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PRINCETON TORY



Killing Feminism

OWL sabotages the women's movement

THE PRINCETON TORY

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Notes from the Publisher

I've come to the earnest conclusion that the most cherished word of the Tilghman administration, and the University in general, is DIVERSITY. Whether we are told to "reflect" on our ethnicity,



participate in a task force on "cross-cultural encounters," or engage in "dialogues" about race, diversity is in perpetual focus. All this talk of "diversity" has diverted Princeton from its original academic focus: Western civilization and the curious combination of Socrates and Christ, strength and humility, democracy and piety, Athens and Jerusalem. Diversity is a noteworthy discussion topic, yet highly overvalued at this University.

This University represents my only experience with gratuitous glorification of diversity, but it is a problem that plagues most of American academia today. Academia loves to celebrate the bountiful cornucopia of diversity, yet loathes the idea of drawing distinctions between true and false, wrong and right. Academics attempt to justify almost every idea, no matter how destructive or delusional based on the fact that the idea *is an idea*, and therefore justified.

I am not declaring Western values the only thing worth studying, nor do I believe that America is a perfect country. Both traditions have a number of problems and need constant self-evaluation. However, the emergence of the United States as the leader and protector of the civilized world demonstrates the enduring strength of Western ideas and values, such as, but not limited to—consent of the governed, rule of law, human rights, capitalism, equal opportunity, religious faith, and respect for innocent life. These topics merit far more undergraduate study than they receive.

I support entertaining diverse ideas, but I do not believe diversity is the holy grail of the academic experience. Diversity does have value, but it can be overstretched. While the academic curriculum has steered widely off course, excellence and truth are still sought by students. Thus, conservatives feel that the Western tradition, embodied today by America, deserves the most analysis. The classics of the Western tradition, as well as American history, deserve priority over other areas of study. As the publisher of the *Tory* I strive to defend the pillars of Western civilization against the distractions of diversity.

Pete Hegseth '03

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THE PRINCETON TORY

April 2002

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THE RANT

The *Tory* comments on:

- gay marriage
- “fighting whites”
- killing babies
- USSR punk bands
- Halle Berry
- and more...



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THE RANT

- In 2000, the citizens of California passed a statewide referendum, with 61 percent support, which said that “only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California.” It was a major victory for the sanctity of traditional marriage. By passing the referendum (Proposition 22), the people of California gave the final word on what is morally right and permissible, correct? Well, based on recent actions by the California legislature, apparently not. In the last legislative session, Democrat Paul Koretz introduced a bill to create civil unions, giving homosexual couples “comprehensive legal status parallel to civil marriage laws.” By introducing Assembly Bill 1338, Democrats (and a few Republicans) sought to override the people and legalize homosexual marriage. Thanks to the efforts of California Republicans (and a few Democrats) Koretz withdrew the bill. However, Koretz will reintroduce it next year. The movement to legitimize the homosexual lifestyle and homosexual marriages is strong and must be vigorously opposed. Homosexuals themselves should not be demonized; however, their lifestyle deserves absolutely no special legal status. The *Tory* hopes and prays that California legislators and activists who courageously opposed AB 1338 this year will do so for years to come.
- Admissions time is rolling around, and a reconsideration of now entrenched affirmative action programs at Princeton is long overdue. Conservatives must overcome the instinctive fallback of AA’s defenders: the need for “diversity” on college campuses. Contesting this claim shouldn’t be difficult, so long as its logic is explored fully. If the asserted importance of diversity is premised on the value of including differing perspectives in academia, then affirmative action is guilty of unfair generalization *and* inconsistency. The overgeneralization occurs when admissions officers presume that one’s perspective is defined only by skin color, ignoring the diversity of thought within racial groups. Fundamentally, it fails to treat applicants for enrollment as individuals, each possessing a complex background and a multifaceted view on life. An inconsistency reveals itself in the University’s tendency to exclude religious minorities and other underrepresented worldviews from this preferential treatment. Something tells us that the broader inclusion of Sikhs and Mormons into the classroom will add far more ideological variety to discussions than increasing the percentage of wealthy racial minorities. Our message to affirmative action’s supporters: either follow the diversity mantra to its logical extent, which may at some point even involve the recruitment of more conservatives, or stop preaching it as gospel.
- Congratulations to Halle Berry for her Oscar-worthy achievement this year. We only wish the performance itself was considered as important as the racial identity of the actor doing it. Normally, it’s the hounds in the media who blow up the racial element, ignoring the specific achievement of a given award-winner. In this case, it was Berry herself who made a point of accepting the award on behalf of an entire race. Her hysteria set her apart from her more dignified counterpart, Denzel Washington, whose acceptance speech acknowledged the racial milestone but made it second place to his *individual* ability as an actor. Kudos.
- An intramural basketball team composed primarily of Native Americans students at the University of Northern Colorado recently adopted the unofficial name “Fightin’ Whites” (their official name is “Native Pride”) as a way of being “provocative” in order to encourage nearby Eaton High School to be more sympathetic to the pleas of tolerance from members of the Mohawk nation who are offended by the school’s mascot, the Fightin’ Reds. The high school’s official mascot is a caricature of a Native American with a misshapen nose, wearing a loincloth and feather. Fightin’ Whites team member Ryan White, himself a Native American, said the move was a way

of encouraging Caucasians to “Walk in someone else’s shoes,” and said the move will hopefully help them “make a judgment.” Their website says their goal is to “deliver a simple, sincere, message about ethnic stereotyping.” The response? White people love it. The team has been swamped with orders for T-shirts. Selling at more than \$20 a pop, the team cannot make enough of them. And what does the *Tory* have to say about this? Well, can someone loan us twenty bucks?

- The House of Representatives recently passed a long overdue piece of legislation, the “Born Alive Infants Protection Act” which stipulates that doctors cannot kill newly born children who survive an abortion. You’d think, based on common sense and basic morality that this was already illegal, but it happens. Every year, doctors leave “fully delivered, breathing babies to die, following unsuccessful abortions.” The Senate must now pass the bill before Bush can sign it. However, the bill may not even reach a vote; it is one of approximately 50 bills being held up by Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle. The fact that this legislation is facing vigorous opposition in the Senate, as it did in the House, is a testament to how extreme the pro-choice movement really is. That being said, we don’t care what your political leanings, in the name of humanity, call your Senators and voice your support for the bill. The *Tory* thanks the legislators who passed the bill through the House. Needless to say, we will all be making two long-distance phone calls in the near future.
- Has the Workers’ Rights Organizing Committee (WROC) returned? Not yet, but its leaders have now publicly hinted that a grand finale is in store for students. We’re having trouble hiding our excitement. For a group that must have been named after a mediocre punk band straight out of the USSR, it has accomplished quite a bit. The minimum wage for Princeton employees is now well into the double digits, not including an extraordinary benefits package. As the labor debate shifts into talks about eliminating performance evaluations for workers and moving toward a “living wage,” we feel compelled to point out the realities that WROCers have consistently refused to admit. For starters, just as there are some terrific workers, there are also

workers whose service is undeniably substandard. Distinguishing between the two types of workers is necessary, not only to get the best service for students, but out of fairness to the efforts of the most productive employees. WROC is a classic reminder that the road to administrative hell is paved with good intentions, but its credibility would be strengthened considerably if simple points like this one were acknowledged in its official material.

