

March 2005

# PRINCETON TORY

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Gender Equity and Higher Education

*Also:*

*States' Rights and Why Women Should Vote Republican*

# THE PRINCETON TORY

March 2005

Volume XXII - Issue II

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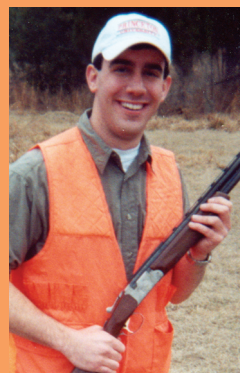
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## *From the Publisher*

Dear Princetonian

For what seems like the first time in a long time, a student-run publication made the news that was not the Tory. Over the last month, both the Nassau Weekly and the Princeton Tiger made the front page of the Daily Princetonian (2/16/05, 2/22/05) for remarks each publication made at the expense of Jews and African-Americans, respectively. While I will not address the oft-discussed matter of the severity of either publication's poor taste, I do want to draw your attention to the reaction of the administration with regards to these incidents. As a disclaimer, I warn the reader that my remarks about the administration will be unusually positive.



In a surprise move by the administration, Dean Hilary Herbold actually upheld the Nassau Weekly's right to free speech by distinguishing between "free expression" and "harassment." As the Tory writer Clarke Smith reported last spring (March 2004), the University's "Rights, Rules, Responsibilities" does include a clause regarding offensive language directed at another individual. At the time, we were very concerned that Princeton might get caught up in the national phenomenon sweeping higher education of university administrations instituting speech codes. What could possibly be more important to academic development than the free expression of ideas? Fortunately, Herbold clearly explained in a Daily Princetonian letter to the editor (2/17/05) that Princeton's speech code can only be enacted when the offensive language is directed at an individual. While I remain unconvinced of the consistency with which Herbold's distinction may be used, I must say it is a step in the right direction.

The issue you are about to read once again proudly celebrates the freedom of expression we enjoy as a quintessential American right. We tackle issues that President Tilghman herself has deemed unacceptable to even bring up for discussion such as cognitive differences developing from gender. Similarly, letters sent to us regarding the last issue continue the political dialogue the Tory has fostered on Princeton's campus. We print these controversial issues because no one else does. I, personally, print pieces that I disagree with because I know that analytical debate in print is the only way to further the search for truth.

Regardless of the accusations thrown at us from the Left, we are here to stoke the debate on political thought and protect the free expression of ideas. We ask the questions and raise the points that others are afraid to ask. We exercise the rights that so many around the world have never experienced. Please, read this issue. Ask the larger questions. Find truth.

Sincerely,

Ira Leeds '06

## Letters to the Editors:

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

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

# THE PRINCETON TORY

March 2005

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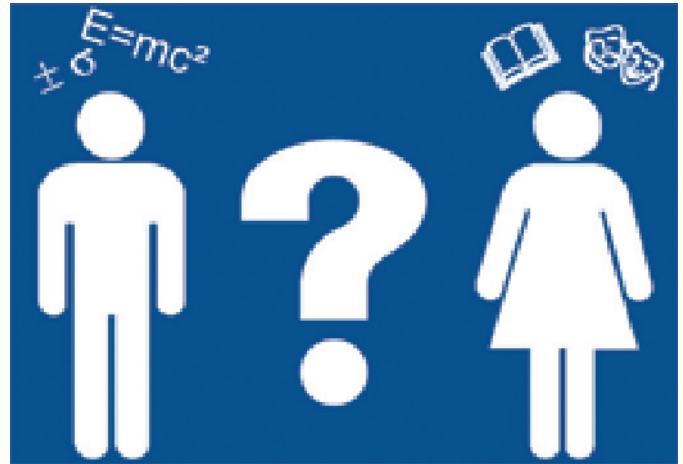
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## LETTERS

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

*Regarding the January 2005 Publisher's Note*

To the Editors:

I'm delighted that Mr. Leeds found my Prince piece on anti-American hostility in China engaging enough to preface the recent Tory with his reaction to it. I am writing, however, to share some of my concerns with his response.

Despite Mr. Leeds's uncorroborated accusation that my column romanticizes Chinese society, I am indeed aware of the Chinese government's disregard for many basic human rights. During my two months in China, I met people who had been intimidated, arrested, imprisoned, abused, and even permanently physically disabled by government officials for political dissent or "committing journalism" (no kidding, the official name of the crime).

So yes, the irony of Beijingers' criticisms of the Land of the Free's policies does not escape me. But Mr. Leeds ignorantly confuses irony with hypocrisy. While I found it irritating for Beijing cabbies to conflate Americans with their government, it is far more irresponsible to conflate the Chinese people with their government. In calling plebeian Chinese citizens' criticisms of U.S. policy "hypocritical," Leeds is essentially blaming the Chinese government's human rights violations on the victims of those abuses, the Chinese people.

America is a democracy. China is not. America's government (and by extension its policies at home and abroad) is chosen by and representative of its citizens. China's is not. We have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, as well as mechanisms for criticizing, revamping, and ousting our political leadership. The Chinese have none of these things. Of course they expect more of us.

Sincerely,  
Catherine Rampell '07

*Katie McCulloch '06 chose to use the Nassau Weekly (02/03/05) to respond to Powell Fraser '06 regarding his article on the USG Presidential Election. Mr. Fraser has decided to answer Ms. McCulloch in kind by responding in his home publication, the Tory:*

Dear Katie:

It is always refreshing to know that informed debate is alive and well on this campus. In this spirit, I would like to congratulate you for your brilliant bit of investigative reporting into the Room-MateGate scandal: I do indeed share a room with former presidential candidate Shaun Callaghan.

