

Freshman Issue

September 2003

PRINCETON TORY



Special Report: Professors and Politics
plus **The Issues 2003-04**
and **THE RANT**

THE PRINCETON TORY

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Notes from the Publisher

Microwave-Safe Plato

Mongers of the intellectual crisis, eat your hearts out:

This summer in Washington, where I worked at a conservative think tank, I left the barbershop where I had trimmed up before the *Tory* went on camera. (*Tory* editors, past and present, will appear alongside William F. Buckley and Justice Antonin Scalia in a celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute.)

Newly shorn and sauntering back to the train, I paused in a small, musty, second-hand bookshop. While browsing I found, gathering dust and a bit of mildew, a 1937 edition of the *Harvard Classics*, Dr. Charles Eliot's "Five-Foot Shelf of Books." The fifty-two volume set was priced, and seemed to have been for many years, at fifty dollars. What a bargain! Happily, I paid the full price. I returned after the taping, wheeling a large suitcase to collect the set.

The *Classics* cleaned up quite handsomely, making a wonderful addition to my library. Sometime in my second-hand book-buying past, I learned that a good way to kill mildew spores is to heat the book in a microwave, and then give it a good dusting. The metaphor is felicitous:

The classics are undervalued at Princeton, as in that bookstore. They lie mouldering and neglected. Within their crumbling pages languish truth, nobility, friendship, love, beauty, contemplation, and freedom.

A revival of these concepts, classically understood, would benefit the University intrinsically, and would also bring coherence to the campus debate. No more questions of individual life-style, but of virtue. No more questions of political correctness, but of moral rectitude. None of identity politics, but of justice.

Alas, the contemporary Princetonian and his intellectual birth-right suffer separately and silently. As in the bookstore, there is hope here. I fervently hope that in this academic year, our focused energies will, like microwave radiation, bring warmth and freshness to the great ideas of old.

Dr. Eliot, Harvard conservative and Eliot House's namesake, chaired the famous Committee of Ten, which recognized the intrinsic value of education. It recommended that high schools not simply 'prep' students for future studies, but teach them the liberal arts purely for their edification. Eliot and his committee wanted to make the liberal arts accessible to everyone, particularly to those who would not attend college.

Likewise, Eliot created the *Harvard Classics* for the benefit of the common, practical man. After all, there are only five feet on the shelf, just as there are only four years till a degree. Quite like a Princeton education, in fact, the shelf is intended for everyday use and pleasure (perhaps with just a smidgen of ostentation).

Because an education requires more than a mere degree, it's time to dust off the classics.

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

THE PRINCETON TORY

September 2003

www.princetontory.com

5 Freshman Writing Contest: \$100 Cash Prize!

THE ISSUES: AN OVERVIEW

4 What's Important and Why, in the New Academic Year.

The Editors offer talking points for a pivotal year:

- Intellectual Life
- Race and Educational Policy
- Faith on Campus
- Athletics and Voluntary Activity
- Feminism and Family Values

THE RANT

6 The *Tory* comments on:

- Summer Boondoggles
- The Ombudsperson
- Shirley Tilghman, Doctor of Tautology
- The Pornography Studies Department and much more...

THE ISSUES 2003-04: ARTICLES OF INTEREST

8 The Professor as Partisan

The editors inquire and report the faculty's campaign contributions.

A New Report from the Tory Editors

10 Shirley Strikes Out

The administration has ulterior motives for the moratorium.

Jenn Carter '03

12 ganked!

Derek Bok's diversity rationale is self-defeating.

John Andrews '05

14 God and Politics

How liberals discredit the religious right with identity politics.

Brad Simmons '03

16 Killing Feminism

The OWL keeps reminding Princetonians how irrelevant it is.

Daniel Mark '03

18 Conservative Thinkers: A Photo Essay



TONIGHT, ON NBC: LAW AND ORDER IV:
When Princeton Professors Prevent D.C. Police From Fighting Violent Crime by Forcing Them to Waste Their Time on Silly Publicity Stunts and Throw Them in Jail for Nine Hours.
10:30 PM EST.



More at:

www.PrincetonTory.com



WHAT'S IMPORTANT THIS YEAR, AND WHY

Conservative Talking Points for the Campus Debate

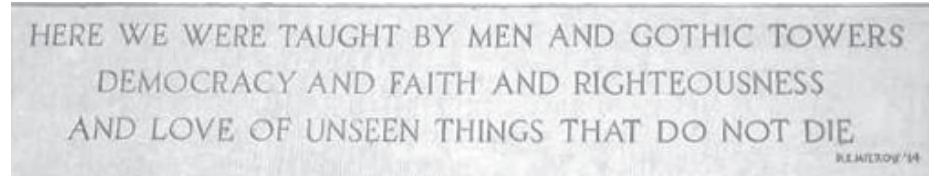
Intellectual Life

In April 2001, the *Atlantic Monthly* published "The Organization Kid" by David Brooks. Brooks, smug in U. Chicago snobbery, interviewed a group of Princeton undergrads and concluded that they were all tools: giving undue deference to authority and failing to engage in anything but mindless activity once outside of the classroom or their "structured, resume-building extracurricular activities." He bemoaned the lack of "angry revolutionaries, despondent slackers, or dark cynics."

Brooks' survey was problematic. To begin his project, he went to the professors to solicit names of "a few dozen articulate students." (How's that for undue deference to authority?) Did Brooks seriously think that he would get any "despondent slackers" from professors' recommendations?

The "dark cynics" in the *Tory*, however, responded with the skepticism and disdain one might expect from intellectuals. Jenn Carter, in "The Princeton Non-Experience," blamed the lack of student engagement on the excesses of relativism and multiculturalism in the University's curriculum. Eric Wang blamed the administration for its adulterous wooing of Harvard's African-American Studies department, shifting the focus (and finances) from longstanding professors in traditional disciplines. It seemed cheeky, writers observed, for the administration to ostensibly gather the nation's best and brightest, and then to blame them when they didn't meet standards of intellectualism (or green hair-color) in the structured environment for which the administration is responsible.

In fact, the *Tory* has a twenty-year history of standing up to professors and administrators, through both serious argument and lighthearted mockery, with titles such as "Shirley at the Bat," "West-ward, Ho," and "The Lec-



ture from Hell." The *Tory* has even called for the resignations of several "authority figures" on campus. Surprisingly, the *Tory* didn't feature in the *Atlantic*. On the contrary, Brooks assumes that any "angry revolutionaries" would come from the left, perhaps because he, like Tilghman, has equated "conservative" with "tool."

"The Organization Kid" should provide a warning to those who would allow themselves to be intimidated by the label of "anti-intellectual." People who tell you that you're not intellectual enough generally have their own plans for what, exactly, you ought to be thinking. (See "The Professor as Partisan," p. 8.)

Athletics

Intellectualism and athleticism are, in the Ivy League's amateur tradition, intertwined. As George Will writes, "Greek philosophers considered sport a religious and civic - in a word, moral - undertaking. Sport, they said, is morally serious because mankind's noblest aim is the loving contemplation of worthy things, such as beauty and courage." Thus, it's not surprising that Princeton athletes tend to have strong values and faith, as well as a conservative inclination. (See "College Sports & Educational Values," p.10)

Remember the "intellectual crisis"? The Ivy Presidents found a scapegoat: athletes. Harnessing the anti-anti-intellectual furor, they agreed on a moratorium to reduce the practice commitments of athletes. In addition to existing strict regulations on the athletic regimen, athletes could no longer participate in coach-supervised activities for seven weeks, each contiguous, per sport.

The ad hoc Varsity Student-Athlete Advisory Committee effectively mobilized alumni opposition to the moratorium. VSAAC questioned why athletes, but not other voluntary associations like groups of amateur musicians, would be regulated. They noted that although Tilghman promised the moratorium would be assessed in a year's time, she admittedly had no system for measuring its effect, since any rise or fall in athlete GPA's could be used to justify further restrictions.

This summer, President Tilghman reduced the moratorium, eliminating the contiguous-week provision. This year will tell how this revision will affect athletes and whether the VSAAC will accept the compromise or continue to fight the moratorium on principle.