- On March 24th the New York Times ran a piece entitled “Europeans Opting Against Marriage.” The title speaks for itself. European countries, in their infinite wisdom, have decided that marriage isn’t important anymore. They believe government should not show any preference towards the institution of marriage, but instead legally recognize any and all relationships. Instead of portraying this trend in a negative, or even factual way, the New York Times gave the statistics a decidedly progressive spin. As far as we’re concerned, the two can have each other.
- In ABC investigative reporter John Stossel’s recent campus appearance, he recalled an incident at Brown University where, when voicing his libertarian beliefs, he was silenced by a group of rowdy feminists in the audience. Students pulled out the plug on his microphone and smashed the videotape being used to record the events. Two lessons should be drawn from Stossel’s experience. Most obviously, radical liberals really aren’t that liberal when confronted with opposition. But more than that, this example should remind students that constant pleas for additional activism on campus – so we can be more like the Browns and Berkeleys of our era – are misguided.
- On April Fools Day, the Israeli army discovered a PLO plot to fool Israel with counterfeit money. In Arafat’s offices, Israeli officers found printing plates for Israeli currency and millions of counterfeit shekels. Officials suspect that there are also plates for American currency (though it is more difficult to counterfeit). As the *Wall Street Journal*’s website reminds us, Arafat won a Nobel Peace Prize in 1994. Does SPEAC still believe that Arafat is an innocent?

-Compiled by the Tory Editors

Hamming It Up

The Past and Future of the Civil Rights Movement

John Andrews '05

Fliers across campus called one and all to hear Lawrence Hamm '78, the man who "made Princeton stop investing in apartheid South Africa."

Hamm's record is a testament to the power of student activism. During his senior year at a Newark high school, when his diploma was threatened by a teachers' strike, Hamm led the "Newark Students' Federation" to the Hilton Gateway, where negotiations had stalled. The students staged a sit-in and refused to leave until they met the mayor. Hamm met the mayor, who agreed to give in to most of the teachers' demands. At seventeen, Hamm became a full member of the Newark School Board. He entered Princeton in 1971, withdrew, and returned in '74.

The student movement began to press for "economic disengagement" in 1976. Hamm maintains that apartheid could not exist without the aid of foreign corporations, citing petroleum and military suppliers. Hamm's organization, apparently ignorant of De Beers' enormous influence in South Africa, picketed a local jewelry store simply because it sold a South African coin. The group picketed Nassau Hall for months and, in the spring of 1978, staged a sit-in inside. White students, posing as corporate representatives with appointments, entered the hall and let

210 of their classmates in through locked side doors. Despite heavy publicity, the demonstration did not cause the administration to divest, and the protesters left the building. In years to follow, the administration divested



itself of a token amount of shares of only some of the many corporations Hamm's organization accused of supporting the apartheid system. (Hamm in fact did not "make" Princeton stop investing in anything.)

Though many attended the stirring speech, few apparently really listened. Hamm's beliefs on local policy are blatantly contradictory with his views on foreign policy. For example, Hamm called for divestment from apartheid South Africa but vehemently opposes the embargo on Iraq. Apparently, the embargo is in fact a form of the "economic disengagement" of which Hamm is a proponent. Saddam Hussein's government is in fact oppressive of minorities; ask a Kurd. It also pursues the development of nuclear weapons, weapons Hamm opposes. Why does he find "disengagement" writ large inappropriate?

Hamm is also opposed to the current war on terror. Hamm, who praised the 1967 New Jersey race riots as a "rebellion," is by no means a pacifist. Rather, he mistrusts the intentions of the American government.

He stated in his speech, "I'm beginning to wonder if there ever was an Osama bin Laden." Yet Afghanistan-based American soldiers, whose presence Hamm resents, have freed Afghan women from oppression under the Taliban. Indeed, American intervention in Afghanistan is a civil-rights triumph. One would think Lawrence Hamm

would be more appreciative. One wonders how Hamm, an activist against police brutality, could turn a blind eye to the brutality of police states.

Sadly, Hamm allows his antipathy toward the Bush administration to contaminate his zeal in fighting racist policy. Like national civil rights leaders Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, Hamm has tied his hands by swearing fealty to a political entity, and can neither point to wrongs wherever they arise nor give credit wherever it is due. Thus, civil rights figures are no longer moral leaders but simply political advocates, jostling their way to the pork barrel as with proposals for reparations for the descendants of former slaves, proposals Hamm supports.

Hamm, wrapped up in his own rhetoric, salutes college students as "the conscience of the nation." (Were

that true, America's conscience risks passing out on Prospect Street each Saturday night.) But his message has inspired the Princeton Peace Network, the co-hosts of Hamm's presentation, to call for divestment of Princeton's assets that support "the Israeli occupation."

Divestment sounds like a clever idea and is currently fashionable for a few reasons. First, it attempts to place responsibility on the University (and perhaps on its tuition-payers and alumni donors) for events in the Middle East. Those who claim that the US brought September 11 upon itself and that society itself is at fault for all sorts of nasty social problems have placed this type of idea in the pseudo-intellectual vogue. Indeed, telling a

society to blame itself sounds much more erudite than any analysis that looks at the mere individual. Also, divestment necessitates meddling with Princeton's endowment, a wellspring eternal for student proposals.

But the proponents of divestment exaggerate its power. Divestment, at least in theory, is not a way to wash one's hands of a sticky situation abroad, it is an attempt to persuade corporations to modify their practices. Thus, one wonders whether the shareholder would not exert more influence on a given company in its boardroom than on the exchange floor.

More practical difficulties arise when one compares the profitability of corporations having Israeli

partnerships with the lack of pro-Arab support on campus. Besides, unilateral economic measures rarely produce their intended results. In Princeton's case, it is doubtful such a measure would produce any result. If Princeton is truly to be in the service of all nations, she must not attempt to bully companies into abandoning them.

Hamm's youthful escapades inspire us to speak out. Sadly, the hypocrisy of his current-day positions supply us with something to vocalize against. America's conscience is lodged not in students or in any other societal group, but rather in the individual. And in these times, it should be stirred to action – not by demagoguery, but by the facts before us.

In Praise of the 'Prince'

Nathaniel Norman '03

The *Daily Princetonian* and its editors have been called many things. A biased newspaper that would be better off incorporating itself as a leftist rag, off-topic and lacking in perspective, skewing its coverage and skewing its enemies. Yet its critics, many of which have hailed from this publication, fail to realize why the 'Prince' makes an important contribution to the University community.