This, however, was the pinnacle of your article. The rest of your capitalized, profane sputtering did not ever approach what could be considered a coherent argument. While I considered my article a careful objective analysis (despite my proximity to the Callaghan Campaign), your response to my conclusions was to call me a bigot and an a\_\_hole. Next, calling me a bad writer and then proceeding to abuse the English language as you did only causes me to further bemoan the state of the Writing Program here.

And why the accusations of bigotry? At best, you automati-

cally associate the Tory with racism, though I'm sure you oppose stereotypes in all other circumstances. At worst, you are personally incapable of seeing this past election as anything other than a racial struggle, calling your own objectivity into question.

I must conclude that your piece was meant to be a humorous rant mocking the Tory for its choice in writers and candidates. If this was the case, I was still disappointed. I write a humor column for the Prince that is often well-received, and I don't have to slander anyone or use the f-word more times than "The Big Lebowski" to get a laugh. I see this was your first article for the Nassau Weekly; for the sake of the ideal of journalism, I hope it was your last.

PF

*Regarding the January 2005 Rant*

To the Editor,

No doubt you will receive many letters from liberals on campus regarding your Rant about black support for the GOP. However, as a lifelong conservative—the Vice President of College Republicans, in fact—I was incensed by your contention that the Republican Party should write off black voters. Not only was that remark thoroughly uncalled for, but it was terribly misinformed. According to exit polls conducted by the National Election Pool, nearly 16 percent of blacks in Ohio voted for Bush. In fact out of the 136,000 votes that Bush won Ohio by, 110,000 were logged by blacks. With the Kerry camp whining about provisional ballots, the Dems could have won the election were it not for African-Americans. But if you don't think the GOP needs these votes, perhaps you think it should hand back that state's 20 electoral votes?

Your rant hurt the cause of conservatives everywhere by perpetuating the stereotype that Republicans are racist. The 21st Century Republican Party clearly has a very different set of priorities. The Bush Administration championed two programs specifically targeting at aiding minority voters, namely the Faith Based Initiative and No Child Left Behind school reform. My question is, when will The Tory stop seeing America through the eyes of Jim Crow?

Sincerely,  
Alexander V. Maugeri '07, CR VP

*Oftentimes, upset readers submit letters far to lengthy to print. In an effort to satisfy all parties, the Tory has edited two letters received regarding the January 2005 Rant to a printable link. The full letters have been posted online at [www.princetontory.com](http://www.princetontory.com).*

To the Tory:

One cannot compare the Civil War with the war on terror without a clearer reading of the facts. Great Britain and France vocally favored the Confederacy and sold them boats, but it was Union navy that attacked Great Britain's ships on suspicion alone. Also, blockades did not end European support (we were losing), it was the Emancipation Proclamation, which turned the Civil War



from a simple power struggle to a moral one. Besides, the Civil War was a defense of the United States from itself. What place did foreign powers even have in such a war? We will see if or when Kurdistan and Sunni Iraqis seek their independence following a Shi'i majority election.

Lincoln was talking about democracy when he addressed the Congress in 1861. The United States was the one democracy in the world. The South represented a system in which human beings were removed from the rights democracy should have given them. It was an ideological struggle between the people and oppression, and letting the South secede dealt a blow to the United States and thus democracy. However, this new peoples' contest, this war on terror, is no more a war on democracy than communism or socialism was. We are one of a hundred democracies, some more liberated than we are. This is a war on powerlessness, in this case those with lots (us) fighting those who have little (them) because we are so scared that we feel that we have none. Democracy is under no threat from terrorists, peoples' lives are, and peoples' lives are also under threat from us. For Heller to borrow Lincoln's meaning does not make George W. Bush into a great president, it makes great words said out of context.

Ediomoabasi Effiong Ibok '05

*Word Count Reduction: 1,245 words to 288 words*

Dear Tory:

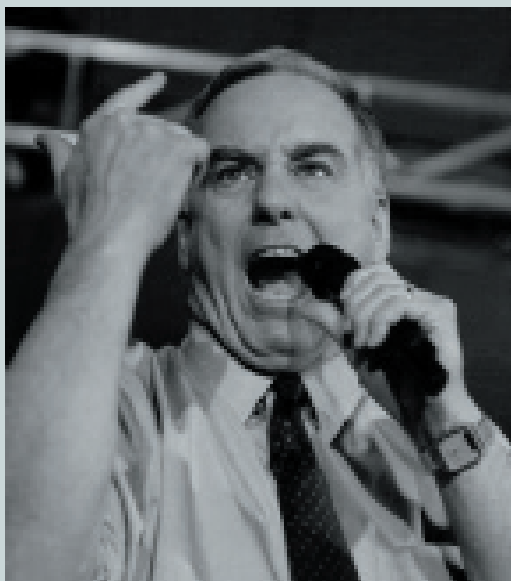
I think you went a bit far with one of your "Rant" items in January's edition of the Tory. "As the party of Lincoln," you simplistically wrote, "you would think the Republicans would get more

love from the black voter."

