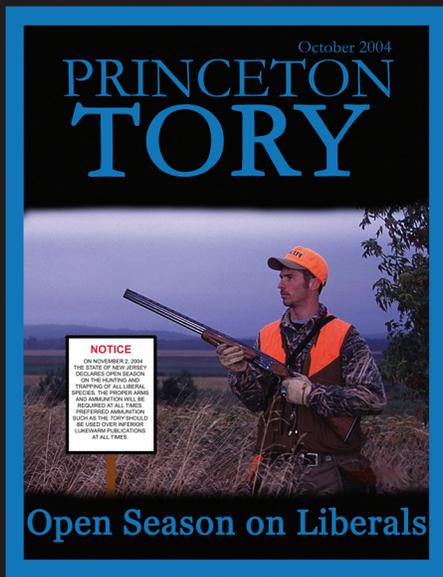
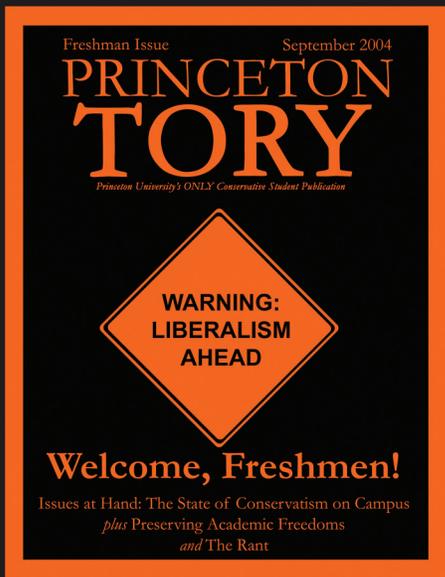
will point out the inconsistencies of America doing business with a Musharraf or Putin despite their detours from democracy,” they wrote. Saudi Arabia and Egypt also become dubious allies under this new policy. “But we made such accommodations during the Cold War as well, by necessity, and that didn’t stop presidents from letting the dissidents behind the Iron Curtain know that we were on their side,” the editors conclude (“Liberty Bell Ringer,” 1/21/2005).

A policy aimed at “ending tyranny in our world” is certainly ambitious, and critics will call it absurd. Bush, however, believes that such an achievement is possible; in fact, he believes it is inevitable. “History has an ebb and flow of justice, but history also has a visible direction, set by liberty and the Author of Liberty,” said Bush. The idea of a direction of history was originally presented by Hegel and then adopted by Marx, who used it to argue the inevitability of the socialist revolution. Bush’s version, however, has a decidedly Christian edge to it and reminds us once again of John Locke and his belief in an ordered, logical world created by God.

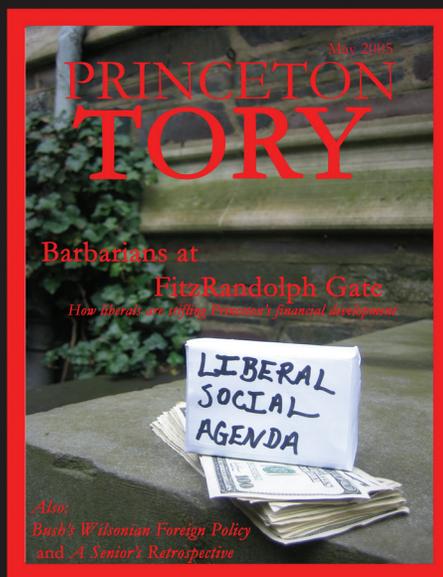
Popular author Tom Wolfe, in an edito-



Powell Fraser '06 is a Politics major from Atlanta, GA. An officer at Quadrangle Club, Powell interned last summer for a media lobby organization in Washington, DC.



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