That contribution is in fostering civil political discussion on campus. The 'Prince' opinion page has given equal space to liberal and conservative political voices alike. For every Dan Wachtell or Nick Guyatt, there is a Carlos Ramos-Mrosovsky. To make

the editorial pages as politically balanced as they are demonstrates the willingness of the 'Prince' leadership to allow many student voices to be

heard. Indeed, the presentation of its point-counterpoint columns illustrates that the editors wish to have a newspaper that gracefully mediates the exchange of ideas.

This forum for insightful thought is one of the most admirable and important aspects of the newspaper, and it should remain so as the publication strives to include a wide range of perspectives of Princeton students, even if those perspectives are unpopular or unsavory. The conservative voice on campus is a minority voice, and often an unpopular one, but its inclusion in the editorial pages of the 'Prince' shows the noble intentions of that newspaper. The 'Prince' editors understand the importance of minority opinions and have given the conservative and liberal positions equal space. Is this censorship? No, it is evenhandedness.



Students appreciate not only the balance of the opinion page but also the neutrality of the 'Prince's daily coverage of local and national news issues. In a recent article on a New Jersey drug needle exchange program, the 'Prince' gave readers the opportunity to see and understand differing viewpoints, including a quote from Eric Wang, whose opposing point of view was a necessary ingredient in a genuinely balanced news article. The decision of the 'Prince' to include conflicting opinions on potentially controversial topics requires consideration, good judgment, and plain sense.

Noticeably absent from the 'Prince' are editorials, the unsigned position pieces which most other newspapers use to suggest their political leanings and predilections.

By refusing to employ this journalistic peculiarity, the 'Prince' editors have sent a message that their own opinions are secondary to those of students.

We need to remember that the 'Prince' is our only daily paper and therefore will always attract criticism and controversy. These are times which best test the strength of the paper, when its leaders make tough decisions and stand by them.

For example, former editor-in-chief Dan Stephens decided to run a controversial advertisement for a book by David Horowitz, an author who listed ten reasons why paying "slave reparations" was a bad idea. Stephens noted that, though he neither agreed with Horowitz nor felt the 'Prince' should profit from the ad, its publication raised current and interesting questions that the University community deserved to see. Stephens took a lot of heat, but rightfully stood his ground. Publication of the Horowitz ad fostered vigorous campus debate, with the 'Prince' being the primary forum.

In addition to its sense of fairness and its disinterested encouragement of various points of view, the 'Prince' has

other merits not always captured on the pages of the newspaper. It fosters culture, athletics, and other campus activities; yet its value is greater than the sum of its parts.

Since the widespread use of campus e-mail in the mid-1990s, the popularity of the *Daily Princetonian* among students has decreased. At one time, before e-mail, the publication used to serve as the chief source of non-news information for students. Deadlines from the registrar, weekly lists of campus events, and departmental notices all found their way into the pages of the 'Prince', which then acted as a sort of campus clearinghouse for administrative and academic information.

To be sure, many of the same notices still appear in print, but not on the same scale as before. However, we must remember that the *Daily Princetonian*, while frequently criticized, serves the university community well and should not be taken for granted.

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A Lecture from Hell

Brad Simmons '03

Having read Barbara Ehrenreich's *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America* for a course last semester, I expected similarly provocative and gripping insights from her March 5th campus lecture marking the beginning of Women's History Month.

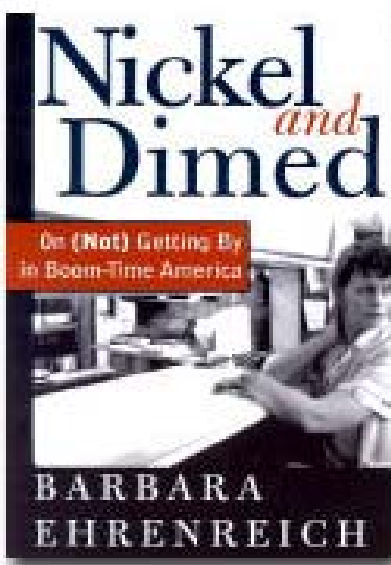
I was greeted instead by a slew of jabs at conservatives, a poor argument for additional government welfare programs, and an open forum for the resurrection of every liberal activist group on campus.

Ehrenreich's book intrigued readers of all political stripes in both method and substance. She spent several months playing the role of an entry-level minimum wage worker, ultimately concluding that her wages were insufficient to maintain anything close to a healthy lifestyle. Though she tossed in a quazi-socialist rant at the end, the argument itself was emotionally compelling and scored important points for anti-poverty crusaders.

Ehrenreich's lecture to Princeton students reiterated very few of these arguments, advancing instead a remarkably petty agenda brimming with partisanship and bitterness. Here is a tiny sample of the intellectual venom she spewed:

➤ *"The argument that welfare causes poverty is similar to the argument that Social Security causes baldness."* Last I checked, Social Security recipients were not given financial incentives to lose their hair. Contrast that with the sensible

contention that the government's guarantee of welfare payments to the impoverished tends to reduce a population's incentive to work. The 10-20% unemployment rate in European countries is ample evidence of this phenomenon. Sadly, Ehrenreich's portrayal of her opponents as childish bigots became



a consistent theme in the talk, denying those present a chance to hear an intellectually serious discussion.

➤ *"What could the Bush administration do about poverty? Bomb it?"* Humor can be forgiven for its stupidity, but Ehrenreich's attempts to connect the ongoing war to the plight of minimum wage workers reached new lows in desperation and cynicism. Not only can these problems be separated conceptually (to some extent, we can support a war on terrorism and the alleviation of poverty at the same time), but the decision to assign blame for welfare reform and poverty exclusively to the Bush administration is laughable. The 1996

welfare reform package had bipartisan support, if you recall, and Ehrenreich herself knows that the persistence of poverty in capitalist societies can't be traced to a particular presidential administration.

➤ *"All we really had in the wake of September 11 was a lot of flag waving without any true unity."* One wonders what level of consensus is sufficient to warrant the term "unity" in Ehrenreich's presumably forthcoming dictionary. And if degree of unity should be considered relevant to the legitimacy of a political movement, then surely her own liberal agenda suffers from the same problem. When was the last time broad-based expansion of welfare payments received 90% approval from Americans?

Had the Program in the Study of Women and Gender found a compelling spokesperson to present a different perspective on welfare reform – the absurd idea that subsidizing poverty should rarely be a permanent function of government – the scope of the problem Ehrenreich identified would have been put into perspective. Using the March 2000 Current Population Survey, for instance, the Heritage Foundation found that less than 5% of minimum wage workers are poor single mothers over the age of 18. The majority, in fact, are teenagers from upper-middle class and wealthy families.

Had the arguments on both sides of the minimum wage debate been heard in earnest, moreover, students would have been reminded that nearly every career begins with undesirable, underappreciated grunt labor.