No, I wouldn't. Why not? Because I don't base my party loyalties on such historically ignorant foundations as the Tory does--and, apparently, neither do the majority of African-American voters. The Republicans have in the past generation or two consistently taken positions antithetical to or ignorant of most African-Americans' interests--Reagan never met with the Congressional Black Caucus until 1987, and even then only after Jesse Jackson complained about it--and blatantly played on white racism when it proved profitable (remember Willie Horton?). In all: just because Lincoln was a Republican doesn't mean the GOP ought to have first or even equal, claim on African-American voters' loyalties. Why? For the reason that George W. Bush himself gave in a speech to the NAACP in 2000: that "the party of Lincoln has not always carried the mantle of Lincoln." So think twice and do your homework before drawing sweeping, simplistic conclusions--because even your own president has some idea of why most black voters can't stomach your party. Try and convince black voters to vote for the GOP fair and square, since you seem to honestly think they'd be better off under your party's governance--but don't insult an entire ethnic group--or 90% of it, as it were--simply because they make up a minority of the population. I know the Tory is known for its arrogant, mean-spirited rhetoric (not unlike modern-day conservatives generally), and I've more than gotten used to it personally; but that little dig was beyond the pale.

Akil Alleyne '07

*Word Count Reduction: 954 words to 293 words*



# Angry? Frustrated?

**Tell us what you're  
thinking...**

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

# THE RANT

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➤ A recent action by the UN again exemplifies the trouble in which the organization finds itself. Three countries that are either outright tyrannies or close, Cuba, Zimbabwe, and Saudi Arabia, have been named to the five-member group called the Working Group on Situations, which is the screening panel that decides which accusations of human rights abuse will be dealt with by the UN Human Rights Commission. Wasn't Fidel Castro the man who ordered dozens of journalists arbitrarily detained merely for speaking out against his human rights violations? Isn't Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe "imitating Stalin by seizing thousands of private farms and driving millions toward starvation," as *Investor's Business Daily* recently noted? In Saudi-Arabia, of course, women aren't even allowed to drive, let alone vote or participate in the civic process. And these are the countries that are supposed to decide which human rights complaints are valid concerns? This development is just the latest in a series of UN scandals that are destroying any credibility the institution has left.

➤ In their "fair and balanced" look at the *Tory*, the *Nassau Weekly* (2/3/05) argued that while most *Tory* writers are well-versed in politics, there was "the exception of one staff member, who miscited similarities between George W. Bush and Abraham Lincoln, claiming that Lincoln, like Bush, had lost the popular vote in 1864." Had this author himself been well-versed in *reading*, he would have noticed the *Tory* article mentioned the 1860 election, not 1864, and argued that Lincoln lost the *majority* of the popular vote—never did it assert that Lincoln won on the Electoral College technicality. Maybe if the writers at the *Nassau* spent more time editing and less time trying to think of really "rad" ways to make fun of the Holocaust, we wouldn't have to rant.

➤ On the other hand, despite the differences our two publications have had over the years, the *Tory* would like to congratulate *The Princeton Tiger* on its handling of its similar conflict with the Black Student Union. Though some of the BSU's membership might not have understood, we here at the *Tory* easily figured out that the point of including a KKK group in the *Tiger*'s piece "Facebook Groups You Hope to Never See" was to mock the KKK, not the victims of the KKK. How the BSU could have failed to perceive this seemingly obvious statement confounds us and thus we feel that the editors of the *Tiger* should be applauded for not immediately surrendering to the forces of unbridled political correctness and the superfluous indignation of the BSU but instead stating that "It is disturbing that the BSU's first impulse was to take a joke which targeted no particular race and mutate it into an affront against the African-American experience. Perhaps the BSU should consider that their response contributes to racial divisions on our campus, rather than dismantling them." The *Tory* could not agree more.

➤ "I hope to God we [the UN] never get another oil-for-food program or anything approaching that kind of responsibility," said UN Deputy Secretary-General Louise Frechette on February 16. Neither do freedom-loving Americans, Ms. Frechette.

➤ A lecture titled "From Summers to Sistani: Women's Rights Under Attack in the 21st Century" was recently delivered by  
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Kavita Ramdas in Robertson Auditorium. Let's get this straight. Harvard President Larry Summers has said that possible biological differences between men and women (for example, the fact that there are more very smart and very stupid men than there are very smart and very stupid women because women are more clustered around the IQ mean) could be a contributing cause for the dominance of men in science and engineering. Ayatollah Sistani says that for moral reasons, women should not be able to shake the hand of any man other than a father, brother or husband. Furthermore, one of Sistani's decrees states that "If a man marries a woman, but does not have sexual intercourse with her, the obligatory precaution is that as long as their marriage lasts, he should not marry her daughter" and "If before marrying his maternal or paternal aunt's daughter, a person commits incest (sexual intercourse) with her mother, he cannot marry that girl on the basis of precaution." To put Summers and Sistani in one sentence regarding women's rights is outrageous: Summers is in no way whatsoever a milder version of Sistani, nor does he espouse the same "principle" with regard to male superiority over women to a lesser degree. The lecture is just one more indication of the increasingly preposterous nature of Princeton's feminist community and the administration's indefensible support of it.

➤ Something to ponder: a recent analysis of the 2004 presidential election results shows that President Bush won 97 of what the most recent census determined to be the nation's 100 fastest growing counties. A Democrat in the White House soon? We think not.