Faith

Originally founded for the education of ministers and statesmen, Princeton has been downright hostile towards traditional religious groups in recent years. (See "The Religious Right," p.14.)

Evangelical, Catholic, and Jewish groups each took issue with incidents on University grounds last academic year. The Wilson School exhibited a collection of Catholic imagery titled "Shackles of the AIDS Virus" (see "Rant"). The Office of Religious Life kicked Rev. Pat Robertson and students out of Murray-Dodge's prayer room. The Frist Campus Center held a "poetry" reading by Amiri Baraka, then-Poet Laureate of New Jersey, blaming the Jews for complicity in the September 11 attacks. In one instance, the use of facilities was denied to a minister by Univer-

sity religious officials, and in the others, secular administrators spread bigotry on campus. Quite a year.

Since a 1990 cover story, "The Politicization of the Chapel," the *Tory* has followed the Office of Religious Life's wake of outrage, whether non- or anti-religious. However, there is cause for hope: In the February 2003 issue, we noted that the departure of Dean Sue Anne Steffey Morrow, who once joined two atheist male students in holy matrimony in the Chapel, provided an opportunity for better relations between Christian conservatives and the Religious Life staff, should Dean Breidenthal appoint a more moderate successor. Our best wishes go to Rev. Paul Raushenbush as he takes over as Associate Dean of Religious Life.

Feminism

Alpha Upsilon Lambda is in fact not a sorority, though it is understandable that Princetonians would take OWL for one.

Last year, the Organization of Women Leaders, in addition to typically Greek activities, has shown a penchant for hosting autoerotic "pleasure workshops," vandalizing *Tory* issues, sending chocolate vaginas ("labeled 'Eat Me'") to *Tory* editors, and baking cupcakes with little pink sprinkles to accompany the criticism sessions they invite upon themselves. (See "Live Female Entertainment," p. 16.)

Fortunately for many disaffected Princeton women, OWL's grip on the campus feminist banner has slipped. At the end of a massive two-year operating grant, the fledgling OWL must now face the newly formed Independent Women's Forum, which can more credibly claim the mantle of Susan B. Anthony. Expect feathers to fly this year, especially on Valentine's Day, now an annual battle between devotees of Anthony and those of Eve Ensler (of *Vagina Monologues* notoriety).

Racial Preferences

In February, the University (i.e. Tilghman) signed an amicus brief asking the Supreme Court to "uphold the affirmative action policies at the Univer-

sity of Michigan" and to "respect the institutional competence and academic freedom" of public universities.


After the 20-point bonus was ruled unconstitutional, Tilghman claimed victory by repackaging the amicus brief as a reaffirmation of *Bakke*, which the Court delivered, instead of an explicit endorsement of the 20-point system, which it rejected.

Most conservatives accept the legality of these racial preferences at private universities like Princeton. Rather, they often question the wisdom of such policies, arguing that racial preferences have a condescending and segregating effect. (See "ganked!" p. 12.) Public universities, though, are restricted by the Fourteenth Amendment (theoretically), and the nebulous *Gratz* and *Grutter* ruling has returned the controversy to state

legislatures. Expect the dull roar to louden once the next old guy croaks.

The Big Picture

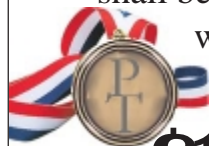
The crisis at Princeton is not intellectual but moral. Contrivances like affirmative action, Prospect Street invasions, and the athletics moratorium, measures implemented to enhance the quality of intellectual life, compromise the University administration's higher charge, that of protecting the ideals and institutions of our Western civilization. As seen in the ostensible Chapel and in student organizations like OWL, this depravity is manifest in contempt for our common heritage of American values.

The year 2004 will be pivotal in the culture war raging across America. Stay tuned. 

FRESHMAN WRITING CONTEST

The Peter B. Hegseth '03 Award for Conservative Journalism

shall be given to the member of the Class of 2007
who submits the best original article.



The Award includes a medal and

\$100 Cash Prize

Each entrant shall have the opportunity to revise his article with the *Tory* editors to prepare for possible publication. Articles shall be judged by the qualities of the original submission and finished work.

Everyone is strongly encouraged to enter, especially those who have never written an article or opinion piece. The *Tory* editors are committed to help everyone, particularly novices, through the editorial process.

Submissions will be accepted until Monday, 10 November. Articles should be between 1,000 and 2,500 words in length. For further inquiries, email Evan Baehr, Editor-in-Chief, at ebaehr@princeton.edu.



*At the suggestion of members of the Class of 2003, the Freshman Writing Contest award has been named to honor Lieutenant Pete Hegseth, United States Army, whose exceptional service to the *Tory* as Publisher, rendered at a crucial time in the magazine's history, is hereby commemorated.*

THE RANT

- The *Tory* hails President Tilghman for Princeton's worst commencement address in recent memory – and that's saying a lot. (Bill Clinton stumped at Commencement in his '96 re-election campaign.) This June, the Presidential address defended Tilghman's decision to put the University's endorsement on the U. Michigan undergrad admissions policy (now ruled unconstitutional). She also wished grads the courage to bravely uphold the leftist orthodoxy on race, homosexuality, and foreign policy. "Courage is hard," Tilghman intoned, for which the *Tory* awards her an honorary Doctor of Tautology. Even harder, it seems, is bringing substance and thoughtfulness to the last lecture Princeton students will ever hear.
- "What did you do over summer break?" There are two answers you're unlikely to hear from anyone. First, "I went to the Frist Summer Concert Series." (Doesn't it make more sense to waste thousands of dollars on free music and snacks for townies when the tuition-gouged students are actually there to benefit from the largesse?) Second, "I went to the Woodrow Wilson School Junior Summer Institute." The University terminated the program after receiving a threatening letter from the Equal Opportunity Center and the American Civil Rights Institute, though University officials say they were already reconsidering the program. Why all the fuss? There was a 100% racial quota for the program; whites and Asians need not apply. The Institute encouraged undergraduates to study public policy in grad school – a worthy purpose. It's a shame that affirmative action spoiled it. Let's hope that our other race-based summer programs, like the Princeton Summer Undergraduate Research Experience and the Minority Undergraduate Summer Research in Molecular Biophysics Program, will maintain their academic roles but become more inclusive.
- Always out-heroding Herod, Princeton's administration has replaced the once politically correct Office of the Ombudsman with the (ever-so-much-more-so, as Willy Wonka says) title, "Office of the Ombudsperson." Incidentally, "ombudsperson" is not a word. Although, as Professor Fleming will tell you, Swedish loans are invariably cool, we can't help wincing as ostensible scholars splice a Latin suffix onto an Old Norse root. This sounds like a job for... Supersperson!
- Hip-hop big shot Russell Simmons is under fire from New York Democrats for advising Governor Pataki in negotiating long-overdue reforms to the state's drug laws. Andrew Cuomo accused Simmons of selling out to the GOP; Simmons was quoted in *The New York Post* as replying, "I'm much more interested in having a better relationship with God than with the Democratic Party." Word.
- The un-great un-American filibuster-fest enters its second year as Democrats block two key judicial nominations on the Senate floor and more in committee. In effect, this unprecedented obstruction requires a sixty-vote supermajority for any confirmation. The Senate seems unable to return the spirit of deference to Presidential nominations enjoyed before the pro-choice and affirmative-action lobbies met Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas. However, the Senate can, and should, return procedure to its Constitutional intent through a ruling from Senate president Cheney and backed by 51 votes, a move fear-mongering Dems label "the nuclear option." Said Frist, "It is the Democrats right now who are engaged in a nuclear option in attempting for the first time in the history of this country to change the operating precedent of the United States Senate." Disregarding the law and will of the majority, forcing your enemies to acquiesce through nuclear blackmail. Remind you of any other leftist we know? Fuzzy hair, thick glasses, goes by "Kim"?
- So much for "living history." Conservative shock jock Ann Coulter has reanimated dead, white Senator Joseph McCarthy in her latest book, *Treason*, which bumped Hillary's sob story on the *Times* and Amazon charts. Apparently, Bill is even less loveable than Joe. The irony here is that Clinton blames a "vast right-wing conspiracy" of "sexual McCarthyism" for her hubby's demise. Despite Hillary's advantage of newly-fabricated material over Coulter's re-hashed "dead history," the readers have spoken: they prefer one conspiracy theory and one McCarthy: that of Coulter's *Treason*. Or perhaps they just find the "cover girl" more appealing.
- Like its buddy Josef Stalin, the American left doesn't exactly love dissent within the Party. So, it's no surprise that the 'mainstream' media have been quick to pounce on "Neo-conned; A Call to Arms," Representative Ron Paul's (R-TX) critique of the Bush administration. "Government is bigger than ever, and future commitments are overwhelming... Total U.S. government obligations are \$43 trillion, while total net worth of U.S. households is just over \$40.6 trillion. The country is broke, and no one in Washington seems to notice or care," argues Paul. Non-discretionary, non-defense federal spending, increasing at its fastest rate in 35 years, is leaving classic liberals wishing for a little