Someone familiar with Ehrenreich's book might even have emphasized the lack of ambition and uninspired attitudes she observed in most of the discontented workers she encountered which, while understandable, aren't exactly signs of management material. It's the few who persevere through extensive rough patches that are destined for financial prosperity.

This is precisely what distinguishes America from the European socioeconomic models Ehrenreich and her activist friends might point us to: upward mobility. Certainly, the opportunity for one laborer to succeed implies the inevitability of another's failure, a reality that produces large income disparities in capitalist nations. Without this trade-off, however, the most able workers in the lower and middle classes would quickly lose the capacity to improve their financial lot. Furthermore, the system of competition that has encouraged innovation and rapid economic growth for centuries – enhancing *all* workers absolute standard of living in the long term – would be replaced by a social structure laden with economic complacency and free riding.

Never fear. After permitting an array of student activists to advertise their (apparently underattended) weekly meetings, Ehrenreich concluded her lecture with some fabulous suggestions. To begin with, she encouraged those in attendance to write letters prodding our representatives to reverse the welfare reform scourge of the "Republican right." I'm confused: which president signed welfare reform into law in 1996?

She then suggested that those truly devoted to social justice become

student "activists." Ironically, the term "activist" is now understood to be synonymous with contemporary liberalism, even though the objects of protest at nearly every college and university in America are left-leaning administrations.

And, if ambitious students were so inclined, Ehrenreich lastly advised students to "think of devoting (their) lives to it." She warned of bad pay and long hours, but recommended this career path nonetheless. Of course, were we to take her original logic to its fullest extent, we might assume that all low-paying, burdensome labor –

including liberal activism, it would seem – are objectionable lines of employment. In fact, doesn't the substandard compensation for activists warrant the heightening of minimum wages for professional protesters?

I'll leave these nightmarish scenarios for Ehrenreich to contemplate as she takes her unproductive rhetoric to other college audiences. In the meantime, I suggest that she find it in herself to include a more balanced presentation of data concerning poverty, else she find herself doomed to it for her inability to make a decent argument.

Princeton's New "Useful Idiots"

Brian Beck '05

During the Cold War, American communists remained blissfully unaware of the failings of Soviet Communism and supported the evil that resulted from it. They were thus useful to the Soviet Communists trying to put their best spin on the failings of the USSR, and idiots for not being able to see its problems. With the fall of the Soviet Union, two anti-American groups remain for Princeton leftists to fawn over: Cuba and the Palestinian Authority. Very few Princetonians continue to make a major issue out of appeasing Cuba, but the Palestinian advocates have come out the woodwork.

Three groups stand out: the Princeton Committee on Palestine

(PCOP), the Princeton Peace Network (PPN), and the Divest from Israel group. At the end of March, they changed their website to the Students for Progressive Education and Action (SPEAC) website. That fact, combined with the realization by this reporter that the Divest from Israel posters are written on the back of former SPEAC Living Wage posters, indicates that Divest is likely the same group as SPEAC. Let's briefly go through the groups:

PCOP: A quick search reveals that PCOP is not actually an undergraduate organization but a graduate student organization, without a website. According to the Graduate Organizations page, the leader is Nicholas Guyatt GS, who frequently writes for *American Foreign Policy* and for the *Prince*. The extent of this

group's activities has been mostly protests and vigils in conjunction with PPN. I attended one of these protests, and asked the leader of the protest if he opposed Palestinian terrorism. I cannot tell you if this leader was Mr. Guyatt, for he would not give his name, apparently not having the courage to take responsibility for his convictions.

This is understandable, as the answers to my straightforward questions would indicate that he supports Hamas terrorism. Asked if Hamas terrorism should be stopped, he responded that Israel must first stop the occupation. He also, however, believed that Israel should do nothing about Hamas even if it were to continue its terrorist attacks after an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. One must logically conclude that PCOP supports terrorism, or at least its leadership does. If PCOP wants to avoid being seen as terrorist sympathizers, then they should clearly denounce Palestinian terrorism in its official materials.

PPN: More prominent than PCOP as a group opposing the military actions of the United States after September 11, PPN has joined the Palestinian cause, joining many of PCOP's protests and vigils. In the aforementioned vigil, PPN members joined the terrorist sympathizers in front of Firestone library. Was there any condemnation of Palestinian terrorism at this meeting? After all, the PPN website claims that they work to "promote peace in the world by opposing the threat and use of force, especially military operations and other punitive measures, such as sanctions, that harm innocent civilians." Terrorism certainly would be a use of force that harms innocent civilians, yet no condemnation of the Palestinians was

to be found. So much for evenhandedness.

Divest from Israel/SPEAC: Comparing Israel to apartheid South Africa, this group calls for Princeton to stop investing in companies dealing with Israel. Of course, the University invests in these companies because Israel is a strong market, easily the strongest economy in that part of the world. Consequently, over \$100 million is invested in such companies.

These are the groups, and they're all very, very wrong. Two of the SPEAC members, for the first night of Passover, wrote a column in support of divestment. Their central argument was that we, as Princetonians, Americans, and Jews (they are both Jewish, as am I), have an obligation to make sure that all people enjoy the same freedoms that we celebrate during Passover, the holiday celebrating the exodus of the Jewish people from Egyptian slavery. The Palestinians, however, do not live under slavery —there is no forced labor in the occupied territories, and Israel does not target innocent civilians (no one has claimed they do, only that some are killed unintentionally in Israeli attacks).

Yes, Palestinians suffer from unemployment, poverty, Israeli requirements of security checkpoints, strict limits on entering the country, and military attacks on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. However, the Palestinians are not Israeli citizens, while the Arab citizens in Israel do have freedom of speech, the right to vote, and the other basic human rights we hold dear. Israel must keep security checkpoints, as the Palestinians refuse to end their terrorism campaign — did the United States allow unlimited immigration from Germany and Japan during World War II?

In addition, Israel is attacked for using torture, (only in extreme cases to stop an immediate attack, I might add) but Palestinians are not condemned for targeting and killing innocent children.

More importantly, if Amnesty's concern during Passover is freedom, there are many countries far less free than Israel — North Korea, Cuba, China, Sudan, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Saudi Arabia all come to mind. None of these countries permits freedom of religion, in contrast to Israel's policy of allowing Islamic groups to run mosques in Israel proper, including the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. None of these countries gives their citizens a vote, while Israel retains a democracy where Arab citizens of Israel may vote freely in parliamentary elections, and the Arab party has seats in Israel's parliament. In Saudi Arabia, the state-run newspaper recently ran a blood-libel against Jews, claiming that Jews kill non-Jews and bake their blood into Passover matzahs.

With all these oppressive nations to oppose, why should Princeton withdraw its funding from the only Middle East democracy? Why does Amnesty dislike Israel so much? I cannot guess the motives of these groups, but their causes are bankrupt. Their refusal to give their names is cowardly. Princeton students should oppose them at every turn.