➤ Tuition at Princeton is high as it is, higher than the average household income in the United States, in fact. But according to the *Prince*, the University Board of Trustees felt it's not quite high enough. The Board recently approved raising tuition by 5% to \$40,213. Just what are they going to spend this money on? The *Prince* article (01/31/05) talks at length about the hiring of 2 new psychiatrists, but there's another reason, which the article mentions very briefly: "Funds will also be used to create a new LGBT Center." The University's endowment grew by over a billion dollars last year and there are at least a dozen student and University-run groups and programs on LGBT issues. However, apparently the administration has decided to continue its break-neck dash to be at the pinnacle of politically-correct academia on the backs of students and their parents who, of course, were never asked whether they thought such a center is needed. If the University is going to raise our tuition in order to improve campus equality, the money should go to something truly necessary, a conservative's student center. Indeed, our liberal friends would surely agree that the now unoccupied Cannon Club would be ideal for us.

➤ Free our Jihadist brothers or Special Ops Cody gets it! In case nobody noticed, last month a group of Iraqi insurgents claimed that they had an American soldier named "John Adam" in custody and would execute him if America didn't release their fellow thugs. John Adam, it turns out, is an American soldier, but not a real life-sized one. The terrorists were holding a G.I. Joe-like action figure named Special Ops Cody at gunpoint. We don't know

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why they held him at gunpoint, were they scared he'd escape? But more to the point, did they really think we wouldn't find out?

➤ Hillary Clinton's recent religious revival is nothing new to those of us who remember her run for her New York senate seat in 2000. After all, in an attempt to pander to Jewish voters she claimed to have a Jewish second cousin once removed, or some similarly distant and irrelevant relative, and that therefore she was part of the Jewish community. With the coming evangelical political revolution, no wonder Hillary is jumping on the bandwagon and speaking about how she has always been a religious person, even when Bill was boffing interns and she was coving up Whitewater, Travelgate, Filegate, and Vince Foster's "suicide." The only question is: what religion will she embrace next?

➤ As the class of 2005 would know, the Annual Giving Drive is already in full swing. We know that Princeton's formidable endowment has enabled Princeton to do many fantastic things. However, after paying four years of full tuition we are now being told that we still have to give more because we just didn't pay enough, as each of us really "costs" the university \$200,000 per year. This figure includes everything from all of the graduate students and others here on a full ride (including the foreigners who get scholarships from an organization that does not pay taxes to the US government), all of the landscaping fees, all of the money misappropriated recently, and even the overpriced catering from Olives for politically-correct events that no one actually attends. Oh, and maybe some of us would feel better about giving if President Tilghman would actually grow up and allow the university to, say, be audited and do other things that any corporation would have to do...then maybe Shirley's staff would not do things like transfer \$10 million into the Tory account (which we did not

take). Perhaps we should merely be thankful that this impractical, politically-correct, and perhaps nearly socialist attitude is limited to the admissions departments and administrations of America's elite universities.

➤ The UN's High Commissioner for Refugees was recently found guilty of misconduct involving sexual harassment by an official investigation. According to the report, which the UN did not release, but which the British *Independent* newspaper got its hands on, five women have faced sexual harassment by the UN's Commissioner responsible for the fate of 17 million refugees. Woman B described an incident at a UNHCR function at which Mr. Lubbers, the commissioner, grabbed and embraced her, pulling her body against his. She was shocked and embarrassed, and pushed him away. Woman C said Mr. Lubbers had attempted to grope her. She pushed him back, and threatened to slap him if he attempted to do the same again. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, despite the damning findings, gave the commissioner a mere warning not to do it again, and the commissioner will finish his full term in 2005, right according to schedule. If this is how the UN deals with sex scandals, how will they deal with the sexual abuses committed by UN peacekeepers against young girls (some as young as 13) in Congo?

➤ According to a recent study of 100,000 students by the S. and James L. Knight Foundation, "almost three in four students said they took the First Amendment for granted or didn't know how they felt about it." Furthermore, "Three in four students said flag burning is illegal. [It's not]. About half the students said the government can restrict any indecent material on the Internet. [It can't]." The sad truth is that after several decades of making high school history textbooks politically correct, most students don't

*Continued on the next page*

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even know what they need to know in order to be good citizens: the rights guaranteed to all U.S. citizens under the United States Constitution. It's time high school American history textbooks started spending less time on Ida Tarbell's crusade against Standard Oil and more time on what's really important: the US Constitution. Every American needs to memorize the Bill of Rights *from the first to the last letter* before graduating from high school. Perhaps before we go forward with the proposed distribution requirement for the study of a nonwestern culture we should think about one for our own.

➤ *Democratic* Senator Robert Byrd held up a vote on Condoleezza Rice's nomination for days. On the Senate floor, Sen. Byrd spoke with passion and rising anger against President Bush's nominee to the post of Secretary of State. Sen. Byrd, who filibustered the 1964 Civil Rights Act and vehemently opposed desegregating the military, once complained in a letter: "I should rather die a thousand times and see old glory trampled in the dirt never to rise again than see this beloved land of ours become degraded by race mongrels, a throwback to the blackest specimen of the wilds." As recently as 2001, Sen. Byrd used the term "white n\*\*\*\*ers." No word yet from the BSU, but you can imagine the hellish fury that would be unleashed by politically correct groups if a Republican Senator with a history of membership in the KKK were to argue so strongly against a *Democratic*, female, African-

American nominee who broke through the glass ceiling.

➤ Will the real American party please stand up? The President has facilitated what is perhaps the greatest triumph of western ideals in the Middle East since Kemal Ataturk's remade the Turkish nation. However, it's interesting that as President Bush discussed the coming wave of freedom in Iraq that was demonstrated by the recent elections there, which, we should add, had over twice the turnout of the last EU Parliamentary elections, the only party thunderously applauding, the only party holding up purple-stained fingers in solidarity with our Iraqi brothers, and the only party willing to applaud American success, was the GOP. Seriously, it's as if the Democrats are rooting for al Zargawi and his goons...