less taxpayer-subsidized compassion and a little more fiscal conservatism. For foreign policy conservatives, wide-scale intervention entangled the US in too many countries. Social conservatives, accustomed to fell blows from the O'Connor Court, are now faced with the Presidential endorsement of Title IX. Such internal disputes, so long as they retain proportionality, are the sign of a healthy, intellectually engaged, socioeconomically broad movement. The media, notably *Vanity Fair* and *The New York Times*, churn out articles of dubious scholarship on Straussians and "neoconservatives," always with the assumption that ideological diversity is a weakness. Quickly: name any difference between the nine candidates running for the Democratic Presidential nomination (except for the percentages by which John Whats-his-name and Carol Daschle-Sharpston want to raise taxes). Disagreements capture the attention of the left. So do shiny objects.

- It's been a long, dry summer for the right, but one not without its moments. For example, the furor over Senator Rick Santorum's sound byte from an April Associated Press interview: "If the Supreme Court says that you have the right to consensual [gay] sex within your home, then you have the right to bigamy, you have the right to polygamy, you have the right to incest, you have the right to adultery. You have the right to anything." Unlike most sound bytes, Santorum's contained a valid argument, that protecting sodomy as a private expression of sexual love destroys any rationale for keeping consensual Singer-cest illegal. Of course, the rainbow brigade represented his statement as a simple declaration of moral equivalence. One of the milder soubriquets attached to Santorum's name was, from the new executive editor of *The New York Times*, Bill Keller, "Catholic theocrat." Gee, Bill, any pent-up anger at those who choose to follow your own Church's teaching on sexual morality?
- Dean Slaughter and her Wilson School are feeling the summer heat after *National Review*, MSNBC and Fox News discovered the WWS gallery's latest "art": A cross, a rosary, the Sacred Heart, and other objects of Catholic devotion, mutilated and titled "Shackles of the AIDS Virus." *Tory* alumnus Matt O'Brien '03 made the case for concerned religious groups, local and national, on "The O'Reilly Factor." This isn't a question of free speech; Princeton sponsored this exhibit, which presents two problems. First, as Slaughter surprisingly admitted to the press, the School would likely never sponsor art similarly abusing other religious groups' symbols. Funny, Princeton advertises that it does not discriminate on the basis of religion. We don't expect Officers of the University to observe norms of human decency, but we may legally require that they abide by their stated policy. Second, anyone who demeans another's religious beliefs is "subject to University disciplinary standards." Thus, we're waiting for Slaughter to receive her "Dean's Warning."

- The Woodrow Wilson School is in the news for another reason: University lawyers battling relatives of donors in order to keep the Robertson Trust at Princeton. The Robertsons claim that Princeton illegally attempted to absorb the Trust, which supports most of the WWS, into the University endowment and violated the intent of the trust by shifting the funds away from an international, undergraduate focus. They filed suit to keep their managers, as opposed to the Princeton Investment Corporation, in control of the fund. This summer, the Robertsons defeated a major University motion for dismissal. According to donors' son William, "Princeton has been more concerned with control of the Robertson Foundation endowment than with fidelity to the original intent and charter of the donor. This is a losing policy for Princeton—for if a donor with a \$550 million endowment gift cannot expect the University to act with integrity and fidelity, what donor can?" As future alumni and potential donors, students should watch this case closely.
- Finally, a peep-show of the Women's Studies courses offered this semester. Dim the lights for Pornography 101, officially known as "History of Photography." According to the course catalogue, "This course will explore responses to the undressed human form across a wide range of photographic practices. Of particular interest will be the dialogue among fine arts, pornographic, and medico-anthropological photographs; artists' changing responses to commercial or self-generated photographic studies of the nude; and the role of sexual practices and orientation in the production and consumption of photographs of the nude." The Student Course Guide's reviews of this fall's Women's Studies courses are unanimously disdainful. Along with the poor quality of instruction, students take issue with the closed-mindedness of professors. Describing another course, one says: "The course was supposed to be designed around women's bodies and we ended up spending a good majority of the time looking at giant slides of penises and other phallic objects. The course turned into 'name that penis.' We were even told that a slide of a naked female body was phallic because it was shaped like a penis. The professor was quite argumentative and discussion was only valid if it agreed with her opinion." Another student on another WOM course: "This class was a HUGE disappointment! ... It always seemed like [the professor] was waging her own personal campaign against men in this class. ... even for a feminist like myself, the emphasis on female oppression/victimization was more than I could stomach." The Young America's Foundation reported that Princeton is the only Ivy League school where the number of courses in economics still exceed that of feminist studies. It's not hard to see why: If students wanted porn, they could simply go to the U-Store. We'll pass.



-- Compiled by the Editors

THE PROFESSOR AS PARTISAN

A Catalogue of Faculty Campaign Contributions

Imagine a world where socialist Ralph Nader receives more campaign contributions, from more donors, than all Republican candidates and committees. A nightmare? Perhaps, but you could also call it the Princeton English Department.

Money matters. There are fourteen registered Democrats and three registered Republicans on the Woodrow Wilson School's (WWS) faculty. Registering an affiliation with a political party, however, is effortless and of little significance. It is much more telling if professors financially support a party and its candidates: On the WWS faculty, Democratic donors dominate Republican donors by fourteen to one; furthermore, the Democrats outspend GOP donors by almost twenty-six to one.

We're not going to name each professor and list his causes and contributions. (If we did, we'd get carried away with clever but off-color double entendres, like how Professor Deborah Nord keeps the abortionists in business.) Rather, we will provide a broad survey of the Princeton departments and the degree to which their political balance is skewed.

You've heard this platitude on campus: "Scientists and engineers are more pragmatic and hence more conservative, whereas humanities scholars are more utopian and hence further left." Not quite, the results of our study demonstrate. Princeton's Congressman Rush Holt received a score of eight (out of a possible one-hundred) from the American Conservative Union (ACU), the second lowest score for any New Jersey congressman. Holt, former Assistant Director of the Plasma Physics Lab, enjoys tremendous support from Princeton's scientists and engineers, who donate liberally and display proudly the bumper sticker, "My Congressman IS a Rocket Scientist." Fine, so he holds a patent and cleans up on "Jeopardy!" every now and then.

But if more liberals like Holt attain congressional seats, Princeton's opportunities for aerodynamic research will be in serious (ahem) jeopardy. Holt opposed House bills authorizing arming airline pilots, the Nuclear Penetrator Weapons System, use of military force against Iraq, and withdrawal from the Soviet-era ABM treaty in preparation for a ballistic missile defense program.

Politics at Princeton

Committees	Donors	Total
Democrat	101	\$144,080
Republican	16	\$ 51,500

Though a few members of the science and engineering departments supported political conservatives, ranging from Mississippi Senator Trent Lott (ACU: 93) to moderate New Jersey Congressman Rodney Frelinghuysen (ACU: 63), forty-five members supported Democratic candidates and causes. Although scientists and engineers became Republican donors in slightly higher proportions than members of the other departments, about 15% versus 12%, they can hardly be described as bastions of conservatism.

And in the humanities departments? A whopping three professors, or nine percent of donors, gave to Republican causes. Mathematics and social sciences? Not a single Republican donor.

In fact, Democratic donors outnumber or equal Republican donors in every academic department except one, and in most administrative departments as well. They also outspend, and in most cases vastly outspend, GOP donors in every academic department except two, and in most administrative departments.

