

February 2006

PRINCETON TORY

Point-Counterpoint:
GAY MARRIAGE?
...and the PJP Referendum

ALSO INSIDE:
Stem Cells at Princeton
An Intelligent View of Design
Free Education in Cuba?

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THE PRINCETON TORY

February 2006
Volume XXIII - Issue I

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From the Publisher

Dear Princetonian,

I am honored to serve as the *Tory's* newest Publisher. I sincerely hope the magazine will provide our readers with thought-provoking commentary, give our alumni and subscribers a good sense of the political and social climate on campus, and meaningfully contribute to the ongoing political dialogue amongst students.



By its very nature, conservatism requires that we carefully analyze decisions that will spark significant social change in order to avoid negative consequences for our future generations. The question of gay marriage, covered extensively in this issue, is one such decision. Looking beyond the rhetoric churned out by politicians on both sides of the aisle, we must not only educate ourselves in the philosophical and constitutional underpinnings of the debate, but also consider the possible consequences—both positive and negative—of our actions. America has, in recent years, been experiencing a conservative Populist movement that is based largely on moral issues. Politicians traditionally cater to the short-term needs of their constituents; however, voters are beginning to take the long-term status and goals of the country into account.

Many of those in support of same sex marriage argue that marriage is a contractual institution and that freedom to enter into a contract with an individual of either sex should exist. Alternatively, traditionalists hold that children complicate the marital relationship and make it impossible to view marriage as a contract. The debate also centers on whether marriage, as regulated by the state, should be defined according to its procreative capacity or whether those qualities involving affection, intimacy and commitment should take precedence. Only after considering all aspects of this issue can we begin to strike a balance between equality, freedom, and social stability. Therefore, we have included in this month's issue a special "point-counterpoint" section that features arguments from both sides.

No one political sect, let alone a single political leader, can perfectly embody conservative ideology, simply because the conservative "tent" includes far too many disparate factions. Similarly, the *Tory* includes an array of opinions from a diverse and talented staff of writers. In presenting our views, we seek to preserve a wide-ranging body of conservative ideals and, in doing so, offer students an alternative standpoint from which to consider issues currently affecting our campus, the nation, and the world.

On behalf of the *Tory* staff, thank you for your readership; we encourage you to share your suggestions, concerns, and opinions by sending us an e-mail or submitting an article.

Sincerely,
Juliann Vikse '08
jvikse@princeton.edu

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

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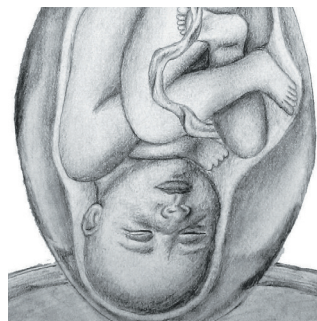
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LETTERS

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

To the Editors,

This was the first issue of the *Tory* that I've read and I have to say that the high level of partisanship was disappointing. "Points and Punts" was especially offensive and in my view downright homophobic when it said "Brokeback Mountain? We'll pass..." I haven't seen the movie but I don't think the editors of the *Tory* should disregard a movie simply because it deals with homosexuality. I'm sure (after actually reading the *Tory*) that the editors of this magazine were among the 27 percent who voted no on USG question concerning gay marriage, but I would expect journalists to be a bit more open-minded.

The "War for Prospect" article was a curious one because the author's main argument was that compulsory meal plans would cause the Street to lose its "relatively egalitarian" atmosphere. He is smart to emphasize the word "relative" but he then takes a step back a few sentences down when he warns that compulsory meal plans will "establish a solid divider along Washington Road...between those who can afford to pay [for eating clubs]...and those who simply can't." I'm sorry to tell the people at the *Tory* that this is already the case for many low-income students (disproportionately minorities) who simply can't afford to pay for the eating clubs. The author fails to mention this fact at all and he makes no references to USG's Survey on Race (very surprising considering he ran for USG President), which documented the alienation that is felt among many undergraduates when it comes to the Street. Besides the high costs of the eating clubs, upperclassmen who were not members complained of the elitist atmosphere and excessive drinking as deterrents. The *Tory* should go beyond fighting for the preservation of the Street and instead take a closer look at the prevailing problems and their implications on race-relations at the University.

David Smart '09

David,

We owe our readers an apology for what was simply a joke made in poor taste. As you will find in this issue, our editors and contributors hold different views on the issue of gay marriage. Those Princeton students who did vote "no" on the USG question concerning gay marriage, however, are by means narrow-minded; there are strong arguments both for and against gay marriage that rely on moral philosophy, social science evidence and constitutionality. We hope that our readers will keep their minds open to different points of view.

Thanks for writing,
The Editors

Dear *Tory* Editors:

In the December article, "Storming the Court," the author writes that public action, "requires the American people to stay informed and interested...and this rarely occurs unless pertinent or controversial issues are in question." With this in mind, I commend the *Tory*, and particularly Will Scharf, for raising the "pertinent and controversial" issue of the coming four year college system. Hopefully, his concern has spawned discussion and interest in this topic among the student body.

However, too often Princeton students complain and do not act. Perhaps the standard four years within this Orange Bubble encourages us to voice only passing concern with university issues. Things will change but we will be gone. Or maybe we do care and just don't know how to respond. I hope for all our sakes, it's the latter.

I am your newly elected USG Undergraduate Life Chairperson. In my short time in office I have been greatly disheartened by the lack of student involvement in student life. Sparse dialogue between students and the administration has propagated many of the misperceptions voiced in "War for Prospect," but has done little to address legitimate concerns. I urge readers to consult the university website to develop a more accurate picture of the coming four year colleges (<http://www.princeton.edu/rc/>).

Further, I urge readers to recognize Princeton for what it is: a fluid and progressive institution rooted in tradition. I would like to repeat Scharf's call for student involvement in university affairs. A practical first step would be to email me at cchopko@princeton.edu with your concerns. Thanks!

Caroline Chopko '07

Shocked? Appalled?

Tell us what you're
thinking...

Send the *Tory* an e-mail at
tory@Princeton.edu.

We'll run your letter
unaltered in the next issue!



POINTS & PUNTS

➤ After providing aid and comfort to disgraced dictators Charles Taylor (Liberia) and Slobodan Milosevic (Serbia), former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark has now joined Saddam Hussein's defense team. According to Clark, "Unless there's protection for the defense, I don't know how the trial can go forward." Yet, Clark displayed little concern for the thousands of innocent Iraqi civilians murdered under Saddam's brutal Baathist regime. Of course Clark enjoys the right to aid in the defense of Saddam against charges of war crimes. And we, as free citizens, condemn Clark's actions with equal vigor.

➤ What's the matter with the University of Kansas? Paul Mirecki, chair of the Department of Religion, has fueled the Intelligent Design controversy by founding a course he says will be "a nice, big slap in the face" to the "fundies." This vitriolic diatribe may be found on his blog: "I had my first Catholic 'holy communion' when I was

a kid in Chicago and when I took the bread-wafer the first time, it stuck to the roof of my mouth, and as I was secretly trying to pry it off with my tongue as I was walking back to my pew with white clothes and with my hands folded, all I could think was that it was Jesus' skin, and I started to puke, but I sucked it in and drank my own puke. That's a big part of the Catholic experience. I don't think most Catholics really know what they are supposed to believe, they just go home and use condoms and some of them beat their wives and husbands." These audacious comments do not reflect a reasoned or civil position against to intelligent design theory, but bespeak of a secular prejudice against religious belief that is every bit as intolerant as the religious fundamentalism Mr. Mirecki decries.



Paul Mirecki wages war on the "fundies" at U. of Kansas

position against to intelligent design theory, but bespeak of a secular prejudice against religious belief that is every bit as intolerant as the religious fundamentalism Mr. Mirecki decries.

➤ Erratum: The December 2005 issue of the Tory thanked William F. Buckley, Jr. for "stimulating intellectual debate for the past fifty years." The correct figure is closer to seventy years. Mr. Buckley's career started long before he founded National Review fifty years ago. In 1932, at the tender age of seven, he wrote a letter to George V demanding that the United Kingdom repay its war debts.

➤ As the new year dawns, we can rest assured that the nation is solidly in conservative hands. Whether this will remain the case will depend on the moral backbone of Republicans in Congress to do what is necessary to restore a balanced budget, preserve the tax cuts, and go against the President on issues where he's clearly overstepping his authority and is doing some very Democratic things (domestic surveillance sans warrants, over-spending on non-defense issues, and pleading for amnesty for illegal aliens.) Moreover, promoting a culture of life in the United States must return to the forefront of Republican governance.

FEBRUARY 2006

➤ And the award for Limousine Liberal of the Year goes to... (drum roll)... NBC Anchor Katie Couric, a fervent Democrat, who makes about \$15 million per year. This was an exchange at the beginning of NBC's Today, August 15, 2005:

Co-host Matt Lauer: "Pain at the pump. Gas prices are going sky high. I paid \$2.94 a gallon over the weekend to fill up the car."

