

September 2006

PRINCETON TORY

WELCOME
FRESHMEN!

*INSIDE:
Issues that
affected our
campus,
2005-2006*



THE PRINCETON TORY

September 2006
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From the Publisher

Dear Princetonian,

On behalf of the *Tory* staff, I am excited to welcome the class of 2010 to Princeton! Now that you've been at school for a few weeks, I'm sure you have already engaged in—or at least observed—a few cutthroat political discussions over coffee, in precept, or at the dining hall. Over the last two years, I have found that debating issues with other students, who tend to be exceptionally articulate, well-informed and passionate, not only opens your eyes to new ideas, but also compels you to find more sound, convincing lines of argument in order to defend your beliefs. If you're one of those students who love to engage his or her fellow students in informed political debates, enjoy keeping abreast of campus issues, national politics, or world events, and seek to play a role in the collective political discourse at Princeton, please consider working for the *Tory*.



I look forward to warmly welcoming a new group of contributors to the magazine. We hope that you will consider helping us play a part in Princeton's political dialogue by getting involved in our publication, whether it is through writing, editing, or lending a hand in layout and production. The latest issues of the *Tory* have addressed a number of pressing campus issues and, in doing so, have provided rarely-expressed critiques of our administration, the admissions process, and the actions and adopted roles of the Undergraduate Student Government. Several recent articles, including pieces on the proposed Arts Initiative and the four-year residential college plan, have led to an enormous amount of heated response—both positive and negative—around campus. We welcome debate, and hope you will feel free to contact us with any questions or concerns.

If you'd like to get to know the *Tory* better, please check out our archives at www.princeton.tory.com, or our blog at princeton.tory.blogspot.com. If you are a prospective staff member, we look forward to meeting you! Even if your beliefs are antithetical to those expressed in the following pages, however, we hope that you will continue to read the *Tory* and express your criticism: send your letters to tory@princeton.edu. I wish you all the best of luck!

Sincerely,

Juliann Vikse '08
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The editors welcome, and will print, letters on any topic.

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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,



Julian 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

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 future 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 mil-

lion 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. P



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CAN WE CALL THIS PROGRESS?

A REFLECTION ON FOUR YEARS OF PRINCETON POLITICS

Duncan Sahrer '06

GUNS. GUNS. GUNS. I hope I have your attention now. In the weeks before commencement, seniors' reminiscences will fill the pages of the *Prince* and other publications. Since these sappy sermons can get a little repetitive, I needed quite an opening to hook you. Guns, though deserving of journalistic discussion, are here just a convenient lure. (Thank goodness firearms have not been a campus-specific issue, at least as far as I remember.) Instead, I hope to use this article to reminisce on Princeton politics over the past four years, with special emphasis on the campus conservative presence. While my memory of political Princetoniana is hardly institutional—except relative to the three younger classes—I wish to nuance underclassmen's perspective on campus politics in their remaining time here. Personal experiences, memorable *Prince* articles, and word-of-mouth are my sources of information.

Two campus art exhibits from the last four years, exhibits which offended students, will serve to bookend my discussion. Princetonian conservatism has made significant strides by better organizing itself and increasing its extracurricular presence—in

Robertson Hall hosted an exhibit entitled "Ricanstructions." (For a full discussion of this exhibit, see my article in the November 2003 *Tory*, accessible in the archives of www.princeton.tory.com.) Created by a New York artist named Juan Sanchez, the collection of mixed-media paintings expressed frustration with the social problems plaguing Puerto Rico, the artist's cultural home. The Wilson School's in-house art curator selected Sanchez's paintings and then arranged their installation. Immediately students and faculty voiced opposition to Sanchez's work. Three pieces in particular contained anti-Christian sentiments that were neither subtle nor sly. On the first of these canvases, Sanchez arranged naked female torsos in the shape of the cross. Another painting featured at its center a torn picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, a Catholic devotional image. The third piece concentrated the viewer's attention on several other Catholic devotional objects under the title "Shackles of the AIDS Virus." Sanchez's message was clear: religion, especially Puerto Rico's deeply rooted Catholicism, was responsible for the spread of AIDS.