Communist sympathizers during the Cold War who ignored the reality of the Soviet Union's cruelty and lack of freedom earned their nickname, "Useful Idiots." The two writers who, in the name of Jewish principles, supported anti-Semitic countries such as the Palestinian Authority and the blood-libelers in Saudi Arabia, along with the other Palestinian advocacy groups on campus, are truly their heirs.

TUBE TOP FEMINISTS: THE TROUBLE WITH OWL's NEOFEMINIST PLATFORM

Jennifer Carter '03

Princeton's Organization of Women Leaders has taken upon itself the mission of "redefining feminism." OWL's recent ad campaign demands a positive answer to the question, "Is it possible to be feminine and be a feminist?" Women are encouraged to be "absolutely fabulous females," strutting the 'Street' in "sexy dresses" and "don't-mess-with-me shoes," according to one poster.

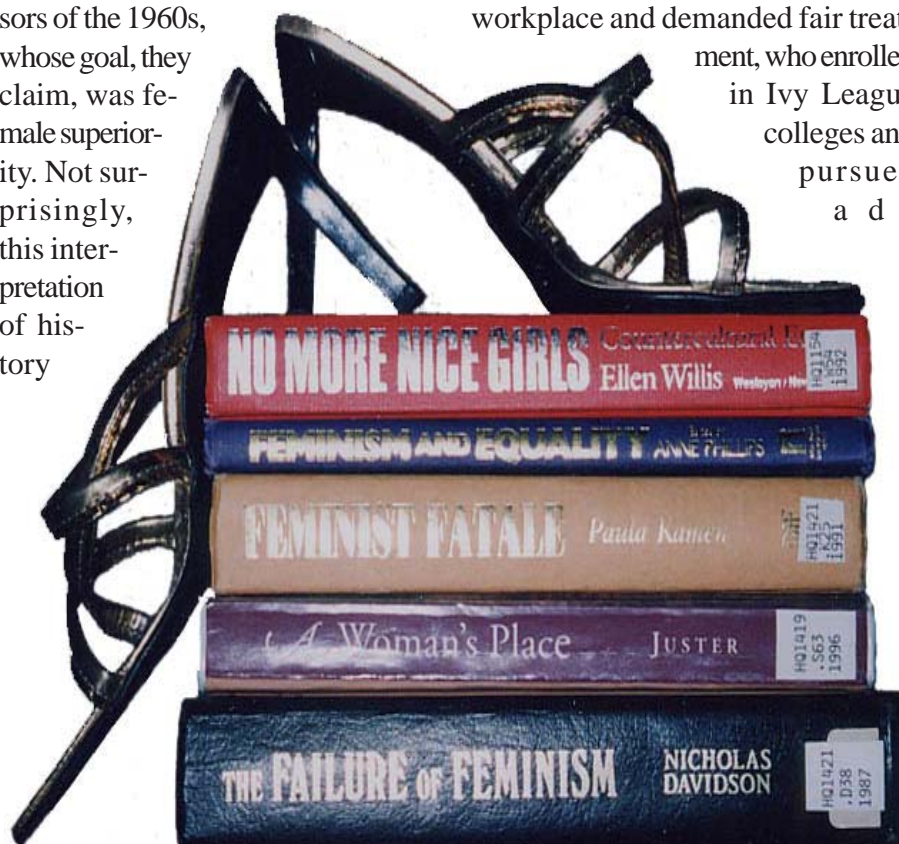
Does this strike anyone else as strange? Throughout the twentieth century, feminists fought being reduced to mere sex objects by a male-dominated society. Now, neofeminists long once again to be objects of desire. The goal of tiny t-shirts proclaiming "Not Just Hooters" is not to draw attention to our intellectual potential, but rather to draw attention to our breasts. Role models like Susan B. Anthony (who won women the right to vote) and Sally Frank (who won women the right to bicker T.I.) have been replaced with Britney Spears (who extols the virtues of virginity while flaunting her not-a-girl-yet-not-a-woman sexuality).

The philosophy behind this neofeminist movement goes something like this. Historical feminism is radical and scary, alienating men and even mainstream women from the movement. Neofeminism, in an apparent attempt to make feminism accessible to the masses, manages to undo much of the work of a century of feminism

by reclaiming a male-created role, in the name of dangling feminine sexuality just over men's heads.

Neofeminists have separated themselves from their predecessors of the 1960s, whose goal, they claim, was female superiority. Not surprisingly, this interpretation of history

While the women's rights movement has certainly had its share of bra burners, its success was shaped less by feminazis than by the multitudes of American women who entered the workplace and demanded fair treatment, who enrolled in Ivy League colleges and pursued a d -



leads neofeminists to easily blame a radical, "feminazi" image of feminism for the decline of the movement in recent years. (I would argue that this decline is because the movement has already largely accomplished what it set out to do — for example, women vote and run for office, girls are more likely to go to college than boys, and women are rapidly matching and even exceeding men's numbers in many professions.)

vanced degrees against the odds, who became role models for a new generation of women leaders. Neofeminists forget this historical reality and are instead preoccupied with disavowing all ties to the radical Left.

In a 'Prince' editorial, OWL sets out to debunk "what Debbie Stoller calls the 'virgin/whore complex' that you're either demure and a prude, or sexy and a slut." OWL's goal of removing the moral stigma associated

with lewd dress and behavior is a far cry from “social, political, and economic equality.” In fact, more than 1960s feminism ever did, OWL asserts the notion of female superiority that neofeminists claim to disdain.

How, you ask? By legitimizing and reinforcing a gender double standard that privileges women over men. Neofeminists, as the OWL campaign shows, operate on the principle that it is okay and even good for women to flaunt their sexuality. Of course, the tacit corollary is that it is not okay for men to do the same. If a woman shows up at work wearing a low-cut blouse and a miniskirt, that’s empowerment. If a man flaunts his sexuality on the job, that’s sexual harassment.

A recent example from campus life: posters for the a cappella Man Show that featured a thin but shapely Maxim model were torn down and replaced with critical messages from the Eating Concerns Peer Educators. Why was there no similar reaction two weeks before, when posters promoting the Organization of Women Leaders had featured an even skinnier runway model? The actions of the Peer Educators, whose work is undoubtedly important and whose intentions were probably good, nonetheless betray the double standard that underlies our attitudes toward gender.

The publicity for the recent production of *The Vagina Monologues*

also attests to this double standard. Bright pink posters proudly proclaimed obscenities referring to the female genitalia all over campus. Offended by this instance of women taking advantage of their privileged status, the *Tory* posted analogous, blue *Penis Monologues* posters to call attention to the principle at work here. The campus’s negative reaction to these signs confirmed our suspicions: it is okay for women to use sexual obscenities. It is not okay for men. What if Princeton men proudly wore “Not Just Balls” on the front of their shorts?


This hypocrisy is troubling, but I’m not too worried: neofeminism has

in general.