Co-host Katie Couric: "It's ridiculous. I had to take out a loan to fill up my minivan. It's crazy."



Does she even drive her own minivan?

➤ The Congressional Black Caucus Foundation slammed the Bush administration for its allegedly slow and racially insensitive response to Hurricane Katrina. On September 2, four days after Katrina made landfall, U.S. Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr., (D—IL), said "We have witnessed something shockingly awful and that is the lack of response, the quick response, from our government to those Americans who are suffering [and] who are dying." As Cybercast New Service reported on December 22, "the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation... has yet to spend any of the estimated \$400,000 that it raised for the victims of the Aug. 29 storm."

➤ Reports Louisiana local news: "Shortly after the two hurricanes, Gov. Kathleen Blanco [D--LA] decided to renovate some of her staff's offices. At the time of her decision, Blanco also was hinting at deep budget cuts to state programs and the possibility of laying off 20 percent of the state workforce. The project cost \$564,838. The newly refurbished office space on the sixth floor of the State Capitol includes hookups and mounts for two flat screen televisions, Swedish granite countertops, walnut paneling and frosted laminated glass. The floor, which will not be accessible to the public, was redesigned to add three new offices, a conference room and file storage areas."



Where's Kanye this time?

➤ President Tilghman recently opined (wisely) that the USG should concern itself primarily with campus issues, not with issues such as gay marriage. In response to her opinion, Leslie-Bernard Joseph, in an open letter to President Tilghman on Dec. 13, 2005, issued one of the most stunning proclamations by a USG President in recent memory: "Would it also be far from USG's mission to speak out in favor of women's suffrage, or civil rights, or against the Vietnam War? Perhaps we should have done nothing about Katrina victims

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or Darfur.” Astonishingly, LBJ associates protesting in favor of women’s suffrage and civil rights with protesting against the Vietnam War. Radical politics aside, LBJ also misunderstands the proper role of the USG. Student government should concern itself with campus issues, not with divisive and deeply emotional social issues that are hardly the most pressing concerns of the student body. As for helping victims of Katrina or Darfur, these are *voluntary* and *charitable* efforts which help innocent victims of natural catastrophes; no one who does not wish to help is forced to help. Contrast that with the gay marriage referendum, in which the USG claims to speak on behalf of the entire student body even though only 51.6% of students voted in favor of the referendum and 48.4% against. Hardly a mandate, Leslie.

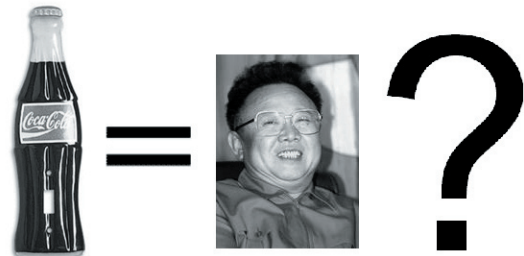
citizens against planning to visit Pakistan because Islamists began offering reward money to anyone who killed the cartoonists. The daily’s editor-in-chief called the situation “absurd.” It seems that the facts of the Muslim response have condemned them more than any cartoon could. Finally, Louisa Arbour, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, said, “I understand your concerns and would like to emphasize that I regret any statement or act that could express a lack of respect for the religion of others.” Nevermind the ubiquitous image distortion of Jesus in the American media, from *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* to *The Da Vinci Code* to *South Park*. Blaspheming Christianity is free speech; blaspheming Islam is intolerance.



Corzine’s in the money

➤ The new governor of New Jersey, Jon Corzine, “spent \$100 million to first buy a Senate seat and then to buy a governorship while voting for the McCain-Feingold bill to limit every middle-class citizen to \$2,500 in an election,” said former House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) on January 5th. “There’s something inherently wrong with that.” Right you are, Mr. Gingrich.

➤ Coca-Cola. In the words of Jay Nordlinger: “The University of Michigan has banned Coca-Cola from its campuses.” I kid you not. Why have they done this? Because students demanded so, out of their concern for conditions at bottling plants in Colombia. Hmm. There are lots of things to be concerned about in Colombia: Marxist guerrillas; narco-terrorists; Hugo Chávez’s subversion. But Coca-Cola bottling plants? Ay, caramba!



There are worse evils than Coke...

➤ In another attack on liberty in the name of freedom, the Danish government faces harsh international condemnation, including and investigation ordered by the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, for refusing to take action against a Danish newspaper that published cartoon series lampooning Mohammed. Not only did the Arab League condemn the Danish government, but the 51 members of the Morocco-based Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization plan to boycott Denmark because of “the aggressive campaign waged against Islam and its Prophet.” Franco Frattini, the vice president of the European Union’s executive Commission, told the *Jyllands-Posten*...that while he “fully” respected freedom of speech, the cartoons were adding to “growing Islamophobia” in Europe. More to the point, several cartoonists from the *Jyllands-Posten* newspaper company were forced to go into hiding after the paper received death threats. The Danish government warned its

➤ Ted Kennedy, liberal senator and second-ranking Democrat on Senate Judiciary Committee, recently demanded that the Concerned Alumni of Princeton release papers that would provide insight on the participation of Sam Alito ’72 in the organization. This is one of many liberal attempts to derail the Alito Supreme Court nomination by linking him to “far-right organizations,” and a vain and desperate one at that. A Concerned Alumni of Princeton member interviewed by the *Daily Princetonian* had “zero recollection” of Alito’s involvement. Sorry, Ted, our Princeton boy has been, and still is, qualified for the job.



➤ The Tory is deeply disturbed by recent developments in the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom. The new Tory leader, David Cameron, has condemned all “isms” as extremism, among them communism, socialism, capitalism and Thatcherism. Mr. Cameron has abandoned the Tories’ long commitment to tax cuts and National Health Service reform and opposes the Labour Party’s Thatcherist reforms. Oliver Letwin, a senior leader of the Conservative Party, declared “We should redistribute money.” The Princeton Tory can only hope that this is a sinister campaign ploy and that if elected, Mr. Cameron will revert back to traditional Conservative policies.

➤ Princeton has played a prominent role in the Alito confirmation hearings, playing an amusing role in the questions of Senator Biden. We have now learned that his son applied to Princeton once. Princeton also exists in the same cultural milieu as Penn and Delaware, and thus was in his purview as a young senator, who was outraged by CAP in his visits to our campus. In the end, though, the senator had to admit, “I’m not a big Princeton fan.” Chip, meet shoulder. Watch out for the teeth, and don’t mind the comb-over.

➤ In addition, as Cybercast News Service reported, “According to the 2000 census, whites make up 28 percent of the city’s [New Orleans] population, but the Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals indicates that whites constitute 36.6 percent of the storm’s [Katrina] fatalities in the city. African-Americans make up 67.25 percent of the population and 59.1 percent of the deceased.” In fact, whites died at the highest rate of all races. Hopefully this will cool the tempers of people like Damu Smith, founder of the National Black Environmental Justice Network, who said in September that the federal government “ignored us, they forgot about us ... because we look like we look.”

➤ The number of U.S. workers seeking new jobless benefits fell last week to its lowest level since September 2000, the government reported on Thursday, January 5th, 2005. “Jobless recovery,” anyone?

➤ Bill O’Reilly made an appearance on the David Letterman Show, only to be bombarded by a series of blatant insults that were hurled by the late night television host. O’Reilly faced a number of notably humorless attacks regarding the so-called “War on Christmas,” the Iraq War, Cindy Sheehan, and the Bush Administration. “I’m not smart enough to debate you point to point on this,” Letterman said, “but I have the feeling that about 60 percent of what you say is crap.” To top it off, Letterman admitted to never having watched *The O’Reilly Factor*, and was unable to cite an example of misinformation. As Newt Gingrich later told Bill during an appearance on the Factor, “This was like getting in a fight with a guy who has no idea what ring he is in.”

➤ “The American singer and activist Harry Belafonte called President Bush ‘the greatest terrorist in the world’ on Sunday, January 8th, and said millions of Americans support the socialist revolution of Venezuelan leader Hugo Chavez. Belafonte led a delegation of Americans including the actor Danny Glover and the Princeton University scholar Cornel West that met the Venezuelan president for more than six hours late Saturday” (Associated Press). Mr. Belafonte’s detachment from reality is staggering. Surely the free market isn’t the golden calf of the entertainment industry. As for Princeton’s Cornel West attending the conference...never mind.

➤ Alito was even questioned aggressively about the Princeton eating club system, with Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) saying “Now, people like me are not even sure what an eating club is. But it sure as heck does not sound like a cafeteria.” Sen. Lindsay Graham (R-SC) said “The more I know about Princeton — it’s an interesting place.” Graham asked whether Alito was a member of a bicker club. When Alito said he had not been, Graham asked “Did people not like you, or did you just not apply?” Alito said he did not apply. As the *Washington Post* noted, “Graham listed prominent alumni who were once members of eating clubs, including Woodrow Wilson 1879, defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld ‘54 and Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels ‘71. He mentioned others, including Sen. Bill Frist ‘74 (R-Tenn.) and Sen. Paul

Sarbanes '54 (D-Md.), whose eating club status Graham had yet to determine. 'I promise you I'll get to the bottom of that before this is all done,' he said, concluding the unexpected inquiry on eating clubs." Joseph Biden (D-DE) takes the cake. He said he "wasn't a big Princeton fan. I didn't even like Princeton. I mean, I really didn't like Princeton. I was an Irish Catholic kid who thought it had not changed like you concluded it had." When he gave a speech at Princeton in 2004, Biden had said "It's an honor to be here. It would have been an even greater honor to have come here." Moreover, as the Prince reports, "He went on to recall how he tried to convince them to attend Princeton, but because they didn't, he's "counting on his grandchildren."