The angry response of many people was rooted in how the three paintings desecrated sacred symbols and objects. Plain and simple, Sanchez had employed images sacred

of disrespect as an opportunity for "dialogue"—what would eventually translate to stonewalling.

Dean Slaughter convened a discussion poshly entitled, "Sacred Symbols, Artistic Expression, and Public Space: A Fruitful Tension?" at which the artist Juan Sanchez, the Wilson School curator, and lots of students and professors were present despite the short notice. Even though many people argued cogently as to why the three pieces were offensive, little came of the meeting. The core of the argument against the exhibit was that it disrespected Christian students in a manner that no other religious, ethnic, or minority group would have to endure on Princeton's campus. When asked whether she would have included "Shackles of the AIDS Virus" and its companion pieces in "Ricanstructions" if she had anticipated their negative impact, the Wilson School's curator herself said no.

Students challenged both Sanchez and antagonistic professors to consider a hypothetical exhibit called "Shackles of Terrorism," with a picture of the Islamic crescent superimposed on an image of the burning World Trade Center. The point of the thought experiment was not to make Muslim students suffer similar treatment, but to stress all religions' need for respect. The seriousness of this double-standard, however, escaped Dean Slaughter's comprehension. While acknowledging Christian students' "pain," she nevertheless suggested that art often offends

in order to promote discussion, and that sometimes even minority groups (read here: unpopular ones, like devout Christians) must accept it. On its face, this proposition is not necessarily wrong, but it was very hard to imagine Jews or Muslims on campus receiving the same slap-in-the-face response from the Wilson School. Her final suggestion was to form a committee that would screen art

Certain trends in campus politics should concern all students interested in the respectful exchange of ideas, and not just those who identify as conservative.

response, at least in part, to the problems I believe these two exhibits underscore. I hope to convince the reader that certain trends in campus politics should concern all students interested in the respectful exchange of ideas, and not just those who identify as conservative.

In the late spring of 2003, during my freshman year, the basement gallery of

to Christians in a way that contradicted the character of their use, as well as the spirit of their display in the Woodrow Wilson School. Representatives of the Aquinas Institute (Princeton's Roman Catholic chaplaincy) approached Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter with their objections and requested that she remove the offending works. Dean Slaughter, however, preferred to see this situation

in order to promote discussion, and that sometimes even minority groups (read here: unpopular ones, like devout Christians) must accept it. On its face, this proposition is not necessarily wrong, but it was very hard to imagine Jews or Muslims on campus receiving the same slap-in-the-face response from the Wilson School. Her final suggestion was to form a committee that would screen art

exhibits for potential offensiveness. To my knowledge, no such committed was created. At the time of this article's completion, Dean Slaughter had not responded to a request for information.

The "Ricanstructions"/"Sacred Spaces" debate took place three years ago; participation in it exposed to my freshman eyes the unfair terms of debate in certain campus circles. To oppose Juan Sanchez's disrespectful treatment for Christians in his art was not a matter of political conservatism or religious belief—it was and remains in my opinion a matter of common sense. Still, the opposition bloc to "Ricanstructions" comprised people fitting exactly those categories: politically conservative and religiously observant. It became clear that no matter how reasonable the arguments of such students, a certain sentiment at Princeton (perhaps an institutional one) would oppose them and their presence on campus.

But in the three years since "Ricanstruc-

community. Recognizing that the ethical questions surrounding respect for life touch on more than abortion, the group has dedicated significant energy to the issues of embryonic stem-cell research, euthanasia, and assisted suicide. Members have taken their cause to major forums, such as publishing op-ed pieces in the *Daily Princetonian* addressing timely issues like the Terry Schiavo case and organized last October a Respect Life Sunday service in the University Chapel which featured leading pro-life religious and academic figures.