➤ And finally, we are happy to inform USG President Leslie Bernard-Joseph that despite the condescending and authoritarian tone of his recent email to the student body, *we are talking* about the USG Survey on Race and Campus Life Report. In fact, not only are we talking about it, we are working feverously to come up with our own policy proposals on the matter. Look to future editions of the *Tory* for some novel solutions to problems the report highlights.

"Wassup"... we'll pass.

-- Compiled by the Editors





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

**Christian C. Sahner '07**

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 14<sup>th</sup> 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. Princetonians 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 17<sup>th</sup>, 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 an effort to preempt charges of sexism and

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

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***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.***

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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 just couldn’t breathe...Let’s not forget that

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 7<sup>th</sup> 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

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*

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

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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



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

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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## *As one commentator said, Summers’ Soviet style confession of sin attests to a vicious absence of courtesy*

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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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 woman, 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. P



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# EMBRACING STATES' RIGHTS

## AND THEIR IMPORTANCE TO EVERYONE

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**J. Ruben Pope '07**

The moment Democratic Presidential candidate John Kerry conceded, every liberal pundit spouted forth some playful quip on the finer points of secession. However humorous the intent of these comments may have been, the comments always alluded to an underlying truth or possible fear of what the coming years may bring. Why are they so scared? The answer seethes with an irony only a neo-confederate could enjoy. They are scared because northeast liberals spent the last fifty years cultivating and expanding a massive and intrusive national government that they no longer control. By dominating the legislature and manipulating the Supreme Court, liberals effectively imposed their will on the conservative regions of the country. Not anymore.

In one of the great misnomers of our time, this process was dubbed the "culture war," a war that columnist Jeffrey Rosen claims liberals won because "they won in the court of public opinion" (The New Republic, Supreme Mistake); Bush's re-election proves otherwise. The problem is that liberal victories were not trench fought battles in state to state legislatures, not even argued in Congress; activist judges simply dropped nuclear bombs in the Court- Engel v Vitale, Roe v Wade, Texas v. Lawrence etc. essentially wiping out the need (or at least the Left's need) to debate these issues any further. After all, most people support judicial dicta when they agree with it; it is much simpler than having to win an argument among the people.

But I do not. Naively, I assumed my fellow conservatives would agree with me, but they are just as guilty as the Left in this regard. Licking their chops on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, leading social conservatives such as Bob Jones III, President of Bob Jones University and Dr. James Dobson, Founder and Chairman of Focus on the Family brazenly put forth their expectations. As quoted by NY Times columnist Maureen Dowd, Jones stated: "Christ has allowed you to be his servant. So he could leave an imprint for

righteousness, by appointing conservative judges and approving legislation." Dobson echoed this thought, warning that the president and Republicans better deliver on issues like abortion, gay marriage and conservative judges. If they don't, warned Dobson, "I believe they'll pay a price in the next election."

I understand the sincerity of Christian conservatives' turmoil over what they see as the demoralization of this country and for that I give pause, but I do not give reprieve. How dare these people threaten the president and the party to deliver a court that will uphold their view? That is not how the system works! While the president does indeed owe a debt to social conservatives for his re-election, the Court owes these social conservatives nothing, or at least nothing new. Its job, as it has always been, is to interpret the laws, not to make them. That is the only court conservatives should demand.

Even though conservatives now have the opportunity to abuse the Federal gov-

Consider LA Times columnist Michael Kin- sley who echoes this point: "Although I am pro-choice, I was taught in law school, and still believe, that *Roe v. Wade* is a muddle of bad reasoning and an authentic example of judicial overreaching."

Consider the logic of "penumbras formed by emanations" in a setting less controversial than abortion. Imagine that the Americans for Tax Reform, an organization which favors lower taxes, were to sue the federal government in order to ban the progressive tax. Using "penumbras formed by emanations," they can concoct an ironclad argument with the logic of the Founding Fathers are on their side. The Fifth Amendment states that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." Well, property could be construed as money, and taxes take that property for the public use, a direct violation of the Fifth Amendment. In addition, the Fourteenth

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***The promise of states' rights is not a ban on federal policy; it is instead an insurance that the policy will be tested before it is implemented.***

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ernment as liberals have done for the past fifty years, we have a responsibility not to. We cannot be shortsighted, blindly pushing abortion and gay-marriage to the forefront of a reactionary agenda. We must not forget why Roe v. Wade is such a LEGAL travesty. It has nothing to do with women or babies or Bibles. It is blatant usurpation of states' rights, rights that liberals are finally starting to appreciate now that their point of view is being threatened. That being said, what should we conservatives hope for over the coming years?

To begin, Roe v. Wade has to be separated from the issue of abortion: overturning the former cannot outlaw the latter. Now, why should it even be overturned? Simply put, Roe is bad law. If you are pro-choice it might be good policy, but it is still bad law.

Amendment declares "no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Well then. One could easily argue that there is nothing equal about someone having to give 33% of his income to the government, while another person does not have to give a cent. Personally, this writer does not believe this "right to exemption" exists, but the logic train runs parallel to Roe's "right to privacy" and it is a scary proposition that high powered interest groups can usurp our sacred democracy through such perverse litigation.