Reminds us of Hillary wearing a Yankees hat...



➤ In the face of often bitter questioning that brought Sam Alito's wife to tears, Sam Alito '72 has made every Princetonian proud, rebuking unsubstantiated liberal smear attacks by Democrats Ted Kennedy, Chuck Schumer and Dianne Feinstein. Alito was accused of opposing to the entry of women and non-whites into institutes of higher education, especially Princeton. They said he wants to turn back the clock on the rights of minorities, women's rights, and general civil rights. ALL this because on a 1985 job application, Alito listed his one-time membership in the Concerned Alumni of Princeton, which Alito joined passively, not actively, in order to protest Princeton's hostile attitude towards ROTC. Incidentally, Kennedy himself belonged to an all-male social club — the Owl — at Harvard University. The Owl refused to admit women until it was forced to do so during the 1980s, according to records kept by the Harvard Crimson, the student newspaper.

➤ In an event political insiders describe as extraordinary, Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) sparred with the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee Arlen Specter (R-PA) over a subpoena request to see the documents of Concerned Alumni of Princeton founder William Rusher '41. Specter replied he would do that in due course. As described on NRO, Kennedy wasn't satisfied: "If I'm going to be denied, then I'd appeal the decision of the chair," Kennedy said. "I think we are entitled to this information. It deals with the fundamental issues of equality and discrimination." "I'm not denying anything," Specter answered, saying it was time to move on. "No," said Kennedy, "I want a vote." "And if I'm going to be denied that, I'd want to give notice to the chair that you're going to hear it again and again and again and we're going to have votes of this committee again and again and again until we have a resolution." "Well, Senator Kennedy," Specter said, "I'm not concerned about your threats to have votes again, again and again. And I'm the chairman of this committee and I have heard your request and I will consider it. And I'm not going to have you run this committee and decide when we're going to go into executive session." Sadly for Democrats, William Rusher '41 immediately allowed access to the documents, making a subpoena unnecessary. What was in the documents? Alito was not mentioned a single time. Just as Alito said, he was not an active member of CAP.

➤ President Bush needs a conservative wake-up call: defending his recent (unconstitutional) actions to spy within the United States without a court warrant, he conducted his own legal analysis; during a speech to wounded soldiers at Brooke Army Medical Center, Bush declared "If somebody from al Qaeda is calling you, we'd like to know why. We're at war with a bunch of cold-blooded killers." Let's look at the statistics. The secret FISA court in charge of approving intelligence wiretaps has approved 99.99% of wiretap requests since 1978 (there have been more than 10,000 such requests). Why would President Bush want to bypass a secret court that approves almost every request? Moreover, this President is not immune from the restraints placed on the Executive Branch in the U.S. Constitution, lest we forget "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized." The President's view—that the War on Terror negates certain Constitutional checks on the Executive branch of the Federal government—is quasi-judicial activism from a man who isn't even a judge. The War on Terror necessitated many political changes, but should never deprive Americans of their constitutional protections.

✠

-Compiled by the Editors

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PRINCETON, TRENTON AND KOREA

THE POLITICS OF STEM CELL RESEARCH

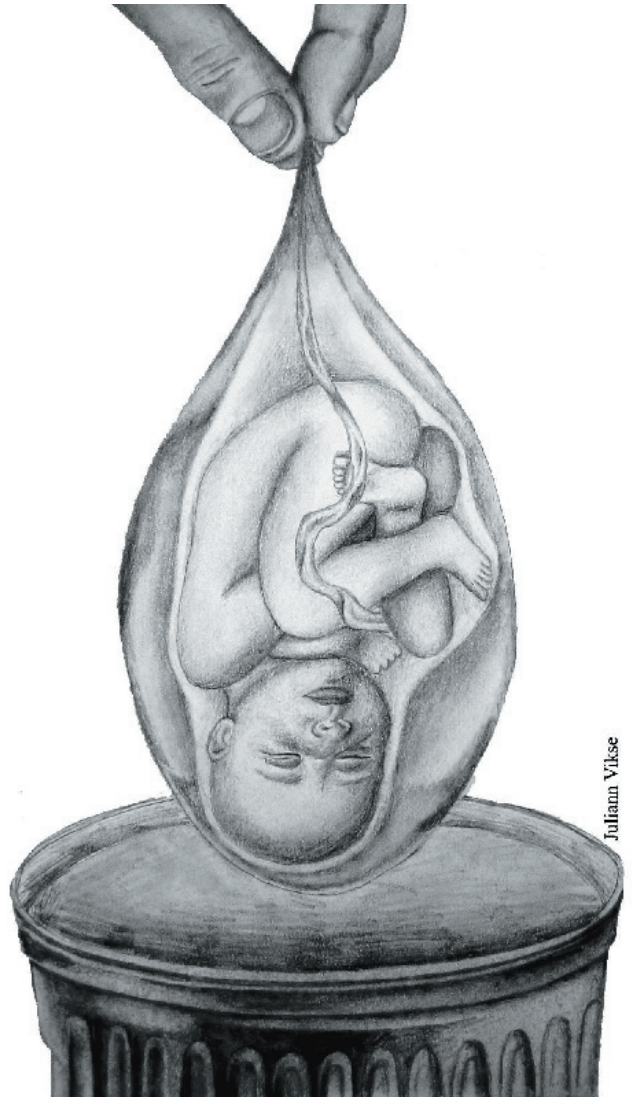
Matthew Schmitz '08

On December 17th, the field of embryonic stem cell research was set back by years when it was revealed that Dr. Hwang Woo Suk, the Korean embryologist who claimed to have cloned eleven human embryos in a June 2005 *Science* article, was shown to have fabricated the evidence. Unfortunately, this revelation came too late for the people of New Jersey, for on the same day, *The New York Times* announced that New Jersey had awarded \$ 5 million of taxpayer money to support stem cell research within the state. The panel, which allotted the money immediately before Dr. Hwang's announcement, awarded \$300,000 to a Princeton researcher named Dr. Ihor Lemischka, a professor in the Department of Molecular Biology. Two things are clear: first, the money was given him because of Dr. Hwang's breakthrough; second, despite Hwang's announcement, Lemischka took the money and ran. In this world, as President Shirley Tilghman observed in a speech on stem cell research, "science is not conducted in a vacuum or an ivory tower, but at the pleasure of the public." Indeed, the taxpayer must today be well informed on complicated matters of science, not only because of the sizeable financial stakes involved, but also because of the considerable risk to life that stands in the mix. Higher stakes mean different standards, and it against these standards that Professor Lemischka's work has fallen terribly short.

In the beginning, Lemischka's work attracted New Jersey government officials precisely because it promised tangible clinical results. The goal of these grants, as listed on the application form, was to encourage "economic development by emphasizing the translation of scientific ideas into marketplace therapies whereby patients can

receive treatment." Stem cell therapies like those the panel hoped to develop are based on the expectation that stem cells can indeed be conditioned to readily remake organs for transplantation into different parts of the body. Such goals were long distant in the field of human embryonic stem cell research – that is until Korea's Dr. Hwang announced that he had succeeded in cloning human embryos. This ostensible breakthrough not only spurred \$65 million in grants through the Korean government, but in nearby Trenton, also prompted the New Jersey legislature to pass its bill sponsoring related American research. The state entered the field because it anticipated that promise would soon lead results, and when the panel chose which projects to fund, it did not choose based solely on scientific merit on creativity, but on those projects which had the best chances of translating into quick successes.

Dr. Hwang's exposure as a fake set the entire field of human embryo research back years, and immediately reduced the urgency of Professor Lemischka's work in particular. As Dr. David Prentice, himself a stem cell researcher and former member of the President's Council on Bioethics, remarked, the revelation of Hwang's fraud,



Julianna Vikse

Taxpayers beware: this controversy leaves life hanging in the balance

"set back the applicability of all human embryonic stem cell research, including Lemischka's proposal". Though Lemischka's work retains its scientific value and integrity, its usefulness in providing immediate cures and economic stimulus, was clearly reduced

by Dr. Hwang's exposure. Indeed, Lemischka had originally pitched his proposal to the practically minded legislative committee by claiming that his research into cell decisions would have real-world medical value, particularly in light of the promising developments taking place at Dr. Hwang's Korean lab. Moreover, Lemischka himself acknowledged the extra level of accountability for this scientific in the opening and closing of his proposal, where he stated, "Embryonic stem (ES) cells hold great promise for the future of medicine... In addition, our results will provide important practical insights and tools to control cell-fate decisions for potential medical applications."