Why should freshman take notice of this development? In theory, Princeton bills itself as a university where students are exposed to a variety of ideas. In practice, that spectrum starts somewhere in the middle and spans to the left. In reality, the odds are alarmingly high that you will go through Princeton without ever experiencing a single conservative professor... especially if you're an English major with a certificate in African-American Studies.

Aside from these revealing political comparisons, we must examine the relationship between political contributions and quality of instruction. Of course, it does not necessarily follow that any professor who expresses support for a political party through campaign donations is an ineffective teacher or slants his or her course material to correspond more closely with a political ideology.

Princeton's renowned conservative Politics professor Robert George makes it clear that in his courses mere ideology is worth little, and effective arguments and cogent analysis is rewarded. He warns his class that "you will not get a good grade unless you identify and engage the strongest possible counter-arguments." He encourages his students to pretend that they were writ-

Departments With Greatest Total Numbers of Donors

Department	Total Donors	Democrat Donors	Committees Total	Republican Donors	Committees Total
Woodrow Wilson School	15	14	\$ 25,550	1	\$ 1,000
Plasma Physics Lab	12	11	19,500	3	10,050
Astrophysics	8	7	2,750	1	500
History	6	6	11,800	0	0
Physics	6	5	10,250	1	200

THE INTELLECTUAL AND THE ACADEMY

ing the opposite decision in their moot court cases. He notes that when students try this exercise, they often actually change their original opinions.

Unfortunately, there are professors who do abuse the lectern. Take one of the women's studies professors discussed in the Rant. ("Please, no, really!" as the Princeton Band likes to joke.) Or take economics professor Paul Krugman, darling of the *New York Times* editorial page; we encourage the reader to examine his equally damning student reviews.

A survey from the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reports that at private universities, 57% of faculty identify themselves as "far left" or "liberal," but only 13% of faculty identify themselves as "right" or "conservative." Our findings, over the sample of Princeton donors, are consistent with this survey. Thus, if there is indeed a reason to suspect a political slant in certain courses, it is reasonable to argue that it is almost certainly a liberal leaning, particularly when given the tradition of leftist professorial activism at Princeton.

In seeking the truth in any discipline, intellectual honesty requires considering all reasonable arguments within the purview of the subject.

However, despite Princeton's ostensibly high standards for its faculty, tenured professors are not accountable for being thorough or balanced. There are many routes by which a professor's political leaning can seep into course: lectures, precepts, assigned books, and course packets. While most professor's encourage, if not outright require, engaging counter-arguments, most are satisfied with pitting center-left against ultra-left. Especially in courses that require students use specific readings from the course packet, students may not be able to make thoughtfully-articulated and nuanced arguments which with they are comfortable or agree.

For example, to

examine required readings like Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve*, how might a student discuss the book's merits when she is armed only with hate-filled literature from Eugenics Societies? Or how can someone argue against racial reparations when the course literature is centered around a book titled *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks*? Thus a political bias plays out not only in the form of snide remarks about Bush, but more importantly through limiting the domain of acceptable arguments and authors. When immersed within the lit-

think we could begin to attract students with green hair. We will take pink and blue and orange hair, too." Tilghman has made some progress in importing radicals, particularly by bringing a noted rapper to the faculty. However, I would remind this biologist of the effects of several insecticides: Though they kill a vast majority of the targeted species, the surviving bugs gain enormous strength and resistance to the toxin. Then, they breed until the problem is worse than before the pesticide was used, and the plant dies because it has developed no natural defenses against them.

The radical University is an intellectual pesticide. Tilghman's protected green-haired kid will, upon graduation, be hip at setting Noam Chomsky to some funky beats, but little else. The conservative student, strengthened by the critical thought required to defend his philosophy against every leftist professor, will quickly find a place in the elite – not because the elite wants conservatives (quite the opposite) but because the elite wants critical thinkers. For proof of this phenomenon, note the rise of conservative American intellectuals after the stifling academic environs of the sixties and seventies.

How should Tilghman and other liberal intellectuals combat this growing swarm of young conservative intellectuals? To quote (of all people) Noam Chomsky, "Drain the swamp and there will be no more mosquitoes." If Tilghman were to competently promote her leftist agenda, she would encourage a little "conservative action" program to desiccate the conservative counter-culture. Such a measure would have the added benefit of eliminating the administration's hypocrisy on "intellectual diversity." In the meantime, the *Tory* and all conservative students will continue to gain strength from their diffuse adversaries – but please, don't tell her that.

About the research project:

The statistics cited are from a comprehensive study conducted by *The Princeton Tory* in July 2003. Those interested in obtaining a copy of the report should email tory@princeton.edu. A donor qualifies for the report if he contributed the federally reportable minimum of \$200 to any candidate or committee during any election cycle since 1997, listed Princeton University as his employer (or could now do so), and was listed in the University directory at time of survey. Committees were classified as Democrat or Republican based on the affiliated candidate or party supported. The study included unrestricted campaign committee contributions, or "soft money." Note that since the passage of McCain-Feingold, these unrestricted contributions are eliminated, but the maximum contribution has been raised to \$2,000. Copyright 2003, *The Princeton Tory* Inc. All rights reserved.

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NAME OF COMMITTEE (in Full) Bill Bradley for President, 1996							
Full Name, Billing Address, and ZIP Code Mr. Chiray Tilghman 500 Lake Drive Princeton NJ 08540				Name of Employer Princeton University		Date Received, day, month, year 1/16/2000	
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Maxing out: President Tilghman gave the largest legal contribution to candidate Bill Bradley.

erature of a course, there is indeed a clash within course readings and even between the professor and readings. However, such debate can easily remain left of center, thus appearing balanced yet actually biased.

Professors and Abortion

Type of PAC	Donors	Total
Right-to-Abort	6	\$4,250
Right-to-Life	1	\$ 500

There is no left-wing conspiracy among our professors. Left-bias is not ubiquitous. But if we are indeed

reaching for the highest level of intellectual exploration, a strong and pervasive political affiliation among professors is reason to be facially suspect of their motives for choosing course readings and directing lectures. Faculty bias also robs the student of real understanding – in Prof. George's terms, the ability to see both sides of the issue and engage the strongest counter-arguments.



Darlings of the left: Professor Cornel West, here with candidate Al Sharpton, maxed out for Bradley in '99. Upon taking the Presidency, Tilghman declared, "I would like to

COLLEGE SPORTS & EDUCATIONAL VALUES

The Athletics Debate Reconsidered

Jennifer Carter '03

Much more than blatant unfairness, misused statistics, and 23 percent of the academic year is at stake in the debate over the Ivy League Presidents' June 2002 declaration of a mandatory seven-week rest period ("moratorium") for all varsity athletes.

The philosophy behind the new policy comes from the findings of *The Game of Life: College Sports and Educational Values*, co-authored by former Princeton president William Bowen. Bowen and co-author James Shulman are now President and Financial and Administrative Officer, respectively, of the Mellon Foundation, which gave \$15 million in grants to Ivy League schools in 2001.

The book has come under heavy criticism from scholars and social scientists, and I would refer interested readers to those critiques. Many are methodological in nature, challenging, for example, the authors' unexplained assumption that high school SAT scores and college GPAs are good predictors and quantifiers, respectively, of academic success in college.

I wish to offer a different sort of critique here, one that gets at the heart of the ideology underlying President Bowen's work and presents evidence that there are more profound issues at work here. *The Game of Life* largely ignores its subtitle, drawing plenty of quantitative conclusions about college sports but declining to confront head-on the qualitative merits of the educa-

tional values at stake. Still, the authors throw enough sidelong glances in this direction that we can make some significant observations.

For example, central to the book's argument are the conclusions that athletes arrive at selective colleges less academically prepared than their non-athlete peers, and that they underperform in college relative to their non-athlete peers.

If we accept these conclusions (and there are certainly good reasons not to), let us consider this truly remarkable passage from *The Game of Life*: "Look first at the message sent to the athlete. She or he may well be confused as to the true reason for the offer of admission. Even if she had an excellent academic record, she might rightly conclude that she was admitted because she is an outstanding athlete. This cheapens her academic accomplishments and suggests that her athletic achievements in college will be more highly regarded than anything she accomplishes academically."