With regard to to gay-marriage, consider conservatives' (ab)use of Congress to get a federal amendment passed banning gay marriage. In a recent article by Professor Robert George titled "Why we need a marriage amendment," George argues that

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even though 38 states have past laws banning gay-marriage and 11 have enshrined this in their constitution, one thunderous Supreme Court ruling could strike down all of those laws. On this matter, of course, he is absolutely correct. After all, consider Matt Foreman, of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, discuss his thoughts on democracy: "Fundamental liberties should never be put up for a popular vote. We'll win some states and we'll lose some states, but eventually the Supreme Court is going to look at the Bill of Rights and isn't going to give a damn what's in any of these state constitutions." Mr. Foreman and those who agree with him would do much to remember Justice Holmes famous dissent in *Lochner*; "I think that the word liberty in the fourteenth amendment is perverted when it is held to prevent the natural outcome of a dominant opinion."

So with these radicals damning state constitutions, Professor George goes on to argue that the only way to protect individual states' rights is to define marriage between a man and a woman and enshrine this into the United States' Constitution. Here is where I cry foul. I've read George's brilliant work, *Clash of Orthodoxies*, and the detail with which he anticipates and rebuts counter-arguments is remarkable. I know that there is no way he could have written what he wrote without realizing the obvious, namely, that if a state wanted to allow gay-marriage but there was a Federal Constitutional Amendment preventing this, then its rights as a state would be violated by the very Amendment that is supposed to "protect" them. While he and many other social conservatives would no doubt like to slap a federal ban on same-sex marriage (and abortion as well), this violation of states' rights would be no different than a federal endorsement backing the two.

Despite my efforts to be fair, I am sure by this point, all the left wing readers are seething; they probably just consider me another crazy southern conservative still fighting the war, but to do so would be a shame. There is so much potential for both ideologies to use the power vested in their individual states to prove which one is better for our society. More often than not, we forget that some of our greatest achievements were forged in the states, and expanded as a result of those successful experiments: Massachusetts led the abolitionist charge with their state constitution long before the nation was ready to accept it, Illinois stood up against big business by regulating

the railroads which were supported by the federal government, and Wyoming saw the wisdom of allowing women to vote long before the rest of the country did. While I will be the first to admit there have been strong negative marks on the pages of the history of states' rights, state governments are no worse than any other of the forms of government. The Federal Government has a number of outrages in its history; it sanctioned genocide against the Indians as well as the internment of thousands of Japanese. We would be wise, therefore, to analyze the people behind these decisions instead of blaming the governmental mechanisms they used.

Imagine how liberals could fight Bush's tax policy through their respective states. The charge against the Bush administration

of wasting resources badgering a recalcitrant Congress?

But these tactics are not confined to the Left. One could just as easily fire back that the South should stop trying to implement its views on marriage to the rest of the country, especially considering that the Bible belt has some of the highest divorce rates in the country. I agree. I applaud the northeast for its remarkably low divorce rates, and especially Massachusetts – the only state to legalize gay-marriage – for having the lowest divorce rate in the country. Granted, some conservatives attribute this to the number of couples in the northeast who "live in sin," a.k.a. living together without getting married, but it is highly doubtful that that it is enough to skew the numbers that much.

There is nothing wrong with admitting

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***The Court owes these social conservatives nothing, or at least nothing new. Its job, as it has always been, is to interpret the laws, not to make them. That is the only court conservatives should demand.***

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or just conservatives as a whole is that we are heartless misers who care nothing for the poor. It's a fatal irony, then, that the states that suffer from the greatest gap in income distribution are those in the northeast and California – bastions of liberalism. If these states are so concerned about the poor, why not heavily tax areas like Greenwich, Westchester, and Orange County, and then redistribute that money to areas like New Haven, Harlem, and Compton? After all, our government provides a variety of ways to tax, and if liberals would stop concentrating on federal mandates, they might realize how much power they actually have to solve the problems plaguing their states.

Besides income redistribution, they could really get a handle on environmental issues. Imagine if they would get their heads out of Alaska and concentrate on New Jersey. What's the worst that could happen in Alaska? We destroy some beautiful sights that are too cold for anyone to visit anyway. While all their attention is devoted there, New Jersey – the most densely populated state in the Union – remains the only state to have every county fail clean air standards. Granted, I am not Peter Singer, but given the choice between people and penguins, I would choose the former. Why doesn't the Left spend their time swaying the liberal leaning legislature in New Jersey to pass tighter environmental regulations, instead

that a certain region or state is more successful in an area than another. After all, liberals like to look to other countries for advice on how to run America; it follows that they would be just as comfortable looking at other areas of this country for solutions. Furthermore, the promise of states' rights is not a ban on federal policy; it is instead an insurance that the policy will be tested before it is implemented. Politics is not like science: unlike science, politics is not afforded the luxury of controlled environments. All we can hope for is to run our experiments in an area that, if it all goes wrong, will adversely affect as few people as possible; and if the experiment is promising, it can be gradually extended and tweaked to suit the growing number involved. Federal bans or endorsements by definition can not allow such leniency, and thus can never be as successful as a simple states' rights approach. P



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# 22 MINUTES:

## BUSH'S PHILOSOPHICAL REVOLUTION

Powell Fraser '06

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

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***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.***

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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 19<sup>th</sup> 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

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## *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.*

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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-



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# WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE REPUBLICAN

## THE WAGE GAP AND OTHER TALL TALES

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*Juliann H. Vikse '08*

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

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***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.***

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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 2<sup>nd</sup>.