What a sad coincidence for the taxpayer that the revelations about Hwang's fraud came out just as New Jersey's grants were being awarded. Clearly a state with a projected \$6 billion budget deficit will want to see results when it lays out \$ 5 million that could have gone to other funding priorities.



Tilghman hobnobbing with Hwang in Korea

In light of this, anyone who accepts state money should also accept the intense public scrutiny that comes along with it. Indeed, any researcher who relies on state funding is not only accountable to his academic department chair, but more importantly,

Indeed, any researcher who relies on state funding is not only accountable to his academic department chair, but more importantly, to the citizens of the state as well as their elected representatives.

to the citizens of the state as well as their elected representatives. For better or worse, such grants are never given out in the same spirit that University funds are, because no matter how creative or exciting the science, the research will prove useless if it does not result in real-world benefits to the citizens of the Garden State.

Although many scientists reacted to the devastating news of Dr. Hwang's fraud with calls for redoubled efforts (and funding) to make up the lost ground, we at Princeton should be more levelheaded. The \$5 million the state awarded in December is merely a proverbial toe in the water, and though the research that will emerge from these grants is important, whatever short-term benefits such projects can produce will likely determine the fate of two much larger, longer-term funding proposals. One includes plans for a \$150 million New Jersey Stem Cell Institute in New Brunswick, and the other is a proposed \$230 million bond issued to finance additional research in the field. If a cash-strapped legislature is prepared to pass these bills, researchers need to show results within the next two years. Regrettable as the intrusion of politics into science may be, these

proposals must be considered with extreme seriousness.

Unfortunately, however, the New Jersey legislature has already made a considerable error in its funding judgments, for the grants have largely gone to finance work

on embryonic stem cells, which are widely acknowledged to be unstable and years away from safe clinical use. Because of the uncertain nature of the human stem cell field, and the uncertainty of New Jersey's stem cell support, these initial funds would be better spent on the promising research that is being conducted on adult stem cells. Dr. Kateri Moore, for example, another Princeton researcher, also received a grant from the state. Her research involving adult stem cells develops an area that has already enjoyed recognized clinical success. By comparison, embryonic stem cells (ESCs) are much farther away from any kind of applicability. As Dr. Moore said in her grant application to the state, "Although much discussion has been devoted to embryonic stem (ES) cells, it is not clear when sufficient knowledge will be available for their clinical application. In contrast, adult somatic stem cells, such as hematopoietic stem cells (HSCs) already have a proven track record in a wide variety of clinical applications."

Dr. James Sherley, a professor of bio-engineering at MIT who works with adult stem cells, concurs with Moore's judgment, stating that the claims of HESC's for curing disease was "pure folly." As he continued, "Embryonic stem cells cannot be used directly [because] they form tumors when transplanted into mature tissues." Dr. Sherley claims that an intolerance of dissent has created a crisis of "pure scientific folly" in which "such emphasis on embryonic stem cells research [has led to] the exclusion of support for adult stem cell research. No matter what the hurdles are for success with adult stem cell-based therapy development, embryonic stem cell research faces the same hurdles and more."

In remarks delivered at the dedication of the Stem Cell Institute of New Jersey, Princeton's own Shirley Tilghman, herself a renowned molecular biologist, expressed her doubts about the potential in embryonic stem cells by comparing it to the "irrational exuberance" that was seen in the field of gene therapy in the 1970's. Tilghman said, "I would like to raise two risks that I see on the horizon for stem cell research that could impede its potential for improving human health. The first, to co-opt a phrase that Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan used to describe the economic boom of the 1990s, is succumbing to irrational exuberance. I am sure that many of you in the audience have cringed in the face of newspaper or media reports extolling the promise that stem cells will cure everything from Alzheimer's disease to halitosis. The newspapers and TV commentators did not make this up – they got their information from scientists themselves who practice a variation of irrational exuberance." Tilghman warned that this observation could prove all too true of the stem cell field, a possibility that has become reality with the revelation of Dr. Hwang's misdeeds. Despite President Tilghman's warnings, when Lemischka applied for state funds for his project he glibly declared that, "Embryonic stem (ES) cells hold great promise for the fu-

ture of medicine" – a statement that smacks of Tilghman's "irrational exuberance."

As New Jersey embarks on its program of stem cell research, two priorities must remain constantly in view: the pursuit of good science and the responsible use of taxpayer money. Given Hwang's recent failings, combined with the overriding risks surrounding ECS research, this is not the time for New Jersey or the University to be investing in embryonic stem cell research. The panel that reviewed the scientific evidence did so in light of the false claims of Dr. Hwang. Surely out of the seventy-one applications the state received there is one proposal that will lead to more economic development and greater, more immediate clinical application than Professor Lemischka's. Clearly, Trenton's notorious inability, or unwillingness, to responsibly award state contracts seems to have now extended, however innocently, to the distribution of research funds.

What is incredible is that Professor Lemischka still accepted the grant. It would seem that the honorable thing to do, so important here on campus, would be to decline the award out of respect for the intent of the grant and in recognition of Dr. Hwang's unforeseen announcement. Rather than throw good money after bad, taxpayers should ask Professor Lemischka for a \$300,000 refund.

The ethical questions that have long dogged stem cell research are now attended by all the concerns raised by the Hwang disaster. Were peer reviewers and other researchers too eager for stem-cell breakthroughs to recognize the fraud in Hwang's experiments? Regardless, it seems that scientists eager to keep their research free from the restrictions of scientific watchdogs and conservative objectors were too glib in their assessments of Hwang's stem cell research. The Korean government funneled \$65 million to Dr. Hwang based on his false reports, and it has to be acknowledged that Professor Lemischka received his money under the same false pretences. Though Lemischka does not have to answer for Hwang's actions, he is accountable for his own willingness to accept money for research that is suddenly much less urgent, both in economic and medical terms. ✚



Matthew Schmitz '08 is an avid sportsman and the Weekly Projects Administrator for the Student Volunteers Council. He plans to major in English.

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AN INTELLIGENT LOOK AT DESIGN

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE EVOLUTION DEBATE

Ryan McCullough '08

In recent weeks, the Princeton community has been quietly discussing the issue of Intelligent Design (ID), though debate has been largely one-sided. President Tilghman, most notably, forcefully condemned ID theory in a major lecture at Oxford, and later, the *Daily Princetonian* published a series of articles, editorials, and letters that echoed similar sentiments. Meanwhile, off campus, U.S. District Court Judge John E. Jones labeled Intelligent Design another form of creationism, and as such “simply not science.” It is worth noting, however, that few of these critics appear to actually understand the intricacies of the theory. In the interest of adding another voice to the campus dialogue on this contentious issue, this article will attempt to present a more thorough analysis of Intelligent Design.

Let's start with a definition. According to the Discovery Institute, the nation's leading advocate for ID, Intelligent Design theory holds “that certain features of the universe and of living things are best explained by an intelligent cause, not an undirected process such as natural selection.” Design advocates generally point to three types of evidentiary “features” to support their conclusions: cosmological, biological, and molecular. In the realm of cosmological evidence, scientists suggest that only “fine-tuning” could have produced conditions favorable for the creation and sustenance of life as we see on earth. Meanwhile, they find biological evidence for ID in the “irreducible complexity” of certain cellular systems for which the removal of a single part would cause the system to stop functioning. Lastly, ID scientists point to molecular evidence contained in the DNA molecule, whose rich store of genetic information shows no visible or easily traceable evolutionary path. While

evolution had some role in shaping the earth and its life forms, design theorists contend that it was not the only force at work. Instead, they hold that an intelligent cause seems to have been involved in the formation of these otherwise inexplicable systems and structures. In simple terms, given the evidence, evolution is not an entirely satisfactory explanation for certain biological phenomena.

While the intellectual merits of this theory are worth examining, I want to look at what most students, writers, and even the Hon. Justice Jones himself have addressed in recent public statements – namely the controversial, and politically charged relationship between ID theory and “mainstream” science. As President Tilghman stated in her highly publicized address at Oxford, “Under the banner of ‘intelligent design,’ Christian fundamentalists in the United States have launched a well-publicized assault on the theory of evolution, suggesting that the complexity and diversity of nature is not the product of random mutation and natural selection but rather of *supernatural* intent.”