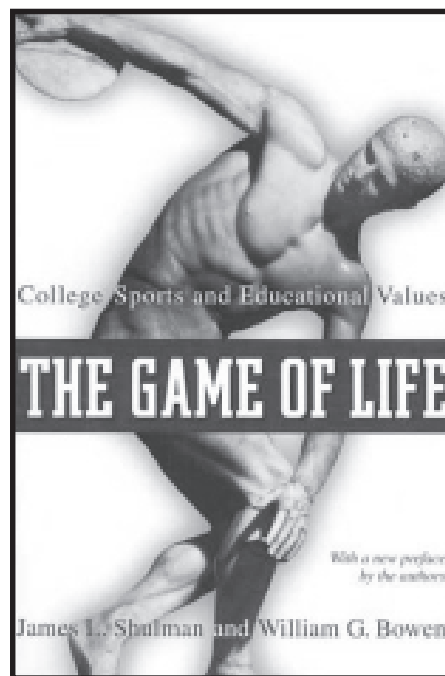
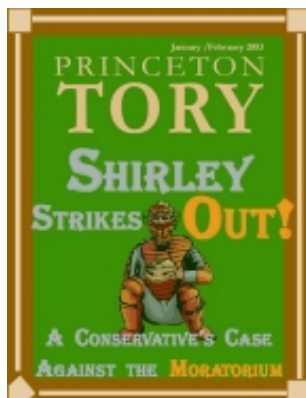
Now substitute "Black" or "Latina" for "athlete" in that paragraph, and you have one of the most frequently cited criticisms of affirmative action admissions policies for underrepresented minorities.

Ironic? Yes. Coincidence? No. In 1998, President Bowen, along with former Harvard president Derek Bok, published *The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions*. And the parallel is unmistakable: both athletes and minorities are actively recruited

by Princeton University; both seem to be underprepared for Princeton and underperform at Princeton despite special opportunities.

We must ask, then, why does Bowen frown upon affirmative action for athletes in *The Game of Life* but not for Blacks and Latinos in *The Shape of the River*? The answer he offers in *The Game of Life* is unsatisfactory. Bowen insists that minority students bring something extra that is of value to the educational mission of universities but implies that athletes do not.

A better explanation comes from Harvard Law professor Hal Scott: "In important respects, the attack on athletes is part of a culture war pitting conservative values against liberal values, professional values against academic values, competitive values against commu-



Playing games with our lives: A contradiction in Bowen's philosophies on minorities and athletes.

nal values, the blue collar against the privileged and so on. This battle has been waged around athletics for a long time.”

Affirmative action for minorities has long been a liberal value, while conservatives are committed to judging not “by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” Academics like Bowen deny any intrinsic value of collegiate athletics, but a business school admissions officer quoted in his book

lihood to work full-time during their childbearing years.

The clash of values here is, as Professor Scott noted, profound. It is not so simple as liberal presidents pitted against conservative student-athletes; rather, it gets at the heart of what an Ivy League education is supposed to mean.

The liberal academy is in crisis. It is caught between past and present, between the liberal-arts project of total

education and the postmodern dearth of moral values. Princeton University finds itself clinging to the liberal arts, resisting the

trend toward becoming a professional or trade school, but it is hard to see what is so special about the liberal arts tradition when its traditional moral component is removed.

Student-athletes have been made the scapegoats for what is a much larger problem in which all members of the University community have a stake.

Indeed, the debate over athletics and the debate over anti-intellectualism go hand in hand, and we would do well to recall the words of former University of

Chicago president Robert Maynard Hutchins: “If the curriculum were rational and intelligible, the students might not run from it in such large numbers to devote themselves to extracurricular activities.” Princeton students clearly find something of more value, more applicable to the challenges of the real game of life, in athletics.

President Tilghman’s responses to criticisms of the moratorium policy have utterly failed to address the question of educational values.

Instead, she defers to *The Game of Life*’s academic-underperformance theory while asserting her own hypothesis that athletics differs from other time-consuming extracurricular pursuits in its aspect of psychological coercion.

While this paternalism is touch-

ing and says much about how the Ivy Presidents view their role, it contradicts more than thirty years of Princeton history. Before William Bowen’s presidency, Princeton saw its role as educating men of character, not just men of intellect. Since the radical Bowen years, the University has abandoned *in loco parentis*, and with it the (now conservative) notion that a liberal-arts education should cultivate the mind, the body, and the spirit.

Today’s Princeton is a place where the University closely governs students’ academic life but gives them free rein in every other aspect of their campus existence. Ivy League athletics is already highly restricted, but the moratorium policy is unprecedented: not in thirty years has the administration legislated its values so directly into the day-to-day affairs of student life.

President Tilghman, you have brought us to a crucial juncture and it is time to take a stand regarding the proper role of the academy. If you wish to unilaterally decree what Princeton’s values are to be, please do so and let those who disagree flee to Stanford and Duke. If

The attack on athletes is part of the “culture war” on conservative values.

“always liked athletes” because they were “confident, team-oriented, and had the interpersonal skills to do well in a corporate environment.” Bowen distinguishes between knowledge for its own sake (the usual liberal arts aspiration) and education for leadership (“Princeton in the nation’s service”). And the moral relativism so prominent in the modern academy is at constant odds with the athletic community’s measures of winning and losing, success and failure.

The prominence of liberal political values among the Ivy Presidents is self-evident, but the following finding in *The Game of Life* comes as more of a surprise. The authors note that both men and women athletes are more politically conservative than non-athlete peers from similar backgrounds, and their relative conservatism is increasing over time.

The authors also note that athletes’ values differ in one more significant way: male athletes are much more likely to believe that it is very important to “be very well off financially.” Female athletes, however, are less likely than non-athlete women to value financial success. This observation leads to the book’s most puzzling paradox. Conservative male athletes who see college as “a means to an end” are criticized for their “concomitant ambition to maximize their earnings potential.” Conservative female athletes who do not share this drive are singled out for their lesser like-

Given a coherent curriculum, students would less likely shun the lecture halls.

you wish students to share the same set of values, please choose a new Dean of Admissions who will handpick a new generation of homogeneous, unquestioning Princetonians. If, on the other hand, you are committed to the liberal arts tradition, please do not hesitate to hire faculty who would not keep silent about moral values. If you believe in the diversity that you preach, please give the students of Princeton University the freedom to define and pursue their own values and play their own version of the game of life.



Jennifer Carter '03 is a Spanish and Italian major from Tracy, California. She enters Harvard Law School this fall.

GANKED!

How Administrative Racial Preferences Promote Segregation and Negate Diversity

John Andrews '05

The online edition of *Black Enterprise* magazine features, as does the print version, a “spotlight” on “The Top 50 Colleges and Universities for African-Americans.” Prominently displayed there, one finds a cartoon of a college campus, with students walking to the library, to the gymnasium, and so forth. One notices that on this cartoon campus, every single cartoon kid is black. There are no Asians, Native Americans, Hispanics, or Caucasians. Everyone is exactly the same color. That vision is an artist’s rendering of the best college for an African-American.

If you read the list itself, this vision becomes clearer. The very Best College for African-Americans is Morehouse College in Atlanta. This and other historically black schools take the top several spots. Then, Florida A&M takes sixth – and Stanford seventh. Princeton does not appear on the list.

Without a doubt, Princeton University provides a better education than Morehouse College. But according to *Black Enterprise*, the Best College for African-Americans is determined by four factors, subjective “environmental factors,” none of which directly relate to education. The final factor was simply the “percentage of African-American undergraduate students.” The more black students, the higher the fourth factor’s rating.

“The blacker, the better.” This criterion is clearly the reason that Morehouse College, Hampton University, and Spelman College are ranked at the very top; it is hard to imagine these schools beating Stanford by any other means. To extend this argument to its logical conclusion, an all-black college is the best possible college for blacks. Whatever happened to *Brown v. Board of Education*?