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.

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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

# AMERICA AND CHIRAC

## WHY THE U.S. SHOULD JUST SAY “NON”

Jurgen R. Reinhoudt '06

French President Jacques Chirac recently voiced his support for a global tax at the Davos Forum in Davos, Switzerland. The tax would be used to help treat and prevent AIDS, but in theory, it could be used for any variety of other purposes. *Le Monde*, France's influential left-of-center daily, promptly proclaimed: “Jacques Chirac pleads for international solidarity at the Davos Forum.” In his speech, Chirac said at least \$10 billion was necessary to combat AIDS in developing countries. He offered several ideas for where this money could come from: a “contribution” (a tax) on international financial transactions, which could bring in about \$10 billion, another one on “incoming and exiting capital flows” in countries which maintain banking secrecy laws, a “contribution” (a tax) on fuel used by planes and ships, and a “weak charge” (a tax of one dollar) on the three billion airplane tickets sold every year in the world. European leaders, always keen on higher taxes, are already discussing a proposal for a tax on kerosene, the fuel used by airplanes.

In light of the extraordinary human devastation caused by AIDS in the developing world, notably Africa, it's virtuous and noble to want to do more. The solutions which President Chirac lays out, however, are wrong for several reasons.

A quick glance at the history of the US income tax will suffice to illustrate that a small tax quickly becomes a big tax: the first income tax law after the Sixteenth Amendment went into effect in 1916 mandated a 7% maximum rate. Who could object to a 7% top tax rate? Absent any strict limits, however, this 7% top tax rate rose to 90% within the next thirty years. There is little reason to suspect a global tax would be any different. It would certainly not rise to 90%, but it would most assuredly rise quickly, especially if the United Nations is in charge: the UN is ideologically predisposed to taxing and spending, and in that regard, the UN leadership is “in sync” with most European leaders.

A \$1 tax on the 3 billion airplane tickets sold around the world is not a lot, right? So why not make it \$10? Or \$20? Think of all

the good things you can do with \$60 billion! Surely travelers won't mind paying \$20, \$30 or \$40 per airplane ticket for all the suffering people in the world, right? *Right?* And if airlines and shipping companies can pay an extra tax on fuel, what's wrong with a global gas tax for consumers? Can you really in your heart say that you can't afford to pay 1 cent per gallon more for people who are starving? How about 10 cents? 30 cents?

Here begins the road to a global tax nightmare. Under the guise of helping the poor, whatever tax is instituted will grow exponentially. The money raised by the tax which Mr. Chirac is proposing would in theory be used to help AIDS victims and improve AIDS prevention efforts; nothing, however, says that the money from the global tax would be used only for that purpose. It's highly likely that the language of the proposal would allow the UN General Assembly to spend the money as it sees fit, for what it defines to be the “greater good.” One assumes here that the UN would manage the global tax; earlier global tax proposals, such as the Tobin Tax, favored that approach.

Just because a politician with an ability for oratory says a tax will be used for a certain purpose certainly does not mean the tax will indeed be used for that purpose. That is simple political wisdom, but many liberal idealists ignore it at their peril. Do you remember how American states said they would use the hundreds of billions of dollars from the tobacco settlement? For smoking prevention and cessation programs, but that's not what happened. According to Tobacco Free Kids, an anti-smoking organization, “states during the current budget year have allocated \$538 million for tobacco prevention, which amounts to less than 3% of the record \$20 billion the states will collect [in 2005] in tobacco revenue from the 1998 state tobacco settlement and tobacco taxes.” Many anti-smoking organizations rue the day they entered a compact with government to mercilessly squeeze tobacco companies.

Many idealists will ask why, in today's increasingly globalized world, we should not let the UN General Assembly, where every government is represented, make the decisions. The problem with the United Nations is that it is *always* in favor of higher taxes

and bigger government programs—regardless of whether these programs are effective or not. In addition, the UN is an organization afflicted with a great deal of problems; it's an organization that is simply not fit to run a global tax program. The United Nations is largely responsible for the oil-for-food scandal, through which Saddam Hussein skimmed \$6 billion off of oil export money that was supposed to go to the suffering children of Iraq, a scandal that has, interestingly, gone very much underreported in the European media.

The commission investigating the program has already found Benon Sevan, the former UN Undersecretary-General in charge of the program, guilty of corruption. When asked to explain a mysterious \$160,000 cash infusion, Sevan said it came from his aunt in Cyprus. Sevan's aunt was a retired government worker who lived off a modest pension; it's highly unlikely she would have (or could have) given \$160,000 to her cousin in a moment of intense unflinching generosity. Rather disturbingly, she died under mysterious circumstances by falling into an elevator shaft before investigators had a chance to talk to her. The oil-for-food scandal is just one of a number of scandals afflicting the UN. Letting the UN manage any type of global tax is inherently unwise.

Regardless of possible UN involvement, a lack of effectiveness is the most significant problem afflicting Chirac's proposal. Let's assume the money from the global tax would indeed be used for its stated purpose—AIDS relief and prevention. Even then, private efforts are far more effective in relieving human suffering than government efforts, and in this regard, several recent events are worth observing. The first is the success of an AIDS vaccine in development by one of those supposedly evil pharmaceutical companies. The AP reported recently that “The Merck candidate vaccine is designed to persuade the defenders of each cell, called ‘killer T cells,’ to attack HIV when the virus enters the cell. According to Sarah B. Alexander, associate director of the HIV Vaccine Trials Network, or HVTN, “It is the most promising candidate that we've seen so far.” And the United States is by far the most generous sponsor of AIDS vaccine research: of

the \$600 million to \$700 million invested in AIDS vaccine research worldwide last year, the United States provided \$582 million.