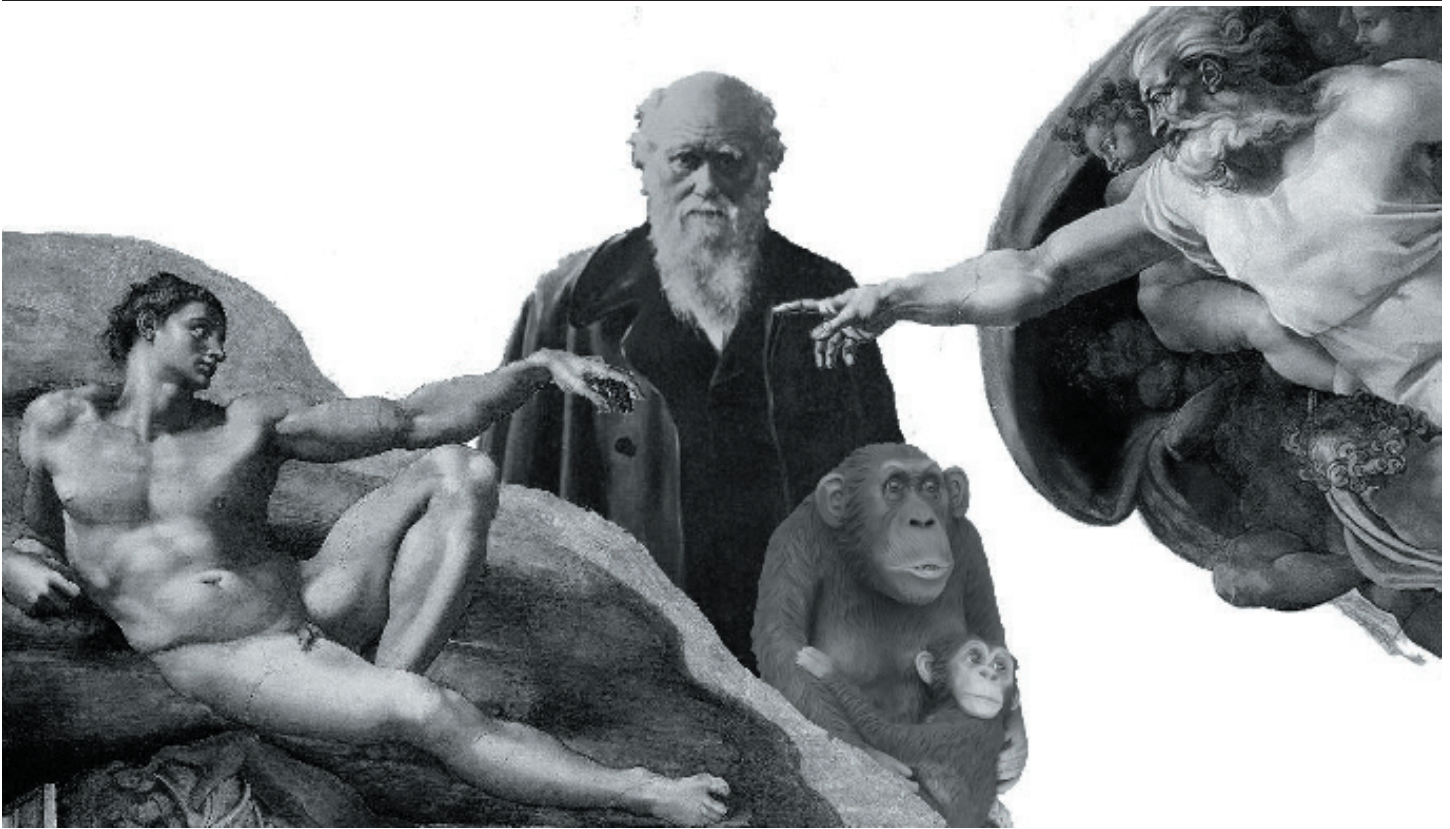
Tilghman shares with many a common concern about invoking an unspecified intelligence to explain natural phenomena. Indeed, many scientists claim that any appeal to “supernatural intent” inevitably stifles the more pressing search for objectively verifiable theories of evolution – as these critics often argue, the theory of “supernatural intent” serves merely as a ready answer in the absence of concrete knowledge, as if to say, “If we can't explain it, then surely God did it!” In addition, critics reject ID on the grounds that it is not falsifiable, or subject to definitive disproof – as they argue, disproving God on scientific grounds is an exercise in futility, and thus should not be attempted at all. And lastly, most scientists dismiss ID on the grounds that it lacks popular support within the research community and peer-

review publications. Let me try to respond to these three concerns, and explain why the acceptance of Intelligent Design theory within the scientific community will not damage scientific inquiry, but instead provide an effective tool for further analysis and inquiry.

Let's begin by drawing an epistemological distinction between “positive” and “negative” arguments for “supernatural” intelligence. A positive view simply holds that scientific evidence objectively affirms the existence of an intelligence of some kind – that analysis of evolutionary processes reveals the unquestionable influence of some shaping force, the idea of a positive affirmation of a hypothesis through research. Conversely, a negative viewpoint holds that intelligence must exist in the absence of adequate materialistic explanations, as if to treat ID as a “default” hypothesis. Anxieties concerning the acceptance of Intelligent Design theory arise specifically from the latter, that “supernatural” intelligence is invoked haphazardly to explain otherwise inexplicable phenomena.

The second and more serious charge against Intelligent Design is that it is not falsifiable, or subject to conclusive rebuttal. After all, no existing scientific procedure can really *disprove* the existence of a supernatural force, so much as point to the comparatively greater plausibility of other theories. It is on this basis that the *Prince*, among others critics, has chosen to denounce ID as unscientific.

By comparison, a similarly grandiose theory such as the Big Bang could only be definitively disproved if scientists were able to explain the existence of residual background radiation in space by alternative means. But the Big Bang stands because science has not yet found another, better explanation for this bizarre cosmic phenomenon. In contrast, critics argue that ID is not subject to any similarly



irrefutable standard for disproof – merely circumstantial evidence that, at best, makes it one of a variety of equally likely theories.

But merely because Intelligent Design lacks objective and conclusive counterevidence should not disqualify it from the realm of scientific discourse. Indeed, just as the Big Bang is widely accepted despite its virtual non-falsifiability, so ID should be treated as a valid area for scientific exploration for precisely the same reason. Thus if the Big Bang can be treated as a scientific *theory* – an assertion few if any would dispute – so can Intelligent Design.

The last criticism leveled against ID is that it has not been accepted by a large percentage of scientists or published in peer-reviewed journals. The first accusation assumes that science should be run like a democracy, a condition that would never have allowed evolution in Darwin's time to be considered at all – Darwin was, after all, intensely unpopular and widely rejected in his own day. The second objection concerning academic publications is simply false. The Discovery Institute points to a variety of ID “scientists who...have published their work in a variety of appropriate technical venues, including peer-reviewed scientific journals,

peer-reviewed scientific books (some in mainstream university presses), trade presses, peer-edited scientific anthologies, peer-edited scientific conference proceedings and peer-reviewed philosophy of science journals and books.”

In light of these problematic and in some instances unjustified objections, let's assume for a second that some kind of intelligence really did produce some of the things we see on the earth. Could science ever conclusively prove its influence on evolution? Are there distinct features of natural phenomena that indicate intelligent, as opposed to random origins? Consider, for example, the Search for Extra-Terrestrial Intelligence Institute (SETI) in California, which receives routine grants from NASA and the federal government, and whose duties involve monitoring radio signals from space in search of life outside earth. The scientists here claim to try to detect life by discerning “intelligently-generated” patterns within incoming radio waves, as if to distinguish the random and arbitrary noises generated by the electromagnetic from purposeful patterns and sequences created by some kind of life. Is this enterprise anything other than a search for Intelligent Design? More relevantly, isn't ID the equivalent of turning those same techniques onto our own planet?

To call SETI's projects science, as almost everyone does, should encourage us to place ID research under the same umbrella – intelligence, after all, is always detectable using scientific methods.

Neither the Discovery Institute, nor those who support ID are as dumb as many make them out to be. ID is not creationism repackaged, as President Tilghman and the *Daily Princetonian* would suggest, but a valid scientific enterprise, and deserves recognition as such. Though the debate over its place in schools lies outside the goals of this article, in light of the compelling hope in ID research, perhaps we should focus on not only teaching the evidence for evolution, but discuss those phenomena that are difficult to explain in evolutionary terms – for which ID theory offers a useful and compelling explanation. ✚



Ryan McCullough is a sophomore intending to concentrate in Politics. He recently completed an internship at the Discovery Institute in his hometown of Seattle, Washington.

FREE EDUCATION?

THE FACES OF “FREE EDUCATION” IN CUBA

Kenneth Sinkovitz '07

Have you ever heard that Cuba has an excellent, accommodating, and most importantly, free educational system? Have you ever wondered what “free education” exactly entails, how it is practiced, and what fundamental principles it embodies? Before broaching these pressing questions, a distinction must first be made. The term “free education” oftentimes takes on different meanings which imply radically disparate understandings of “freedom.” Tuition-free schooling, for example, provides the *financial* freedom to receive education without the obligation to pay – the state provides coverage. Meanwhile, the right to educate oneself without restriction from resources such as literature, media, and the Internet equally falls under the notion of “free education” – though a distinct brand of *intellectual* freedom. These two distinctive concepts have raised many questions regarding Cuba’s claim to “free education” in its institutions of higher learning – especially when understood in the context of the most recent detainment of “prisoner of conscience,” Rolando Rodriguez Lobaina – whose story not only illuminates the unfortunate conditions for university students inside Cuba, but also the promising future of the Cuban-American youth movement in our own country.