Harvard’s President Emeritus

Derek Bok is one of the least regenerate liberals in academia. Along with Princeton counterpart Bowen, he is the co-author of *The Shape of the River*, the famous apologia for racial preferences in admissions. His advocacy of “diversity” has, post-Bakke, supplanted “past discrimination” as the academic justification for racial preferences in admission. Although I harbor serious reservations as to the existence of a compelling governmental interest in this “diversity,” I would like to make a sociological argument, using him and Tilghman, who signed an *amicus* brief endorsing Michigan’s 20-point system, as examples of the prevailing liberal ideology at elite Universities. I hope to show that the self-segregationist phenomenon violates Bok-Tilghman’s theory of diversity and finally that both the segregationist mentality and Bok-Tilghmanism are bunk.

Segregation de jure

Even unregenerate Bok would disagree with “the blacker, the better,” since an all-black college would be as racially diverse as an all-white one. Rather, Bok argues, the various races benefit simply from coexistence. *Black Enterprise* would have us believe that the African descendants are better off without the European – but is Europe’s legacy so bankrupt that blacks can gain nothing from it? And is Africa’s legacy so rich that African-Americans need to draw only from it?

What *Black Enterprise* is advocating through its formula is segregation. But it is a form of segregation more subversive than that of *Brown v.*

Board. First, “the blacker, the better” does not recognize the Western canon – the Dead White Males – as “diverse.” Rather, “diversity” is skin deep, and only certain groups on campus are “diverse.” The *Prince* quoted Brittani Kirkpatrick, president of the Black Student Union (BSU) in response to the Top 50: “Princeton brings diverse students here but doesn’t really make them part of the campus.” Contrapositive: if you’re part of the campus, you’re not diverse! What Kirkpatrick really means is that blacks own a monopoly on the buzzword “diverse.” Conversely, whites lack “diversity” and fail *Black Enterprise*’s – though not Derek Bok’s – value test.

Second, because this segregation is University-sponsored and not governmental, students don’t realize that they’re missing out much as pre-Brown schoolchildren. *Black Enterprise* standards actually encourage segregation de jure: Stanford University, which placed seventh, segregates students by ethnicity according to the house system. I spoke with Niraj Bhatt ‘03, a Minority Affairs Advisor (MAA), about this practice over dinner in his Butler College. He deplored the “balkanization promoted by Stanford in establishing these color-coded dormitories.” A black colleague of mine at *The Cornell Review*, an excellent campus conservative newspaper, was forced, despite his protests, into the Ujamaa house, Cornell’s all-black dormitory. Cornell also placed in *Black Enterprise*’s Top 50.

Segregation de facto

Bhatt was hanging out with friends when he received a University-wide email from housing director Adam Rockman concerning next year’s inde-



So much for Brown v. Board.

pendent applicants for housing in Spelman. "It jumped out at me, that there were so many draw groups comprised of a single ethnicity," he explained. "Have we achieved, de facto, the segregation institutionalized at universities like Stanford?"

Bhatt's frustration with self-segregation led him to post a statement on the popular file sharing sever "gank," the server which Niraj owns. Niraj's major is Electrical Engineering, and "Gank" is a hobby of his. "aZn self-segregation? Spelman internment camp? Why do we bother with diversity?" the site asked. Each of these phrases linked to relevant articles from various viewpoints on diversity – including one by Derek Bok on the last of these questions. He also posted a list of the all-Asian groups in the Spelman draw.

The next morning at eight, Edward Champlin, the Master of Butler College, telephoned Bhatt. He required Bhatt to attend an impromptu gathering of the college staff. Bhatt was told to speak to a meeting of the outraged Asian-American Students' Association (ASA) that night and was assigned a counselor at McCosh Health Center – for "sessions on sensitivity," according to an email to Butler College from Champlin (or "Master Ted," as he is fondly known).

Compared to the diversity police at other universities, Butler College responded reasonably. Master Ted made it clear that since Bhatt was an MAA, the issue was not of free speech and the substance of Bhatt's message, but of obligations as an advisor and the words and names included in the Gank posting. Having issued several apologies, Bhatt will finish his senior year as MAA. College officials were quick to emphasize the frank discussions on self-segregation that the incident has promoted.

Where do admissions come in?

Compare Butler College's attitude toward diversity with that of Stanford, Cornell, or Morehouse – institutions on *Black Enterprise's* Top 50.

In *Black Enterprise's* segregated institutions, even the most liberal academics' ideals of educational diversity have gone by the wayside. Color, not diversity, has become the goal of social engineering at these schools.

It means little to say that Princeton is better than these "Top 50" schools at promoting an instrumentally diverse student body. Princeton students have simply replaced institutions like Stanford's all-Asian Okata House or Cornell's all-black Ujamaa House with institutions of their own. Spelman draw is not the only prominent example: this past Bicker, the leaderships of the Black and Hispanic student unions decided to

concentrate their membership into Campus club. There are race-based summer programs, and then there are the race- and ethnicity-based student groups themselves.

This segregation is inconsistent with the liberal philosophy on race. If students of one race are separated

from those of another, none of Bok's hypothesized learning could possibly occur. Herein lies the problem: Bok and Tilghman's admissions philosophy reinforces this segregation and prevents the alleged rewards of diversity from being conferred upon the student body.

Tilghman, both for Princeton and for the now-unconstitutional admissions policy at the University of Michigan, staked Princeton's reputation on the notion that race-based demarcation of students will promote their interaction with members of other races. Sadly, her means are incompatible with her ends, and this premise can only lead to failure.

At institutions like Princeton, where race is a deciding factor in admission, it makes perfect sense to assume that members of certain minority groups are admitted under laxer standards than nonmembers. To define one's interaction with these groups based on this assumption is not racist – it is a rational practice perpetuated by racist and unfortunate admissions standards. Thus, by defining one's initial assumptions about people one meets, dual ad-


missions standards exert a surprising amount of influence on how Princetonians choose to associate, or not to associate, with one another.

Bhatt agrees that there are troubling connections between race-conscious admissions and self-segregation. "I can see how holding different groups of people to different standards might make it more difficult for those two groups to identify with one another," he said.

It is clear that racial binaries, emphasized by administrative preferences, restructure social interaction to form proxy groups with less commonality of interests and experiences. This problem is absent from other preferred groups like legacy and athletes. Were it not for race-based distinctions in recruitment, admissions, summer pre-orientation programs, orientation, and heavily advertised student organizations, would minority students still form a tightly-knit social group, even though each might share more in common with students of other races?

By eliminating the University's official racial distinctions, particularly in the admissions standards practiced and otherwise endorsed by the Tilghman administration, Princeton would move away from the Stanford model, where the student body is racially "diverse" by percentages but segregated in actuality, towards a more interactive, and thus more diverse by Bok's standards, learning environment.

Thus, even if Derek Bok is right and strictly racial diversity does enhance learning, then President Tilghman should oppose race-based admissions in order to decrease self-segregation and permit a higher-level interaction of students of different ethnicities.

Of course, if Derek Bok is wrong, Tilghman should still oppose race-based admissions, because racial considerations become obsolete; it would no longer matter if we're as white as Dartmouth College or as black as Morehouse College. 



John Andrews '05 is an ORF major from Oliver Springs, Tennessee. This summer, he worked at the Center for Security Policy.



A humble server spawns outrage.

THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT

Mixing Politics and Religion

Brad Simmons '03

According to a 2001 survey by the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 76.5% of Americans identify themselves as Christian. Recent election results suggest that, by a 6-point margin, voters preferred Republican candidates for Congress.

Christians and Republicans abound – in the nation, that is. But purveyors of conventional wisdom at Princeton have defied national trends and, as it happens, the laws of language, transforming “Christian Right” into a four-letter word.

As Jenn Carter explained in the October *Tory*, the University, despite its deeply rooted religious traditions and even a motto emphasizing scholarship “under God,” generally frowns on religious activity. Or, more precisely, administrators might accept that religious expression is a permanent aspect of campus life, but almost explicitly insist that those expressions adapt to modern social trends else they risk illegitimacy. This is threatening to someone who has been brought up as a devout Christian, and I can understand why.