Moreover, PPL has successfully broadcasted through a series of public lectures: the invited speakers highlight various aspects of the pro-life movement, all of whom present a non-religious, public reason argument that is accessible to all students. Groups as disparate as Feminists for Life, Silent No More (post-abortive women who regret their abortions), and Not Dead Yet (a disability-rights organization) have all spoken

presented a fact sheet on embryo-destructive research. This high profile presentation of often unpopular opinions has only increased constructive dialogue on an otherwise one-sided campus.

This litany of Princeton Pro-Life's organizational and substantive achievements shows that the group recognized anew its often disdained position in campus politics, and moved to remedy it. The Anscombe Society, a much newer organization, has identified a similar set of tactics for interacting with the campus community. Founded in the spring of 2005, Anscombe is dedicated to "intellectual engagement and social support fostering a sexual and family ethic," as its mission statement reports. Their goals include the defense of the dignity of sex, promoting a traditional understanding of marriage as the monogamous union of a man and woman, and the active support of students seeking to lead chaste lives.

Several national media outlets—including the *New York Times*, *USA Today*, and CNN.com—published articles remarking on the sheer novelty of Anscombe's mission in Ivy League territory. Even Jay Leno

To oppose Juan Sanchez's disrespectful treatment for Christians in his art was not a matter of political conservatism or religious belief—it was and remains in my opinion a matter of common sense.

tions," campus conservatives have better organized themselves into dynamic groups that engage the rest of the University community. This is particularly the case of Princeton Pro-Life and the Anscombe Society. I am hesitant to say that "Ricanstructions" caused or provided the impetus for the conservative concrescence, but perhaps this particularly disappointing interaction with the University taught some lessons.

Princeton Pro-Life (PPL) has existed for years—I have not been able to determine the date of its founding. It was quite active during my freshman year (2002-03), bringing in numerous high-profile speakers, hosting a seminar with a global pro-life group, organizing a trip to Washington for the March for Life, and assembling a Respect Life Week. PPL scaled back its activities during the academic year 2003-04, but returned in the fall of 2004 with new purpose and direction that has continued to the present. This reinvigoration was quite necessary for a campus that had shown itself hostile to typically conservative points of view on pro-life issues.

Under the leadership of Ashley Pavlic '07 and now Tom Haine '08, as well as the group's other officers, PPL has reinvigorated its commitment to engaging the University

at PPL's invitation. Also last October a panel discussion entitled "Oh, the Lies We Told," brought together Dr. Bernard Nathanson, the founder of NARAL-turned-pro-life advocate, *National Review* editor Ramesh Ponnuru '95 and Professor Robert George to discuss how the pro-abortion position had gained popularity in the United States leading up to and following the *Roe v. Wade* decision in 1973, and its fate since then. Events like "Oh, the Lies We Told" draw large audiences who see for themselves that the pro-life camp is not unreasonable or deranged, but very willing to debate the merits of the issue.

Just last month, a revamped Respect Life Week took place in and in front of Frist. It included a slate of speakers, a now-famous display of flags representing the possible Class of 2010 students lost to abortion, and a candlelight vigil in honor of those possible classmates. The Frist display in particular sparked a lot of conversation: many people passing by disagreed with it, many paused to consider its arguments, some mocked it, and some vandalized the display, but—the bottom line—people were talking. This publicity campaign mirrored a spring 2005 ad PPL organized in several leading collegiate newspapers around the country which

referred to Anscombe in one of his opening monologues. Back on campus, Anscombe's debut as an official student organization encountered strident criticism, as some community members feared that the society would crucify homosexuals and other groups. The reality has been quite different: Anscombe has brought in only speakers who make reasoned, social-science arguments for pro-marriage, pro-family positions. Maggie Gallagher's talk on November 16, 2005 typifies the sort of engagement Anscombe promotes: Ms. Gallagher, the director of the Institute for Marriage and Public Policy, presented coherent sociological reasons for opposing same-sex marriage. Ms. Gallagher approaches the marriage debate with primary concern for how children are affected—not the religious or moral dimensions of the debate, though Anscombe says that it is open to those arguments as well. As one pro-gay marriage student confessed during the question-and-answer session, "I didn't think I'd be convinced by your lecture, but I have to admit, I agree with a lot of what you said."