Rolando Rodriguez Lobaina and his brother, Nestor, also a former “prisoner of conscience,” are active leaders in a growing youth movement in Cuba advocating for the establishment of autonomous universities – free and independent from the talons of the controlling and dogmatic communist regime. Lobaina’s program is called *Universidades sin fronteras* (Universities without boundaries), and has petitioned Castro’s regime to permit university students the fundamental rights to assemble on campus without limitation, to freely exchange ideas, and to enjoy access to an uncensored press.

After all, ever since 1961, Cuba’s universities have been state-run, and students, like all citizens, have lost these rights, but are now rallying behind Rolando Rodriguez Lobaina’s program to restore pre-revolutionary freedoms. For example, Cuban students do not have the freedom to create student organizations without the strict consent of the socialist government, and cannot read censored material under the threat of charges of civil disobedience and anti-revolutionary conduct. The state mandates what students can and cannot know, free of charge, but certainly not free of ideological pressures.

On September 7, 2005, Nestor reported to watchdog human-rights groups that his brother was resisting unjust incarceration by undergoing a prolonged hunger strike. But soon thereafter, he was moved to an undisclosed location on the island, his life hanging in the balance. Cuban university students who sympathized with Lobaina were not free to demonstrate against the state’s actions or rally support on behalf of Lobaina’s life because their “free education” did not permit them to do so. Cuban watch-dog groups and youth associations for educational reform in Cuba like *Raices de Esperanza* (Roots of Hope) and *El Comité Internacional de Jóvenes por la Democracia en Cuba* (International Youth Committee for Democracy in Cuba) took up the humanitarian cause, for they sympathized with the plight of Lobaina and the university students of Cuba.

Moreover, thanks in part to the efforts of Princeton CAUSA (Cuban-American Undergraduate Association) and other American and international youth groups

advocating “Education without boundaries,” Castro’s government soon released Lobaina from his arbitrary incarceration. An international “Fast Day” was in the making and ready to be launched. Letters were sent by the hundreds to Cuban embassies all over the world admonishing the regime to free its most prominent proponent of educational reform. Shirts bearing the image of the peaceful and progressive Cuban youth leader were created, and press conferences were held by youth activists in many Latin American and European countries. Seemingly overnight, a tragedy was averted and a success story instead prevailed.

Lobaina’s release from prison – only a week after his arrest – demonstrates the power, passion, and conviction of the growing international youth network existing outside of Cuba, which fights tirelessly for recognition of human rights and educational reform on the island. The quick mobilization in response

to Lobaina’s detention by groups such as *Raices de Esperanza* and *El Comité Internacional de Jóvenes por la Democracia en Cuba* raised enough eyebrows to adequately pressure the communist regime, proving that the voices and actions of Cuban sympathizers outside of the island are being heard and making a difference.

The free education afforded to those students working outside of the island has provided Cuban youth on the island with the opportunity to associate with one another and to broadcast their opinions and beliefs in a peaceful and civil manner. Sympathizers can research vast sources of press and media to decide for themselves if a cause is just and worth voicing their well-informed



Rolando Rodriguez Lobaina

opinions. The beneficiaries of “free education” outside of Cuba have been heard, and they now want the Cuban youth within the island to voice their own views and opinions on their respective campuses.

Co-founder and President of CAUSA, Chris Gueits, says that this issue touches every student at Princeton University who has ever taken advantage of the educational freedoms bestowed to American students, such as reading without restriction, joining independent student groups, and demonstrating in public (e.g. Frist Filibuster). *Universidades sin Fronteras* transcends politics and dives right to the most core values of “free” education. Education can certainly be “free of charge,” but to be truly free, education must allow students to be the authors of their own opinions and their own futures.

Raices de Esperanza Inc. is the umbrella Cuban-American Youth organization that unites CAUSA’s at campuses all over the country and works to develop the Cuban-American Youth movement sweeping across American universities. It is a non-political, broad-based coalition that serves as the mouthpiece for Cuban-American youth. It aspires to create inroads with young Cuban leaders on the island and find platforms that people of all races, politics, and generations can agree on, like the right to free education, freedom of expression, and freedom of assembly. The Cuban-American exile community has been traditionally tagged as fragmented and highly politicized – *Raices* seeks to break away from this harsh stereotypes and start with a fresh approach to promote awareness and support Cuban students in their pursuit of intellectual freedom.

The path to this promising new outlook was not always easy. Forty-seven years ago, tens of thousands of Cubans were exiled in the first great wave of immigration, and in the decades since, they have been followed by an estimated two million more, all making the 90-mile trek by plane, boat, and inner tube to the United States. Fidel Castro’s government has not permitted Cuban exiles to bring any of their private property or personal belongings to America, but has proven powerless to prevent exiles from also shedding the repressive political ideologies of the Communist party. By 1959, the Cuban Diaspora found a home in the city of Miami, where the exile population could finally exercise their long denied rights of assembly and expression. Despite these new freedoms, Miami’s Cubans were always careful to remember those friends

and family still in Cuba, who continued to struggle under the same oppression for the next forty-seven years of dictatorship.

From the outset, however, Miami’s exile community was politically fragmented and ideologically volatile. And even in spite of a common interest in defeating Castro and winning back their homeland, there was little more that the exiles could agree on. Liberals, conservatives, and even supporters of the deposed dictator Fulgencio Batista filled the ranks of the community’s leadership, inevitably creating disagreement over how to best to save Cuba from Communism’s corrupting influence. Even though many Cuban exiles of all political persuasions later joined forces in the Bay of Pigs invasion, none could agree on what to do following the invasion’s failure. And in the wake of the blocked invasion, Cuban-Americans began to more permanently fragment along political lines, organizing with other like-minded people and thereby stifling cooperation within the exile community. With each organization working independently as a result, many scholars argue that Cuban-Americans reduced their collective influence on their homeland and helped Castro to remain in power.


In light of these unfortunate circumstances, *Raices de Esperanza* stands as among the only Cuban-American organizations to successfully transcend the divergent political loyalties of its individual members. Certainly the first Cuban-American youth movement of its kind, *Raices de Esperanza* strives to garner the support of all Cubans across generational and ideological divides. It has studied the exile community’s past successes and failures and has evaluated the most effective ways to unite the Cuban-American exile community and thereby provide the best possible support to its counterparts still struggling for freedom on the island. *Raices de Esperanza’s* power stems

from its dedicated and impassioned leaders, who think not in terms of politics, but in *amor, amistad y esperanza* (love, friendship, hope). Rather than focus its energy on criticizing Fidel Castro, a strategy that has proven unsuccessful for forty-seven years, *Raices* advocates a positive message promoting human rights and solidarity between Cuban-Americans and their family, friends, and counterparts still on the island.

Raices de Esperanza’s ultimate goal is to play a unifying and supportive role in Cuba’s future transition from a dictatorship to a democracy. *Raices de Esperanza’s* support of Rolando Rodriguez Lobaina at places like Princeton and other universities across the world is just one small example of how people outside of the island can achieve freedom for those inside one step at a time. ¶



Kenny Sinkovitz is currently a junior studying history and Spanish. He runs track and co-founded Princeton’s CAUSA (Cuban-American Undergraduate Student Association).




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MARRIAGE AS A SOCIAL LIBERTY

Jordan Reimer '08

The argument in favor of the legalization of gay marriage begins from a single premise. If for some reason you disagree with this principle, reasoned debate stops right here. The premise is this: all human beings are equal and entitled to the same social liberties. Regardless of sex, religion, skin color, sexual orientation, shoe size, or eye color, every person on this earth has just the same rights and freedoms as the next. The United States, after all, has been shaped

uphold X provided that it does not interfere with another's ability to perform Y.

Now, in the evolution of human behavior, society has developed the institution called "marriage," by which two individuals, and until the present era, almost exclusively those of the opposite sex, promise to spend their lives together as a single social and reproductive unit, for the sake creating and nurturing the next generation. In a country that places a premium on non-interference and individual liberty, why the state privileges marital relations above those relation-

At its base, society is obliged to sanction all varieties of personal conduct that do not negatively impact another's personal liberties.

by the libertarian principles of the Declaration of Independence, which stipulates the existence of certain "inalienable rights," and establishes the government as an agency for the protection of these freedoms. The extension of marriage rights to homosexual couples stands to fulfill our nation's mission to maximize personal freedom through minimal state regulation. For this reason, I support the legalization of gay marriage.

First and foremost, human beings are born equal and, in an ideal society, have equal rights granted to them. These rights can only be revoked once a person violates his social contract with the society into which he is placed. Since all men (and by men I mean people) are all equal, every person is ultimately deserving of the same freedoms as the next. As such, there cannot be laws that discriminate against a certain type of individual based on criteria such as those enumerated above, particularly sexual orientation. All people are subject to the same social contract, which guarantees that their own liberties will not be violated if they do not tread upon the liberties of their fellow man. As such, if a person chooses to do X action, the government has a responsibility to

ships in which two people simply live and reproduce together without the benefit of wedding rings is beyond me. After all, if marriage is all about generativity, as some theorists suggest, then society can successfully ensure its self-propagation through less restrictive means than traditional marriage, which inevitably denies broad groups equal treatment under the law.