A religious student looks around campus and sees that the University has clearly taken sides on vital Christian (and many other faiths’) issues. The very existence of “Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgendered Student Services,” with its own hired voice in the administration and a wealth of institutional support and encouragement, suggests as much. The director of this group is paid by an endowment from the Office of Religious Life. Using the organization’s funds – stemming partly from tuition payments – to place a full-page advertisement in the *Prince* heralding a lecture concern-

ing the “joys and toys of gay sex,” an event at which Dean of Undergraduate Students Kathleen Deignan spoke, illuminates the University’s de facto stance on issues of concern to the student religious community.

The list of sucker punches continues. Residential advisors are encouraged to make condoms available to students at all times of the day, prompting some concerned RAs to engage in non-distributive protest. McCosh Health Center brochures warn pregnant students to stay away from manipulative “pro-life” pregnancy counseling centers. Passages read at University-run religious services, including the recent one on September 11, habitually alter gender pronouns and other portions of established hymns and biblical texts to ensure their political cor-

rectness. And the Office of Religious Life, a presumed safehaven for religious expression, has in practice managed to ignore the last two words of its official title, emphasizing instead the importance of “spirituality.” It selectively provides financial support to student groups, even helping to sponsor one campus publication whose professed purpose is the spread of secularism.

Recall that these examples only relate to the role played by the administration in furthering hostility toward religion; left out are the abundance of disparaging off-hand remarks by students and faculty about religious zealotry, so frequent that even students of faith tend to shrug them off.

All of this begs the question: what exactly is so horrifying to Princeton administrators about a believer in Christ promoting conservative ideals? Underpinning this hostility to Christian conservatives, I submit, are three things: reluctance to accept Christianity itself, reluctance to accept conservative ideas and – most critically – a deep aversion to combining religion and politics.

Set aside the first two. There’s nothing wrong with a reluctance to accept ideas or beliefs. The last point, though, deserves more attention.

Like any religion, an essential tenet of Christianity concerns the proper way to live one’s life and prioritize things in the world. Given this, it would make little sense for a Christian person to approach politics, in which a crucial task is assigning value to various propositions about the quality and sanctity of life, without consulting her religious principles. As evidence, take any faith less overwrought with political overtones than Christianity – Buddhism, let’s say – and ask its followers about a pressing political issue. The specifics of the issue probably won’t matter all that much:



“Whoever is an avowed enemy of God, I scruple not to call him an enemy of his country.” Witherspoon, considered a liberal in his day, embodied the combination of ministry and statesmanship that was 18th-century Princeton.

whether abortion or welfare reform, the approach to life garnered from Buddhists' religious convictions will invariably play a crucial role in their responses. Even an unwillingness to pass moral judgment on others – the response that would engender the most praise from a typical Princeton student – would itself be influenced by religious dogma.

Analogously, atheists probably view hot-button issues like vouchers and school prayer, among many others, from an angle that can be traced in part to their rejection of God. And, counterintuitively, those declaring neutrality toward religion – secularists – have already taken an important stance through their desire not to take one.

To see why, think of a person during wartime claiming neutrality by neither taking up arms nor joining with pacifist protestors. As a theoretical matter, he's neutral; as a practical matter, of course, he's plainly not fighting. Inaction is often as ideological as action itself, just as refusal to take sides on religious issues is every bit as dogmatic – and consequential – as preferential treatment for or against it.

This is a long way of pointing out a reality that is obvious to all, but is acknowledged by few: when formulating policy, which inevitably requires moral assessments, one's attitude toward religion *is* germane. This isn't meant to suggest that religious grounding, or lack of it, is the only way to arrive at certain ethical precepts. Rather, it is to say that, secular or religious, atheistic or theistic, the influence of religion on politics is unavoidable. Faith matters.

Sadly, those who regularly ridicule any hint of a mix between religion and politics will probably concede much

of the argument presented here, and proceed with business as usual. It should not be lost on these readers how dramatically acceptance of this argument would change the nature of political discourse on campus.

Significantly, it would be an admission that the administration is not, as a practical matter, neutral toward religious and nonreligious groups when it comes to divisive political issues. To favor those groups who (not so subtly) flaunt their dissociation from religion is to ignore that every approach – religious, nonreligious, anti-religious – has already made critical faith-related assumptions that bias them. This

means that taking sides is inevitable, whether the administration likes to admit it or not.

The nature of campus discussions is also implicated by this argument. Take the November 19th *Prince* column by Robin Williams '04, a classic example of artificially divorcing religion from moral and political issues. In an effort to defend homosexuality and dismiss its religious critics, Williams invokes ACLU 1:1: "As for God and religious concerns, we all know about the separation of church and state." The good news for religious folks is that the "separation" applies to specific government policies; it was never meant to stamp out all moral thought that had religious foundations.

Or consider exchanges students have with religious conservatives. Typically, they end on a note closely resembling this: "You're just arguing that because you're Christian. Not everyone shares your sense of morality, so avoid basing your opinions on religious convictions."



Secularism successfully misrepresents itself as neutral ground on religion.

Put aside the references to "your morality" and "my morality" that pervade much of the hostility to religion at Princeton, as it would be a great disservice to secularism to equate it with that brand of moral relativism. Focus instead on the obvious mockery and condescension emanating from the construction "just...because you're Christian." It's eerily similar to that other oft-heard disclaimer that students offer on behalf of conservative friends: "Oh, I know she's conservative, but that's only because she's Christian." (To which, presumably, the other discussant nods with lament for the brainwashed, backwards religious conservative.)

If those who instinctively lapse into this sort of rhetoric accept my argument, then they understand a few points. To begin with, the irony surrounding the "just...because you're Christian" claim is that it is not wholly false; as I've argued, religious perspectives *do* inform political views in a very substantive way. That being the case, however, it would be wrong to conclude from this that Christian doctrine necessitates a specific political alliance. If you don't trust me, ask Cornel West or Al Gore.

Princeton students' manner of attributing conservatism to Christianity, then, is a half-truth of the worst kind. Not only is the crux of the claim easily disproven by pointing to secular conservatives and Christian liberals, but its only smidgen of accuracy – that views on religion play a necessary role in *all* political orientations, conservatism being no exception – is saturated with condescension toward the "religious right."

It's not clear how to relieve the burgeoning tension between religious and nonreligious elements on campus. But, surely, these half-truths and unproductive labels are non-starters, as are administrative policies whose ideological thrust is not altogether different. With all due respect, Ms. Bazarsky, Dean Deignan and – yes – President Tilghman: please take notice.



Brad Simmons '03 is a Politics major from San Jose, California. This fall, he becomes an investment banking analyst at Goldman Sachs.

“LIVE FEMALE ENTERTAINMENT”

OWL's Identity Crisis Entertains Princetonians

Daniel Mark '03

Let's try for a moment to unpack what occurred on the "Editorials and Opinions" page of the *Prince* on March 8. The gem was Nancy Ippolito's guest column that criticized the now-famous "Man Show" ad that mimicked a Maxim cover. Ippolito, president of OWL (Organization of Women Leaders) and self-proclaimed feminist, opens by lamenting that the words "sexy, powerful, and strong" are "typically masculine adjectives."

Most readers probably got lost right there, since "sexy" seems quite the feminine trait, es-

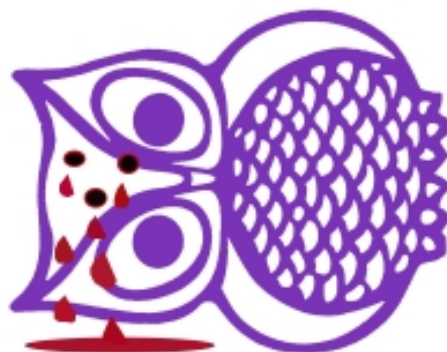
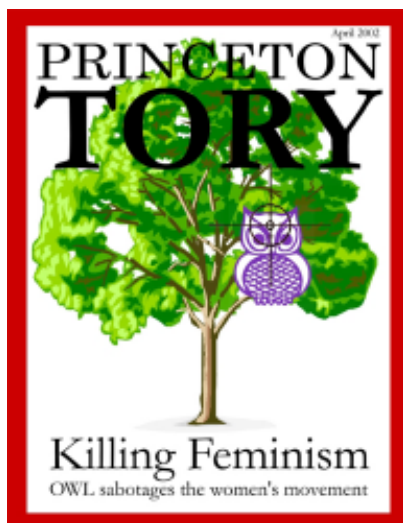
pecially to the men who Ippolito chides for their chauvinist lexical bias.