Like Princeton Pro-Life, Anscombe runs a website presenting considerable scholarly material. The many articles are organized under the separate headings of chastity and

culture, sexual and marital ethics, marriage, feminism, gender, and homosexuality. I point out the website's organization to underscore how systematically Anscombe intends to engage the campus. Members and affiliated students publish their own editorials in the *Prince*. Officers have also masterminded a multi-week poster campaign this past April to raise the profile of Anscombe in student consciousness, as well as to publicize

chastity as a solution to Princeton's increasing problems with sexual abuse.

These techniques confirm how Anscombe disseminates its message through the means available to any campus group. Though many of its members profess to be religious and/or politically conservative, others dissent from these two categories while still participating in the society. Both Anscombe and Princeton Pro-Life have moved typically conservative ideas into much greater prominence in University dialogue. The double-standard that Christian students perceived in the "Ricanstructions" snub in 2003 seemed to originate in the fact that Christianity was singled-out as unworthy of the same protection Jews, Muslims or any other religious minority might receive from the Wilson School. Anscombe and PPL have honed their tactics and frequency of engagement in order to effectively deal with any double-standards their positions might face. In four years of Princeton, I have seen a new coherence and consistency develop within the pro-life and pro-marriage movements on campus. These changes have mobilized students better than ever before and are poised to continue making a difference in how ideas are exchanged at Princeton.

By means of bringing this reflection to an end, I would like to finally address the second art exhibit mentioned in the introduction of this article. The *Prince* reported on April 24 that after a Tibetan-born librarian and an East Asian Studies professor had complained, the International Center removed a collection of photographs of Tibet from Frist. The problem, according to librarian Tsering Shawa and professor Perry Link, is that the exhibit inappropriately privileged a Chinese propagandistic view of the region, which both argued is illegitimately occupied. I learned of the exhibit too late to see for myself what in the photos was propagandistic and so have no reason to disbelieve

Mr. Shawa and Professor Link. But if the stamp of University sponsorship had been mistakenly affixed to inappropriate or deeply troubling artwork, I'm glad they came forward with their concerns. Still, the situation

activity at Princeton? The immediate response of the International Center indicates that the University is, at least in some circumstances, willing to remedy offenses to identity claimed by community members.

While acknowledging Christian students' "pain," she [Dean Slaughter] nevertheless suggested that art often offends in order to promote discussion, and that sometimes even minority groups (read here: unpopular ones, like devout Christians) must accept it.

seems to me to uncomfortably parallel the "Ricanstructions" fracas. The International Center's director Paula Chow described her feelings to the *Prince*, saying she been unaware of the photographs' political content. When Shawa refused to compromise his position on the exhibit's unacceptability, Chow reported that she immediately agreed to take it down. As she told the *Prince*, "I am a non-confrontational person, and I hate to go through this." Words like "outrage," "disappointed," and "offended" pepper the article.

What, I wonder, substantively distinguishes objections to the Tibet exhibit from those made against "Ricanstructions"? No answer I can concoct proves satisfactory. Obviously, the International Center and the Wilson School have separate arrangements and criteria for their gallery space, but the same guidelines contained in *Rights, Rules, and Responsibilities* presumably steer both entities. If asked to compare the situations, would Dean Slaughter say that the offense Mr. Shawa took was more genuine or intense than what Christian students felt in the spring of 2003? Are religious sensibilities (or, dare I say it, religious minorities) less deserving of University protection than political ones? It is worthwhile to point out the simple difference in numbers between the two protests: consider what just two University staff members accomplished in a private meeting versus what a chorus of many students, professors, and a chaplain could not achieve in an advertised dialogue that brought (even more) national media attention to bear on the Wilson School. Numerical comparison, however, is immaterial. Plain arguments for fairness and equal treatment according to stated University policy should suffice in both cases.