At its base, society is obliged to sanction all varieties of personal conduct that do not negatively impact another's personal liberties. Presuming the existence of consent, sexual relations between two partners – whether heterosexual or homosexual – should always be licit. Taboos concerning homosexual relations exist as a means of elevating and privileging the heterosexual "norm." But if the law's primary function is to protect against the violation of individual liberty, the issue of homosexual marriage, and marriage as a whole for that matter, falls outside the realm of government sanction or condemnation and as such, isn't a legal issue. However, since we have decided to regulate marriage, the same law must be applied universally, to all people, for the reason just stated above.

Lastly, we must consider the extent to



which gay marriage rights would negatively affect marriage for heterosexual couples in this country. Or, to put it in more personal terms, how does the right of two men to get married deteriorate the stability and quality of my marriage to a husband (for women) or to a wife (men)? Is it conceivable that having gay married couples living down the street, in the apartment next door, or in the nearby church pew will prompt people to divorce, abandon their children, or leave their jobs? Clearly not. There is very little sociological data that squarely demonstrates the negative personal impact of gay marriage on heterosexual couples, and even less that shows the specific effect of gay parents on their children's social success – either good or bad. To deny such a fundamental right and freedom as marriage under the false – and at best, unexplored – presumption that it will harm society is irresponsible.

A conscious reader should take note that I make no appeal to morality in my argument. In a country which should seek to maximize individual freedom, moral categories are important insofar as they deter us from making certain personal decisions, but have little place in the pluralistic public square, where they can be deployed to restrict freedoms. The role of government is not to arbitrate over morality, but only to ensure that each individual is free enough to enforce his own sense of morality on himself. P



Jordan Reimer '08 is a prospective history major with a focus on the Near East and researched Israeli constitutionalism at the Shalem Center in Jerusalem this summer."

MARRIAGE IN THE STATE'S INTEREST

Sherif Girgis '08

The common arguments in favor of same-sex marriage (SSM) appeal to fairness and equality, supposing that SSM can be opposed only on sectarian religious grounds, by unjust discrimination against homosexuals, or out of superstitious fear of difference. But a just and convincing case against SSM does exist, and it rests on none of these faulty premises. It does not entail judgment of homosexuals or rely exclusively on tradition or religious revelation. Rather, it rests on rational arguments about the good of marriage, children and society, which make preserving traditional marriage a matter of justified (indeed, necessary) distinction, not arbitrary discrimination.

Maggie Gallagher, President of the Institute for Marriage and Public Policy, makes a pointed criticism of the rationale for marriage-law liberalization: "If the purpose of marriage and family law is to affirm neutrally the multiplicity of adult emotions, because individual declarations of intimacy are sacred matters in which the state has no right to interfere, then the question becomes: why do we have laws about marriage at all?" Indeed, what is the state's interest in regulating marriage, as opposed to other relationships, like friendships?

Gallagher posits a convincing answer. Her case for traditional marriage refers straightforwardly to marriage as an undisputable societal good. After all: 1. Sex produces children; 2. Society needs children; 3. Children need a mother and a father; 4. Therefore, the state should foster, for society's sake, the institution in which "sex between men and women can make babies safely, [and] the fundamental interests of children in the care and protection of their own mother and father will be protected."

Let's begin at the top: the first point holds even in a contraceptive and abortive society like ours, in which, according to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, one-half of pregnancies are unintended, and one-third of all children are born out of wedlock, sex

inevitably produces new human life.

The second point seems axiomatic, for a society that does not provide for its own future in the most fundamental way – by *producing* the next generation – cannot survive. And despite alarmist warnings of overpopulation, as American Enterprise Institute scholar Nicholas Eberstadt warns, currently eighty-three countries comprising forty-four percent of the world's population are not replacing themselves. Thus society must face the choice of reproduction or eradication.

It is precisely the intrinsic good of marriage as a stable union of two biologically...complementary halves of humanity that promotes the good of children.

The third point is supported now by a broad consensus of social scientists. In countless studies, children reared by their mother and father consistently fare better on every indicator of medical, economic, educational, and social wellbeing. Indeed, Princeton's own eminent (and hardly reactionary) sociologist Sara S. McLanahan writes: "If we were asked to design a system for making sure that children's basic needs were met, we would probably come up with something quite similar to the two-parent ideal."

The "two-parent ideal" specifically refers to the presence of a mother and a father – not variations thereof with two fathers or two mothers. University of Virginia sociologist W. Bradford Wilcox, for example, writes: "The best psychological, sociological, and biological research to date now suggests that—on average—men and women bring different gifts to the parenting enterprise, [and] children benefit from having parents with distinct parenting styles." The findings of independent research organizations like the Brookings Institution, Child Trends, and the Institute for American Values all corroborate the unique value to a child's wellbeing of a wedded mother and father.

Moreover, the benefits children derive



from marriage illuminate the inherent goodness of marriage itself; it is precisely the intrinsic good of marriage as a stable union of two biologically (and, so, otherwise) complementary halves of humanity that promotes the good of children. Otherwise, what rational basis would we have for keeping marriage permanent (instead of limited, like many contracts, to a number of years), monogamous, or even non-incestuous – all conditions for a stable male-female union and healthy offspring?

As Princeton's Professor Robert P. George writes, "[Removing] the requirement of sexual complementarity that links marriage as an institution to procreation and helps to provide its intelligible moral structure [eliminates] any rational basis for treating marriage as intrinsically limited to two persons."

So the robust case against SSM (or, more precisely, *for* the state's exclusive preference for traditional marriage) is neither bigoted nor arbitrary but rests, as it has cross-culturally for millennia, on fundamental facts about human society. No competing model of marriage is equally rationally defensible, or sufficiently in the state's interests to be ratified by it. ¶



Sherif Girgis is sophomore from Dover, Delaware. He plans to concentrate in philosophy, with certificates in Spanish and Italian.

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WHAT ARE OUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES DOING?

Will Scharf '08

In November's issue of the *Tory*, I used my "Last Word" column to discuss the risks of the four-year college system and the failure of our Undergraduate Student Government to adequately address this latest attempt by Nassau Hall to undermine the Eating Clubs, among the last truly unique aspects of the Princeton experience. Although I feel that Alex Lenahan's election should in some way clear the slate for the USG, leaving its record clean, I do feel that at least some attention ought to be given to the Princeton Justice Project's brief in the case of *Lewis v. Harris*, especially in light of the controversy resulting from the inclusion of an endorsement ref-

was quite surprised to say the least with what I saw. The PJP's brief was written in large part by the late Linda Colligan, a lecturer in the politics department who committed suicide in March 2005. Its main thrust is a rather long-winded attempt at showing that (1) the court's decision is bound by a carefully pared down and selected (perhaps even selective) history of equal protection jurisprudence in the State of New Jersey and that said jurisprudence must be applied to this case in the context of the "real" nature of civil marriage; (2) that some distinction exists and must be recognized between "modern" and "traditional" marriage; and (3) that somewhere in the previous sixty-two rambling pages of text it was shown that the legal distinc-

to heterosexual and homosexual "couples." The New Jersey State Constitution, however, makes no mention of the rights of couples in its enumeration of rights and privileges (Article I of the N.J. State Constitution, in case you don't trust me and want to check for yourself). Couples have no legal rights, but individuals do, and in this case, each individual receives equal treatment under the existing marriage laws.

Even if we accept the PJP's assertion that couples are being deprived of rights, the brief's effort to show that the differences between homosexual and heterosexual couples are unrelated to the institution of marriage as it exists today (points II and III in the brief) is almost laughably one-dimensional. Indeed, of the sixty-five pages of the entire PJP brief, fifty-three are devoted to rebutting the thirteen-point marital construction proposed by Professor K.N. Llewellyn of Columbia Law School in 1932. Although none would debate Llewellyn's influence on the field of marital jurisprudence during and beyond the span of his life, his definition of traditional marriage in no way comprehends all related definitions, nor is it universally accepted as a complete definition of marriage as an institution. To rely on Llewellyn's clearly dated writings, to the exclusion of more recent sociological constructions such as those proposed by "generativity" sociologists like Maggie Gallagher, who spoke at Princeton this fall, seems devious to me, almost as if the drafters of this brief were looking for a straw man definition of traditional marriage that could easily be pummeled by heavily cited, though general appeals to the nature of New Jersey case-law. By the end of the brief, the PJP crafts its own definition of "modern marriage" vindicating a fallacious gender-neutral view of a global societal institution that has consisted of male and female partners since the beginning of time.

I could certainly go on in this textual-analytical manner, but what I am trying to show is that there is a lot more to this brief than just the question of whether or not

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erendum on the December election ballot, and the USG's eventual decision to sign the petition on behalf of the entire student body after only a slim majority of voting students approved the endorsement.

I have complaints with both the way the brief was presented (or perhaps misrepresented) to the student body, as well as the role the USG took throughout the debate over the brief. Following the Talmudic tradition of which I suppose I am an heir, I will discuss these two complaints in the order in which I initially phrased them.