Moving beyond the semantics, Ippolito surprises readers by informing them that the feminists' self-described "Hooters campaign" was not based on shock value. Instead, she argues, OWL is "reclaiming the 'Hooters' symbol." Now, to me it remains a mystery why in the world they would want anything to do with Hooters – a symbol of objectification – or at what point they possessed this symbol such that they are currently reclaiming it.

Somehow, Ippolito manages to distinguish the Hooters campaign from the Man Show ad. Apparently, unlike the Hooters campaign, the Man Show ad plays precisely to the objectification of

women because it equates female sexuality with male entertainment. Last I checked, that's exactly what Hooters is about, and therefore by reclaiming the Hooters symbol, OWL is relying precisely on the shock value it purports to abhor. To be sure, there is some redeeming value to the Hooters symbol when it is used for a pro-women campaign. However, the Maxim cover was not being used in its originally intended manner, either; it was used to advertise an all-male show. In its rush to condemn manhood, OWL missed the joke.

And that's just the beginning



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of the hypocrisy. At the same time Ippolito wrote her column, the campus was covered with flyers that read "Live Female Entertainment" which had a border that depicted drawn curtains and a lit stage – for an event sponsored by none other than OWL. The irony is almost unbearable. Ippolito actually attacks the Man Show ad for "bring[ing] to mind seedy images of men ogling women in strip clubs," while her own ads do the same thing even more explicitly.

You may need to reread those last two sentences. I'll summarize: In the same week that OWL criticized a Man Show ad for displaying a woman in a bikini, they advertised their show with flyers that focused on the image of a strip club. (I won't even go into the other flyer for an all-female performance that read "Ladies Night" over an illustration of three alluringly clad women.)

I'd like to turn to a more subtle irony, now, that was evidently lost on Ippolito and her cohorts as well. OWL's "What is a feminist?" campaign, according to Ippolito, asks if a person can be a feminist and, among other things, a model. The implication, of course, is that anyone can be a feminist because sexiness need not be linked to objectification. Why, then, are OWL's feathers ruffled over the sexy and powerful pose on the Maxim cover?

Ippolito wants "revealing bathing suits" to "empower" a woman. The

near-intimidating image from Maxim is only a symbol of objectification if Ippolito chooses to see it that way. If women, as Ippolito declares, should "feel empowered, to own their feminism and own their bodies," then what



**"In our sexy dresses
and don't-mess-with-me
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is to stop this particular model from pursuing empowerment through sexuality?

The obvious answer to all of this is the insidious double standard that has infected some wings of the feminist movement and other assorted liberals. Women have every right to portray their own sexuality as "sexy" if they choose, but as long as that sexuality is on display, it is hypocritical to demand that men refrain from relating to those images in the same way. That is not to say that men ever have any right to objectify women, but it is to say

that OWL must accept that men are capable of seeing women as sexy without seeing them as sex objects.

I'll close by letting the Man Show-haters in on a little secret: Men are attracted to women. In light of that piece of information, OWL would do well to consider the ramifications of their reclamation schemes. As a matter of biology, men are aroused by images of sexy women. The suggestion that women should use their sexuality as a means of empowerment encourages the notion that a woman's sexuality is her defining char-

acteristic. Perhaps if women leaders focused on non-sexual roads to empowerment, they would perceived less objectification by men. But as long as women don "revealing bathing suits" to embrace their sexuality, men will always notice. ■



Daniel Mark '03 is a Politics major from Englewood, New Jersey. He hopes to become a high school teacher in New York City.

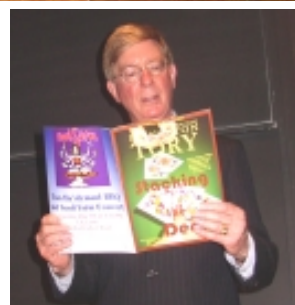
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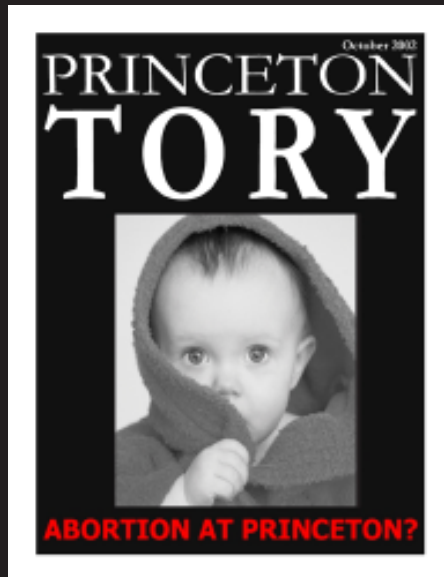
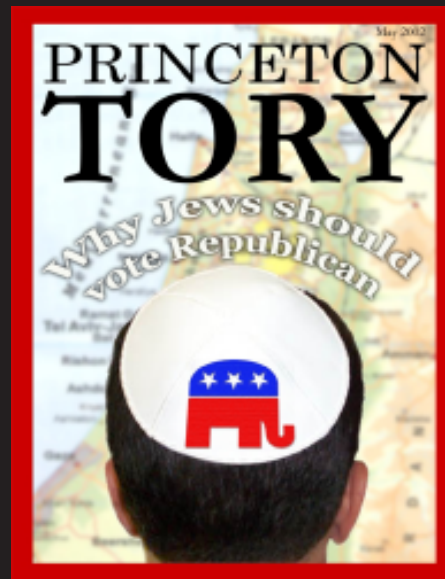
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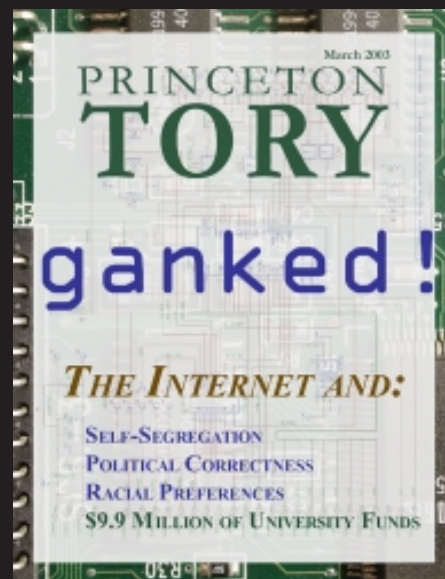
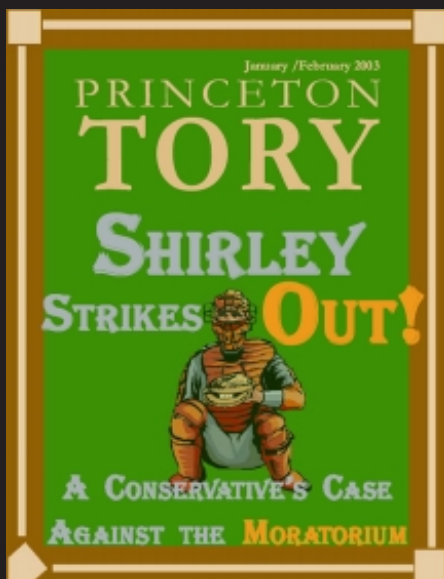
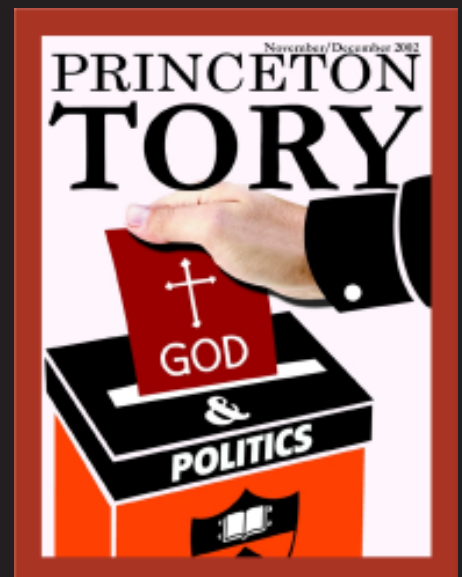
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