OWL president-elect Jess Brondo ’04 correctly defines feminism as the movement committed to pursuing “social, political, and economic equality.” And indeed, the feminists of the twentieth century created political equality for women and made tremendous advances in economic and social equality. But if groups like OWL can’t stay on message, we have to wonder — does any work remain for feminists of the twenty-first century? Depends who you ask. The Left lists reproductive rights, lesbian rights, and an Equal Rights Amendment among the unrealized goals of the feminist movement and will no doubt continue its work on these issues.


Neofeminists, at least at Princeton University, aren’t interested in pursuing those goals — for which I guess I should be thankful. Nonetheless, I wish they would stop trying to come up with moral justification for their ‘Street’ attire and instead drop these promotional gimmicks and focus on the issues where they really could make a difference.

Their work against violence and on behalf of battered women is commendable. But what about encouraging a more women-friendly campus dating scene? What about working with the alumnae networking organizations, or creating a mentorship program with Princeton’s distinguished female professors? I trust that constructive causes like these would speak for themselves — no tube tops, miniskirts, or sexy boots required.



**“In our sexy dresses
and don’t-mess-with-me
shoes, we’re ready to come
out of the closet as the
absolutely fabulous
females we know we are.”**

Is it possible to
**be feminine
and be a feminist?**



OWL
<http://www.princeton.edu/~owl>

sown the seeds of its own destruction by alienating both ends of the political spectrum. The Left — the activists who burned their bras and saw miniskirts as instruments of male domination — has always recoiled at the notion of women as sex objects. But neofeminism, with all its anti-Left tendencies, will not find a friend in the Right — and for the very same reason. We prudish conservatives tend to frown upon the notion of sex objects

Not Your Grandpa's Conservatives

The drug legalization movement rolling through the Right may surprise you.

Nitesh Paryani '05

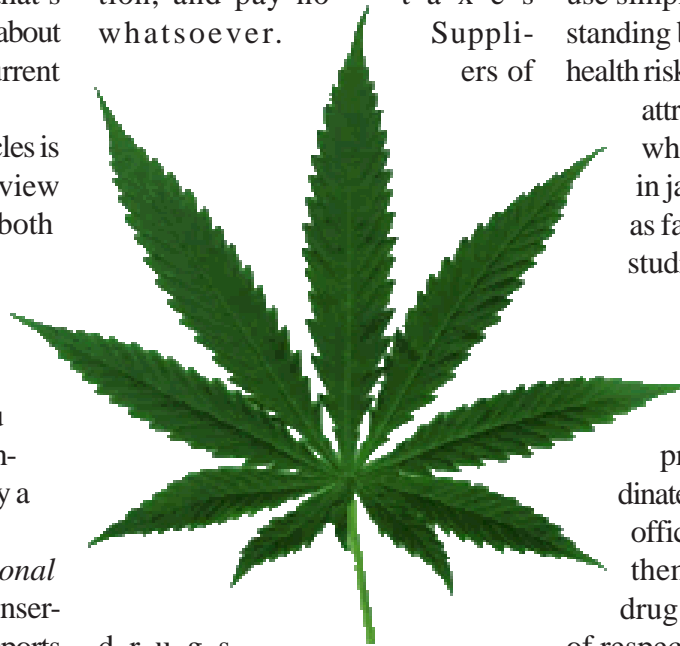
So you think conservatives are repressive, stuck up, precocious, uptight prudes? Well, you'd be wrong about the uptight prudes part, that's for sure! And no, I'm not talking about the alleged drug abuse by the current President, either.

My goal in my next few articles is to make you rethink how you view conservatism as a movement, both on campus and nationwide. The opinions expressed in this article are not necessarily ones to which I adhere; I am simply presenting them to make you think. Hopefully your view of conservatism will change – if just by a little bit.

Did you know that *The National Review*, the premier national conservative publication, officially supports the legalization of marijuana and other drugs? William F. Buckley, a nationally syndicated columnist and editor with *The National Review*, has continually written about the failure of the war on drugs and proposed legalization as the only real way of controlling narcotics.

Why would free-market, anti-egalitarian conservatives support such a radical proposal? Quite simply, because it makes sense. The war on drugs has created more negative side effects than any other government ini-

tiative since perhaps prohibition. Making drugs illegal allows dealers to literally take control of entire urban neighborhoods; they commit violent crimes, are often linked to prostitution, and pay no taxes whatsoever.



drugs themselves are criminals; consequently, there are no quality controls on drugs. Many would argue that this is all well and good, as drug users should be held responsible for their own actions. The problem is, however, that they are not. When people fall ill due to overdoses or low-quality drugs, it is usually society that pays the price in the form of their health care. We spend more than \$70 billion a year to fight the failing war on drugs.

Proponents of the war, however,

cite amazing advances. Drug use has declined since its introduction, they claim. So has tobacco use, even though tobacco is not an illegal substance. Much of the decrease in drug use simply reflects a deeper understanding by American citizens of the health risks involved. Yet more can be attributed to the fact that people who use and sell drugs are put in jail: this stops their drug use, as far as the government and its studies are concerned.

What's more, the war on drugs actually produces negative side effects. Drug interception and prevention takes up an inordinate amount of law enforcement officers' time; often, the officers themselves are corrupted by drug dealers. This leads to lack of respect for policy and the law in general. And finally, young people often use drugs just because they are illegal: the idea of doing something illegal for which they know they won't be caught is enticing. Don't believe it? How many times have you sped down a deserted road just because you knew there were no cops around to catch you?

It is true that legalizing drugs would, in the short run, lead to an increase in drug use. There is no way around that. The key, however, would be to find a way to acclimatize drugs

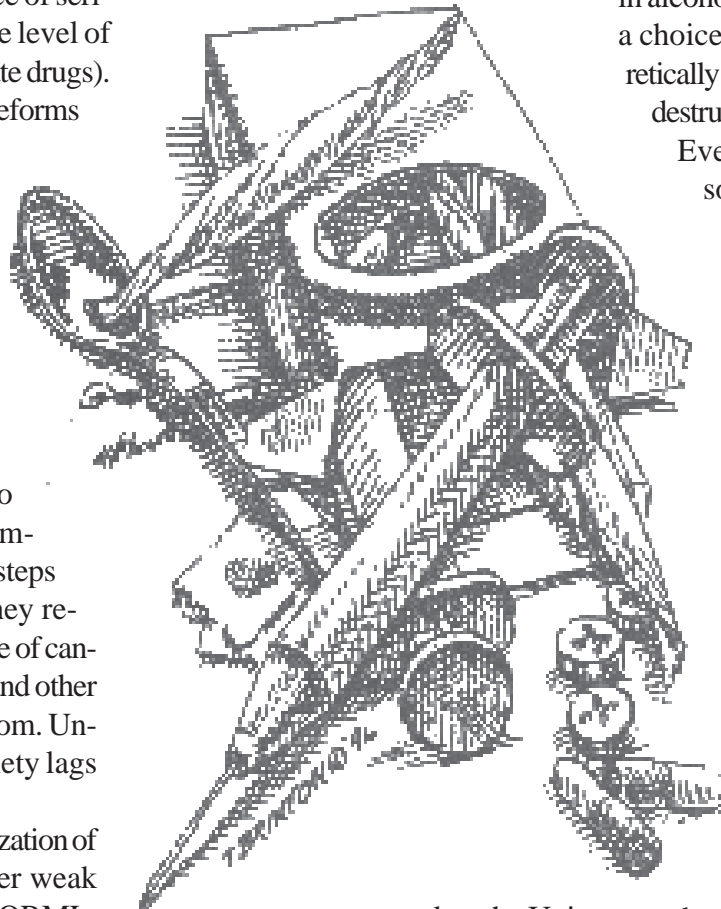
intro society in a manner similar to that of alcohol and tobacco. These two drugs, both of which are arguably far more dangerous than marijuana and other “recreational” drugs, have been socialized to the point that we no longer view them as a source of serious harm (at least, not at the level of harm with which we associate drugs).