What does the Tibet exhibit have to do with the new cohesion of pro-life and pro-chastity (stereotyped as conservative)

The International Center has taken seriously the University's commitment to learning and dialogue in a non-threatening environment. Should some exhibit appear in the coming years that unduly maligns the pro-life or pro-chastity positions, or offends affiliated students, can those groups expect sympathetic treatment like Mr. Shawa received? A definite prediction in either direction seems hazardous, but the skeptic in me stage-whispers that they would face another "Ricanstructions" debacle. Yet Princeton Pro-Life and the Anscombe Society continue to expand their tool box of editorials, public lectures, protests, and media coverage, some combination of which might realistically prompt the proper response from the University one day down the line.

While attempting to survey four years of Princeton political life, I have left out significant elements: with respect to academic year 2005-06 alone, I did not at all mention the student body's approval of both the Princeton Justice Project's gay marriage statement and the College Republicans' Student Bill of Rights. For this I apologize and suggest that someone write a JP or thesis about it. At the brink of graduation, I am eager to see where the next four, ten, and twenty-five years bring Princetonian conservatism—or, as I have tried to insist all along, our University's basic respect for all sides of debate. ✠



Duncan Sahnner '06 is from Maplewood NJ. He is a history major, with an interest in the Middle Ages.

THE PJP AND THE USG:

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

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.

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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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. ✠



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BIO-WARFARE

PRINCETON'S FACULTY AND BIOETHICS

Michael Fragoso '06

"My poor Aylmer!" murmured she. "Poor? Nay, richest! Happiest! Most favored!" exclaimed he. "My peerless bride, it is successful! You are perfect!" "My poor Aylmer!" she repeated, with a more than human tenderness. "You have aimed loftily!—you have done nobly! Do not repent, that, with so high and pure a feeling, you have rejected the best that earth could offer. Aylmer—dearest Aylmer—I am dying!"

—Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Birth-mark"

The field of bioethics is dominated on this campus by one justly famous name: Peter Singer. Ever since his appointment outside of the Philosophy Department, our Ira W. Decamp Professor of Bioethics has received the anger of the handicapped, the condemnation of Steve Forbes '70, and the accolades of fawning students. Ask any leftist undergrad about Prof. Singer and be ready to receive hours of insipid tedium masquerading as argument, rife with unsubstantiated moralizing about pigs, Africa, and imbeciles. For a

more enlightened understanding of Prof. Singer's views ask any graduate student about him. With an accumulated knowledge base more than mere lecture notes, your grad student interlocutor will give you fascinating yet platitudinous drivel about "reconsidering our preconceived notions of personhood."

While there is much to be criticized rigorously in Singer's utilitarian calculus, it is entirely secondary to my purposes here; this is not philosophy but polemic.

Accordingly, I am taking it as a given that a philosophy which allows for bestiality and infanticide while abjuring porterhouse steak and Mercedes-Benz ownership is wrong. In doing so I am not alone; no serious person would doubt that the natural orthodoxy of the American people would agree with such an assertion. Nevertheless, mediocre liberal thought at Princeton swarms around Pete Singer's philosophy like flies in a holding pattern around a dung heap. How is this so?

Here we are helped by an old cliché from the *Daily Princetonian*: the Orange Bubble. The Orange Bubble—also known as the Princeton Bubble—not only insulates us from off-brand Polo shirts and the suffering masses of the world; it also shelters us from having to deal with these unwashed masses in any serious way. The Princeton Man, cream of society, steeped in liberal academic theory, often goes to help society's dregs out of altruism. Upon doing so, he

"apartheid" in Israel, or whatever the cause *du mois* happens to be.

The Princeton Man's foray in "service" between stints of posh collegiate living has given him a sense of moral entitlement. He has seen the worst of the world and has helped it. He has seen those underprivileged privileged enough to be aided by the privileged. This gives him the sort of utopian optimism only possible among the elite—that that comes from within the Orange Bubble. This optimism is what allows him to adopt Peter Singer as his prophet, for Singer's world is a logically consistent utopia of its own: there are no disabled and no imbeciles; the friendly beasts of the world are left to their own devices; sexual autonomy is total and without consequence; all persons live comfortably.