Another pharmaceutical company, Aspen Pharmacare, South Africa's largest drug maker, has developed a highly useful AIDS treatment combination pill, even as South Africa's President, Thabo Mbeki, continues to deny that HIV causes AIDS. The FDA recently approved the Aspen pill, meaning that money from the US Federal Government (including President Bush's multi-billion AIDS fund) may be used for purchasing the drug for AIDS relief. It's estimated that the cost of the combination treatment will be about \$20 to \$30 per person per month, a significant amount by African standards, but the price will be made more manageable through the help of private foundations and funds such as the Global Aids Fund. The Aspen package consists of a generic equivalent of a pill developed by the British firm Glaxo Smithkline and the generic equivalent of a pill developed by the German firm Boehringer Ingelheim; both companies have licensed Aspen to produce the drugs.

What about efforts on the ground? Non-governmental organizations and other organizations are doing extraordinary work in South Africa and other nations to help the population deal with this epidemic. In April of 2004, Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders) launched an anti-retroviral treatment program at Bulawayo Hospital in Zimbabwe that uses fixed-dose combinations that cost \$20 per patient, per month and require only two pills a day. Reported the San Francisco Chronicle: "The number of AIDS patients receiving life-saving drug treatment in poor or middle-income nations rose 60 percent in the past six months, the WHO said [in January 2005]. The number of people receiving anti-retroviral therapy in less-developed countries jumped to 700,000 in December, up from 440,000 in June. Much of the gain occurred in sub-Saharan Africa, where an additional 160,000 people received therapy."

Much, much more remains to be done, and the major relief efforts should be led by private organizations. Governments should not be the direct recipients of the money. It is not surprising that Americans, who are results-oriented people, are especially generous when it comes to donating to private charities: Americans gave a whopping \$241 billion to charity organizations in 2003, more than anyone in the world. That money is generally well spent. Foreign aid that is

given directly to governments, by contrast, often does not have the desired impact. Under the Clinton Administration, the Congressional Budget Office published a report on government aid and stated, in unusually strong terms: "In many cases, foreign aid has sustained governments in their pursuit of economically counterproductive political and economic policies. Such policies include the persecution of particular groups, restrictions on private trade and the inflow of private capital and enterprises, confiscation of property, price policies that discourage agricultural production, and the expropriation of foreign capital and enterprises."

The Netherlands is one of 5 countries in the world to spend more than 0.7% of its GDP on development aid (Denmark, Norway, Sweden and tiny Luxembourg are the other 4.) It's worth noting that although the Netherlands has given dozens of billions to Africa over the past 35 years, officials at the Dutch Department of Development Aid are at a loss to point out specific gains, preferring instead to talk about a long-term process and solidarity with the poor. There is almost nothing to show for the billions. That's quite simply extraordinary. In fact, in a number of cases, the money had a negative impact, either disappearing into the pockets of corrupt government officials or landing in the hands of warlords, fueling armed conflict. Government money is not a guarantee for success!

One of the men most responsible for the inefficient spending of Dutch aid money is Jan Pronk, a socialist and former Dutch Minister of Development Aid. He's symbolic of a number of European socialists. One writer notes that he was often received as an extremely generous type of Calvinist Santa Claus when he worked as Minister of Development Aid: he gave billions to dictators and authoritarian rulers, no questions asked. Pronk's approach is one mimicked by a number of European countries, but it is clearly not the road to prosperity for nations in development—nor is it effective for expanding AIDS treatment and prevention programs. (Pronk is currently working at the United Nations—one just hopes he's not in charge of AIDS relief.)

Tanzania is an example of a country where government foreign aid has hurt far more than it has helped: since the early 1970s, Tanzania has received more international aid per capita than any other country. Today, it remains one of the world's poorest nations. It had no per capita GNP growth between 1980 and 1992, and during this

period, when it received enormous amounts of foreign aid, inflation averaged 25% and energy and agricultural production plummeted.

Parts of Africa, such as Tanzania, are just as poor today as they were 35 years ago. Those advances that have been made in Africa have been made thanks to stable governments, strong private property rights and local assistance by non-governmental organizations. Letting AIDS relief money flow through governments is not a good idea. Giving non-governmental organizations the money and letting them handle it in a transparent and accountable manner *is*. Individual governments may certainly give to non-governmental organizations, if they choose, but creating a global tax to give non-governmental organizations this money would be an enormous mistake.

President Chirac's proposal is reflective of the European *Zeitgeist*: instead of relying on private charity and private compassion to help those in need, Europeans tend to look toward the government to solve social ills, including the AIDS epidemic. This is unfortunate, because it is government aid that has held African nations back in recent decades, even as private aid has greatly improved the lives of millions. It would be far better to reduce the role of government and let private charities and free enterprise work together to solve the AIDS crisis. Pharmaceutical companies (the firms that develop cures for everything from acute lower-respiratory infections and malaria to blinding trachoma, leprosy and tuberculosis, etc.) are well on their way to developing a cure and a vaccine for AIDS. By working directly with the population at the local level and disseminating the AIDS treatment options that are already available, non-governmental organizations have the opportunity to make a tremendously positive impact on helping AIDS victims and working to support prevention efforts. A global tax is not needed; more private support for AIDS relief and prevention *is*. P



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