The possibility of such reforms occurring, to be honest, is slim to none. Few politicians would be willing to promote such an endeavor, even though many may agree with it. It would be tantamount to political suicide to promote legislation promoting commercial sale of drugs to adults. Great Britain, commendably, has made small steps towards such an effort. They recently decriminalized the use of cannabis in the city of London and other cities throughout the kingdom. Unfortunately, American society lags painfully behind.

The movement for legalization of marijuana has been a rather weak one in the United States; NORML, the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws, is the largest not-for-profit organization currently lobbying Congress today. Its biggest support, however, has come from outside of its immediate membership. Of all people, Gary Johnson, a Republican governor from New Mexico, has led the movement towards the legalization of marijuana in the United States. In April 2001 he spoke at the national convention of NORML, voicing his support for their organization.

Johnson, who was presumably sober at the time, is considered by most a “conservative Republican.” A two-term governor no longer eligible

for re-election, Johnson understandably did not make legalization his official stance until after winning his second term. Johnson, who hasn’t had a sip of alcohol in the last 13 years, smoked marijuana two to three times



a week at the University of New Mexico; he also tried cocaine and liked it — perhaps too much. Johnson says now that his drug use was foolish and he urges young people not to become addicted to drugs. He also argues, however, that most people who use marijuana are not criminals and rarely harm other people: “Most users of marijuana are responsible users... having smoked it and given it up, I would ask you not to... but should it be a criminal offense? No.” Johnson’s candid depiction of drug use (a taboo in a political culture where most politicians will do no more than admit to “experimenting” with drugs), and his statements

that he even enjoyed it, have angered former federal drug czar Barry McCaffrey, who referred to the Governor as “Puff Daddy Johnson.” Johnson believes that legalization of marijuana would also lead to decrease in alcohol abuse, as people who have a choice of substances would theoretically choose the less damaging and destructive of the two — marijuana.

Even though public support is somewhere around 93 to 2 in favor of Johnson’s proposal (the Libertarian party has even asked him to run on their next presidential ballot), Johnson doubts he can get anything passed through the New Mexico legislature.

It is important to note that although conservatives such as William F. Buckley and Milton Friedman support the movement toward legalization, they do not support they use of drugs themselves. Most conservatives are still op-

posed to drug use as an approved recreational activity. In their official statement opposing the war on drugs, the editors of *The National Review* said, “We deplore their use; we urge the stiffest feasible sentences against anyone convicted of selling a drug to a minor. But that said, it is our judgment that the war on drugs has failed, that it is diverting intelligent energy away from how to deal with the problem of addiction, that it is wasting our resources, and that it is encouraging civil, judicial, and penal procedures associated with police states. We all agree on movement toward legalization, even though we may differ on just how far.”

Reverse Discrimination

The Useless Gender-Empowerment Measure

Arvin Bahl '05

The second half of the 20th century has produced a revolution in gender equity in the industrialized world. A majority of this revolution has yielded positive results; women have gained access to higher education and have entered the professional work force in large numbers. Women who are so inspired have been able to pursue their dreams of becoming doctors, lawyers, politicians, and even professional basketball players.

Furthermore, women in the workforce have produced enormous growth for our economies and will continue to encourage future generations of girls to strive for excellence in the classroom and on the playing fields. However, in a well-meaning but misguided effort to produce absolute equality between men and women, the United Nations Development Program has taken serious steps in the wrong direction. The program's "Gender Empowerment Measure" is an index used to quantitatively measure "women's opportunities" and "gender inequalities".

Going country by country, the GEM creates values by looking at four factors: the percentages of parliament seats that are held by women; percentage of legislators, senior officials, and managers that are women; the percentage of professional and technical workers that are women; and by compar-

ing the ratio of estimated female to male earned income. Countries with high GEM values are considered to have "opened up many opportunities" for women, while in countries with low GEM values, opportunities for women are "much constrained."

GEM is bad conceptually for a number of reasons. First and foremost it denigrates the important concept of equality. Western political traditions mandate that everyone should be afforded equal opportunity under law, regardless of gender, creed, or ethnicity. But GEM does not work for equal opportunities for women; instead it necessitates unlawful quotas that denigrate the women's rights movement and everything that "equal opportunity" stands for.

Just because women do not occupy 50% of the work force in every "important" job does not mean that there is inequality of opportunity. Nor does it mean that women face some unseen discrimination. In the year 2000, more women than men received Bachelor's degrees in the United States. And yet, despite the irrefutable fact that women can choose whatever "major" they would like to, women were vastly "under-represented" in economics, the hard sciences, and engineering.

On the other hand, women dominate the classrooms in the field of art history. Economics teaches us that much in life boils down to peoples' preferences. In the workforce, an art

history major, regardless of gender, is not as likely to be chosen for a management or technical position at NASA as an operations/financial engineer or a rocket whiz. Therefore women will subsequently be under-represented at NASA without any discrimination or "inequality" because of their freedom to pursue preferences. But because the GEM is measured based on results rather than freedom/opportunity, the United Nations blindly condemns all types of substantive inequality.

An offshoot of this results based calculation is a rating system that ignores freedom. For example, Latvia, ranked 28th out of 64 nations in the GEM unfairly prohibits women with children 14 or under from working at night or working overtime — a restriction that hurts poor families, especially in difficult winter months. This restriction appears in almost none of the countries rated below Latvia on the GEM scale.

In an unbelievably broad and dangerous generalization, the Development Program declares what the United Nations thinks the world should look like. According to the 2001 Human Development Reports, the rationale for this indexation is that "in an ideal society, with equal empowerment of sexes, the GEM variables would equal 50% — that is, women's share would equal men's share for each variable." But for whom is this an ideal society? If this were truly ideal in the

United States, wouldn't more women be choosing college majors that yield high economic dividends or influential positions as NASA scientists?