Thankfully, outside the perky optimism of the Orange Bubble, Singer's utopia is dead on arrival. The deliberate sense of the American people sees the flaws in this vi-

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feels as if he's made a difference, and returns to our Gothic bubble convinced that if only the rest of the landed elite of the Ivy League would assuage their guilt in a similar way, perhaps the systemic misery in which most of the world dwells might be alleviated. If only we forwent our riches, renounced our materialist ways, and became helpful bureaucrats instead of investment bankers we could finally solve poverty in Africa, or AIDS in Thailand, or the abuse of turkeys, or

sion. The typical American knows and loves certain handicapped and stupid individuals. He realizes that if he doesn't eat a chicken, a fox probably will. He realizes that society must draw a line with regards to sexual license—although where exactly it should be is a debatable proposition. He realizes that the poor will be with us always. This is why Singer's views are merely annoying: outside of Princeton and the *New York Times* they have little cache. This is where Lee

Silver comes in.

Lee Silver, Professor of Molecular Biology and Public Affairs, does not come to questions of bioethics through the same radical methods as Prof. Singer. Silver's positions are in many respects just as radical as Singer's, but their ideological methods are quite different. Whereas Singer's approach to bioethics is generally utilitarian, Silver's approach is better described as scientism.

Silver, whose training is in biophysics, has had a long and distinguished career in the hard sciences. His career in ethics has been far briefer. Given his joint appointment in the Woodrow Wilson School about five years ago at the behest of the Sainted Hal Shapiro, Silver has long endeavored to brush away most ethical objections to immanent biotechnological advances. Well-thought-out and published systems of metaphysics are not in his purview: science is. To summarize Silver's scientism, there are scientific developments on the horizon—genetic engineering, cloning, stem cell therapies, etc.—and they are desirable in that they are possible and therapeutically helpful. There are certain Luddites out there who dispute the ethical validity of these practices. Such people are invariably religious—whether they admit it or not—and are thus irrational. These people should not partake in cloning therapies and genetic engineering if they do not approve of them, but they certainly have no moral standing to prevent others from partaking in them. People have the moral right to better themselves through science however they see fit—so long as they do not harm others—and thus science ought to be given the leeway it needs to properly better people.

The danger of this position must be made perfectly clear, as it is often difficult to appreciate when placed against the wicked Singerian foil of infanticide. The only ethical bound he presents is that which comes from the well-meaning of scientists. The familiar metaphor of the Invisible Hand is left to guide more than simple markets, but rather the existential course of humanity. Perhaps the benevolence of scientists will allow our species to stay as it is with fewer illnesses and maladies, perhaps it will create—as Silver has called it—“a special group of mental beings” tracing “their ancestry back to *homo sapiens*.” One way or the other, the direction that science takes

must be left to the possibilities of science. Any ethical barrier presented by external forces to scientific development is wrong and must be opposed. This manifests itself in Silver's thought, as one very prominent bioethicist termed it, in his “ignorant yet

The natural orthodoxy of the American people will not stomach infanticide, euthanasia, poverty, and bestiality as the mandates of utilitarian deliberation. Singer will never be taken seriously outside of the Academy. This is largely because most sen-

Any ethical barrier presented by external forces to scientific development is wrong and must be opposed. This manifests itself in Silver's thought, as one very prominent bioethicist termed it, in his “ignorant yet confident belief that appeals to nature or God or to traditional philosophy are mere matters of superstition.”

confident belief that appeals to nature or God or to traditional philosophy are mere matters of superstition.”

The end result of Silver's vision has rightly been called “free-market eugenics”, in which the radically autonomous *homo economicus* engages in market transactions with an unfettered biomedical industry. Science isn't free for the sake of science, but for the sake of the individual who is capable of contracting science. He is free to clone himself for parts or to genetically engineer his children, for doing so would be his right as an autonomous individual.

Ultimately, what justifies these processes is not a Singerian metaphysical system but market efficiency. As Silver once said, “If you see a better technology that is beneficial, doesn't hurt anybody, helps either you or your children be happier or more successful or healthier - and that is what biotech does - common sense tells you that people are going to accept it and desire it.” This is why he is more dangerous than Singer: he is right.