First and foremost, few people actually read the brief on which they voted. To be entirely honest, I only skimmed it at the time, not having had an opportunity to read all sixty-five pages of it at the voting station where I cast my electronic ballot. Once blessed with the relative abundance of leisure time over Christmas vacation, however, I perused it more carefully, and

tions between opposite-sex and same-sex couples do not bear a "real and substantial relationship" to "modern civil marriage".

To cut through the legalese, the brief argues that in the context of the way we view marriage today, there is not enough of a difference between homosexual and heterosexual couples to differentiate between them in the eyes of the law. Some would argue, myself included, that the entire basis of the brief is fallacious, because there has been no equal protection infringement whatsoever in the marriage laws in question. A homosexual man is entitled to the same right as a heterosexual man -- namely to marry a woman of consenting age -- and is denied the exact same rights as any heterosexual man -- namely to marry another man, a legal minor, more than one person, and animal etc. Colligan and the PJP attempt to dodge this point by referring only

one wants gay marriage to be legal in the state of New Jersey. The brief was never a policy opinion, but rather a legal opinion, and I think that it is safe to say that this distinction was only severely blurred when the USG placed a question on the ballot asking students their personal opinion on gay marriage right before the question concerning the endorsement of the PJP referendum.

The misrepresentation of the brief is closely tied to another issue, and this second concern is one that is particularly close to my heart. As many of you may know, I recently ran unsuccessfully for USG president, and a key principle of my platform was that the USG needs to be advocating more actively for student interests and needs. What I find most worrying about the USG's endorsement of a referendum so clearly related to a national political issue not of special concern to Princeton students is that the USG's energy could be better expended elsewhere, and that in this time of rapid, potentially detrimental and destructive change to the campus

life, the USG should not be wasting its political capital on issues of peripheral relevance to Princeton University. It would seem, however, that the USG has become disillusioned into believing that non-campus activism is a good unto itself. Indeed, as one member of the USG executive board stated before the vote, "We're breaking through the orange bubble. We need to get out of this little shell we have. It would be the biggest thing that the USG did in a very long time." Such an attitude underlies a fundamental sense of misdirection: the USG should be looking to fix the problems of the Princeton shell before it starts looking to address "injustices" that exist outside it.

The USG is, and should be, primarily an advocate for student interests. The USG is not a public policy think-tank, nor is it a state legislature or court. The USG is a student organization created to represent the undergraduate student body of Princeton to administration, faculty, alumni, and also to outside groups when appropriate or necessary. It is this last category that is under debate. When

is advocacy for off-campus issues acceptable, and when should it be off limits?

The USG constitution unfortunately draws no firm distinction to help determine what is appropriate and what is not. Although I would personally like to see a strict litmus test, limiting off-campus political advocacy entirely, except where a hard, compelling, and clear link could be drawn to campus interests, this viewpoint is tough to sell. The student body, after all, views itself as ideologically and politically active and more generally "activist" in nature



(whether or not that self-perception is actually true or just fashionable). Many have drawn faulty parallels between the USG signing on to the PJP brief, and similar USG action during the last major affirmative action blow-up in 2003 at the University of Michigan, or the issue of divestment from Apartheid South Africa. The PJP brief, however, is substantively different from both of

these issues, in that gay marriage affects Princeton as an institution and its undergraduate student body in the same way that it affects every other institution and collection of citizens. Race-based preferences in college admissions, by contrast, directly affect only colleges, and so the USG, as an organization designed to represent a body of college students, whose very make-up was determined by an affirmative action policy, should be authorized to speak on the issue. Likewise, divestment directly affected the student body because it concerned the investment of Princeton's own money. Indeed, the question of whether or not Princeton's endowment money should be placed in a fundamentally racist state was at the forefront in past decades. What differentiates the gay marriage debate from these two past campus political issues is that Princeton students are not affected by restrictions on same-sex marriage in any special way beyond that which affects every other citizen or resident of New Jersey or the United States. As such, it is inappropriate for the USG to become involved in the debate

over same-sex marriage, just as it would be inappropriate for the USG to chime in on any contentious political issue outside specific campus interest – from abortion and euthanasia, to the war in Iraq and welfare.

Our grades are deflated, our eating clubs are under attack, our undergraduate population is ballooning, our fire code is absurdly harsh, our disciplinary system is abusive – there are so many issues that the USG needs to be addressing, and yet it occupied its time this fall with countless debates over the procedural steps that should be taken to put a question of national politics on a campus ballot. To me, this is unacceptable, and it is my sincere hope that our new president will not stand for similar circuses in the future.

I am fully expecting a stream of hate mail to fill my inbox shortly after the publication of this article. In what will probably be an unsuccessful attempt to stem this flood of animosity, I want to conclude by saying that I have no particularly strong feelings about the debate over homosexual marriage. I think this issue, like so many others, should be decided by the people of the several states' duly elected representatives, and that in all likelihood a common ground of sorts will be reached if such legislative processes are allowed to run their course. I do have strong feelings about the PJP brief because I don't think it was considered prudently. The question students were asked was whether or not the brief made a strong enough legal argument to merit the support of our most prominent representative body. The question students answered was whether or not they wanted the USG to endorse the institution of same-sex marriage. The two are entirely different.

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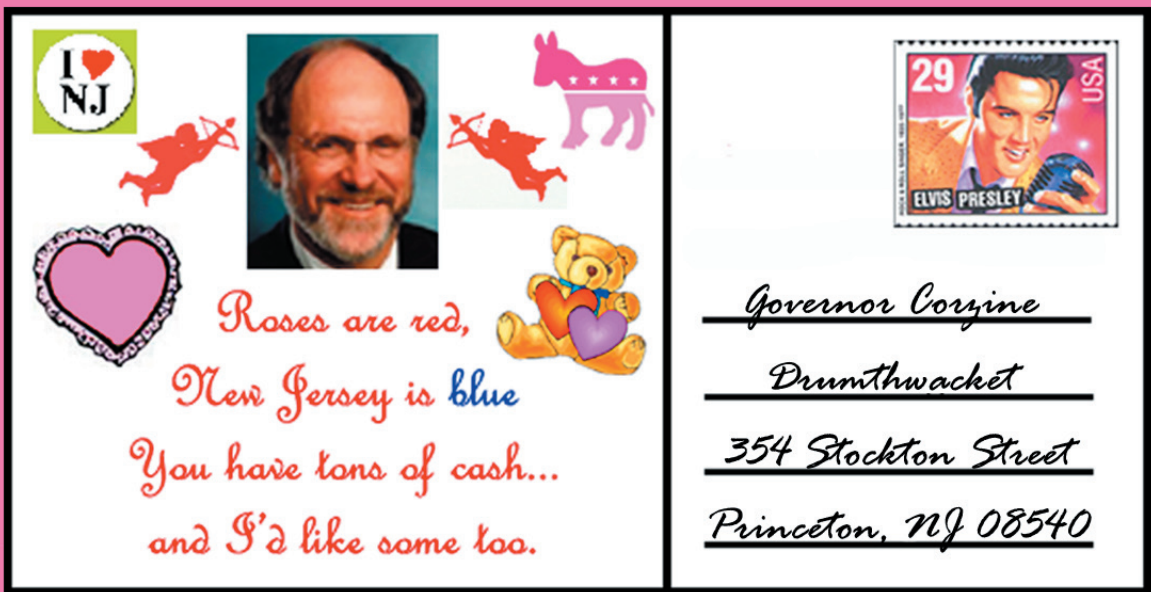


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We wish our readers a Happy Valentine's Day!

For those of you looking for some liberal lovin' this Valentine's Day, here's the perfect card.

Let Jon Corzine know he can buy your love... almost as easily as he can buy the governorship.



As you might imagine, we're not the biggest fans of Jon Corzine here at the Tory. Therefore, to choose our special valentine, we enlisted the help of Doctor Love...

Love Calculator results
 These are the results of the calculations by Dr. Love:
 The Tory ♥ LGBTQ
 54 %
 Apparently the Doctor just doesn't understand that, despite our differences, Love = Love.

Love Calculator results
 These are the results of the calculations by Dr. Love:
 The Tory ♥ Princeton Progressive Nation
 58 %
 This pair just wasn't meant to be. Too bad, since we share an office...

Love Calculator results
 These are the results of the calculations by Dr. Love:
 The Tory ♥ Shirley Tilghman
 78 %
 We'd pursue this, but if the scandal was uncovered, Larry Summers might write an admonishing letter.

Love Calculator results
 These are the results of the calculations by Dr. Love:
 The Tory ♥ OWL
 85 %
 Coming soon:
 The Tory and OWL Co-Produce
The Vagina Monologues

And the WINNER of a dream date with the Tory is... (drumroll)
the PJP! →

Love Calculator results
 These are the results of the calculations by Dr. Love:
 The Tory ♥ Princeton Justice Project
 92 %
 Next month, students will vote on a USG Resolution regarding the restaurant for our first date.

*screenshots from www.lovecalculator.com

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