Furthermore, the manner in which the GEM is determined encourages businesses, universities, and political parties to use gender as a factor in making decisions and even to discriminate against males in many instances, in the quest for the "ideal society." A society that enacts 50% quotas for females in the parliament, legislators, and in technical and professional industries measured, would achieve a very high GEM measure. This society, however, would not be promoting "equal opportunity" but rather destroying it, as it would be discriminating against and denying certain individuals opportunities because of their gender. Nor would such programs be "empowering women" but rather the contrary, as they would send the message that women need special allowances in order to compete with males.

Sadly, many leaders have bought into the UNDP. French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin and President Jacques Chirac approved a constitutional amendment to "favor equal access by men and women" which has allowed the government to implement a law that requires an equal number of male and female candidates for municipal elections in townships with over 3,500 people and forces political parties to have gender equal candidate lists for National Assembly elections. A constitutional amendment was even necessary because French courts ruled that such blatant quota laws violated the constitutional protection against discrimination.

The ruling Labour Party in Britain is introducing legislation to amend the Sex Discrimination Act to allow all-women parliamentary shortlists for

political parties. The Labour Party had used all-women shortlists prior to the 1997 election, but British courts declared the lists unlawful. The Labour Party also devised a system for selecting candidates for the Welsh and Scottish assembly elections that required half of its candidates to be females.

The problem is not in the results—more women running for office is not a bad thing—but in the means of acquiring, a willingness to toss aside freedom and equality of opportunity on a whim.

The GEM is an index included in the annually published Human Development Report, released by the UNDP. The Human Development Report is a comprehensive publi-

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con-
sisting of
analysis and
policy recommendations on
development and improving human life
and statistics and indices measuring
various facets of human development.
A high GEM value, however, is not
concomitant with progress of the nation
as a whole nor does it serve as a
benchmark of an advanced society.
For example, Eritrea, one of the
world's poorest countries with a per
capita GDP of \$880 a year and a

Human Development Index (HDI) rank of 148 out of 162, has a higher GEM rank than South Korea with a per capita GDP of \$15,712 and an HDI rank of 27.

Ultimately, however, the most harm is done by the GEM's claim that an ideal society is one in which gender equality variables all equal 50%. While it is the duty of all societies to end discrimination against and lift legal restrictions imposed on women, the notion that males and females should engage themselves equally in all activities is culturally insensitive. Many nations have their own traditional/religious value systems which don't include women as 50% the work force and instead encourage them to focus on caring for the family. A majority of people in the Middle East,

men and women alike, shared this ethic and consider arbitrary uniformity an absolute abomination.

More painful than that, it is a terrible insult to women who honorably choose to stay at home and actively nurture children. These women, many would argue, serve a much more important role than working women. The GEM completely discounts the vital contribution that these women make to society each and every day. Harkening back to the language of economics, stay-at-home moms share a rational "preference": to work to make sure the next generation grows up with ambitions and a moral conscience.



“Live Female Entertainment”

OWL’s Identity Crisis Entertains Princetonians

Daniel Mark '03

Let’s try for a moment to unpack what occurred on the “Editorials and Opinions” page of the *Prince* on March 8. The gem was Nancy Ippolito’s guest column that criticized the now-famous “Man Show” ad that mimicked a Maxim cover. Ippolito, president of OWL (Organization of Women Leaders) and unabashed feminist, opens by lamenting that the words “sexy, powerful, and strong” are “typically masculine adjectives.” Most readers probably got lost right there since “sexy” seems quite the feminine trait, especially to the men who Ippolito chides for their chauvinist lexical bias.

Moving beyond the semantics, Ippolito surprises readers by informing

them that the feminists’ self-described “Hooters campaign” was not based on shock value. Instead, she argues, OWL is “reclaiming the ‘Hooters’ symbol.” Now, to me it remains a mystery why in the world they would want anything to do with Hooters – a symbol of objectification – or at what point they possessed this symbol such that they are currently reclaiming it.

Somehow, Ippolito manages to distinguish the Hooters campaign from the Man Show ad. Apparently, unlike the Hooters campaign, the Man Show ad plays precisely to the objectification of women because it equates female sexuality with male entertainment. Last I checked, that’s exactly what Hooters is about, and therefore by reclaiming the Hooters symbol, OWL is relying precisely on the shock value it purports to abhor. To be sure, there is

some redeeming value to the Hooters symbol when it is used for a pro-women campaign. However, the Maxim cover was not being used in its originally intended manner, either; it was used to advertise an all-male show. In its rush to condemn manhood, OWL missed the joke.

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

Clever slogan.

princetontory.com

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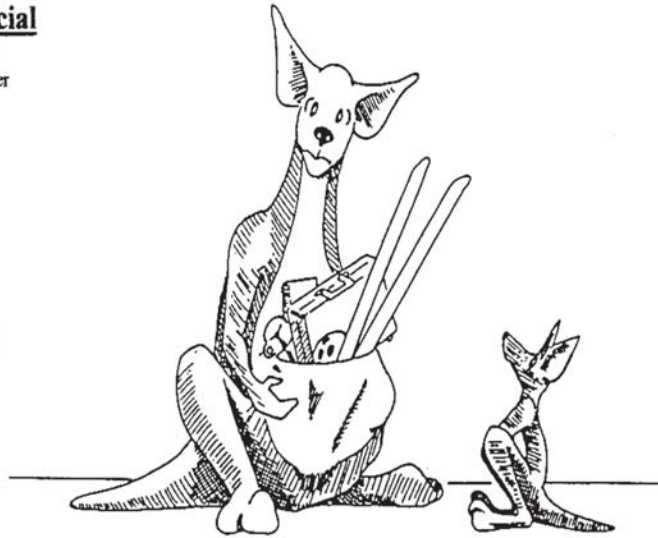
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reread those last two sentences. I'll summarize: In the same week that OWL criticized a Man Show ad for displaying a woman in a bikini, they advertised their show with flyers that focused on the image of a strip club. (I won't even go into the other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

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

the Maxim cover? Ippolito wants "revealing bathing suits" to "empower" a woman. The near-intimidating image from Maxim is only a symbol of objectification if Ippolito chooses to see it that way. If women, as Ippolito declares, should "feel empowered, to own their feminism and own their bodies," then what is to stop this particular model from pursuing empowerment through sexuality?

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

objectify women, but it is to say that OWL must accept that men are capable of seeing women as sexy without seeing them as sex objects.

I'll close by letting the Man Show-haters in on a little secret: men are attracted to women. In light of that piece of information, OWL would do well to consider the ramifications of their reclamation schemes. As a matter of biology, men are aroused by images of sexy women. The suggestion that women should use their sexuality as a means of empowerment encourages the notion that a woman's sexuality is her defining characteristic. Perhaps if women leaders focused on non-sexual roads to empowerment, they would perceived less objectification by men. But as long as women don "revealing bathing suits" to embrace their sexuality, men will always notice.