When one looks at the history of bioethical debate, one sees that it is lost on the peaks of Parnassus and won on the floor of the Agora. For example, when the English sought to legalize embryo research in order to perfect their assisted reproductive technologies in the 1980s, they were unable to achieve a liberalization of the law so long as the scientists argued it was their ethical right as scientists to be unrestricted in their inquiries of the origins of human life. It was only when the argument was couched in the language of curative benefits—“embryo research is not for us scientists, but for the poor infertile women!”—that the laws were changed.

sible people have a well-developed sense of revulsion at the flagrantly unnatural. With Silver, however, the average person is not presented a foreign philosophical system and asked to abandon his cultural and religious predispositions in favor of them. He is asked to dismiss those predispositions because of their intrinsic faults: they are mere superstition. Not only are they superstition but they are superstition which impedes self-improvement. Silver's Jacobin dismantling of inherited sentiments coupled with the enticing specter of raw self-interest allows his system to seduce the deliberate sense of the American people. In the end, Singer will be a utilitarian Napoleon, ruling over his little Elba of Princeton. At the same time, Silver's abhorrent scientism and its free-market eugenics shall have blitzed across our society—a kinder, gentler version of its ghastly predecessor—delivering a techno-utopia to those vulgar post-humans who shall inherit it.

Call it superstition, but I pray it's a day that I never live to see. ✠



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CAPITALISM ON CAMPUS

PRINCETON STUDENT AGENCIES WALK THE LINE

Powell Fraser '06

"Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production; and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to, only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer."

Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776

In 1776, Scottish economist Adam Smith declared the independence of producers and consumers from the strong arm of government and entrusted prosperity to a so-called "invisible hand." Across an ocean, British colonists irate over abusive imperialism and taxation declared independence from their motherland. In January of the next year, the new American army engaged their oppressors at a small town called Princeton, where the timely arrival of George Washington on the battlefield rallied the faltering patriots to victory over troops under British General Cornwallis. That day, Princeton stood up for one kind of independence – but what do we stand for

today? We may still worship Washington, Witherspoon, and Wilson, but Smith seems to have fallen out of favor.

What we see today on campus is a drive toward "redistribution," as performed by the scepter of the University president, not the invisible hand. Everyone seems to be subject: there are plans to redistribute enrollment from the most successful academic departments to the most neglected, to transfer memberships from the eating clubs to an envisioned residential college system, and to take *A's* away from professors

to secure approval from the Administration before starting their businesses, and they are protected from competition by Princeton Student Agencies, a division of the Office of the Dean of Undergraduate Students. The price of doing business on campus is a hefty tax levied on student agencies by the PSA office.

Past attempts to challenge University-sanctioned monopolies have failed. Attempts in 1998 to start a Hoagie Haven Delivery Agency fell flat when their application to the PSA office was denied due to

University regulations prohibit students from running businesses from their rooms. What emerges is an inflexible policy that stifles competition to protect campus monopolies.

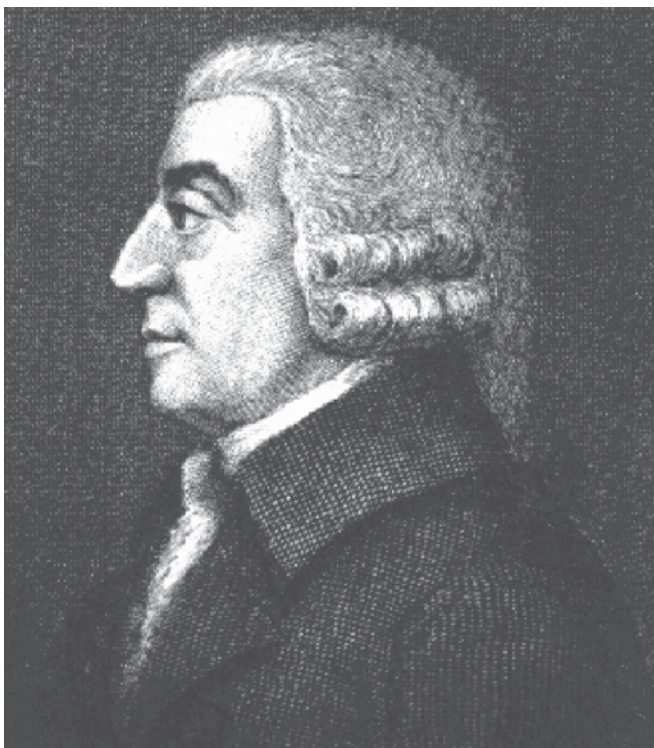
who are giving "too many" good grades. There seems to be no problem of supply or demand that Nassau Hall can't counter with regulation aimed at achieving a "socially optimal" outcome. Into this fray step the managers of Princeton's student agencies, classic examples of Smith's *homo economicus* forced to live in President Tilghman's social science lab.

Twenty student agencies currently operate on Princeton's campus. They range from business with which you are likely familiar – newspapers, TV rentals, and storage – to more obscure enterprises, such as the Parking and Safe-guard agencies. They are all providing some form of service to the University population and are generating revenue through doing so. They are all operating under a government-sanctioned monopoly as well. This means that they had

potential competition with the Tiger Foods delivery agency. Without official agency status, a student business is prohibited from conducting advertising on campus. What's more, University regulations prohibit students from running businesses from their rooms. What emerges is an inflexible policy that stifles competition to protect certain campus monopolies.

These circumstances alone are not sufficient to warrant accusations of redistribution. A closer scrutiny of the state of the various student agencies, however, arouses suspicion that Princeton Student Agencies may not be the breeding ground of entrepreneurs that it portends to be. The picture that emerges, rather, is one of failing businesses bleeding red ink despite their exclusive access to the market, while a few successful agencies are forced to shoulder the burden of their less profitable counterparts.

The *Tory* spoke with students involved in several student agencies at various levels, many of whom declined to comment for the record about the operations of their businesses. (And why would managers of government-sanctioned monopolies wish to avoid the subject of their dealings with the government?). A request for financial statements for the various student agencies was



What would Adam Smith do here?

denied by the Student Agencies office, “because these records reflect personal payroll information and business results (both good and bad).” Would we tolerate such a lack of transparency either in our government or our public companies? Perhaps Sen. Paul Sarbanes ’54, author of landmark corporate governance legislation, should pay a visit to his alma mater.

A few students, however, were willing to help the *Tory* in its pursuit. We sat down with one enterprising young businessman, Greg Haislip ’07, who aspires to succeed his boss Donnelly McDowell ’06 as the Manager of the Shipping and Packing Agency. Haislip is presently the assistant manager of the agency, which he happily reported is very profitable. “In the past couple years, we have made more money than any other agency,” he boasted to us. This used to mean a windfall for the manager of the agency. The manager of a profitable agency could expect to receive fifty percent of the agency’s profits after payment of wages and other expenses.

In the summer of 2004, the incentives policy for agency managers was changed by the Student Agencies Office. Effective that fall, a manager was no longer to be paid based on his business’s performance; rather, he would receive a salary with a potential bonus. While this new plan eliminated some of the variance in expected returns for agency managers, security came at a price. “Our manager is definitely making less,” Haislip told us, though he could not reveal precise numbers.

Haislip also had more troubling news for the *Tory*. “Student agencies are losing money,” he warned us. “There were more agencies reporting losses than profits last year, despite amazing performances from both Shipping & Packing and Moving & Storage.” This disturbing piece of information has led to suspicions that profits from the successful agencies are being used to shore up the failing ones. There is also evidence that the Student Agencies office has undertaken attempts to smooth earnings across managers. One veteran manager, who wished to remain unnamed, announced that his earnings had more than tripled as a result of the change in policy.

The *Tory* corresponded with Student Agencies Director Sean Weaver, who all interviewed parties described as helpful and congenial. “The primary goal of the PSA program is educational,” he told us.

“We provide students an opportunity to gain entrepreneurial experience, strengthen leadership and management abilities, understand stewardship and customer service issues while providing good products and services to the University community.” Weaver re-

PSA

peatedly stressed the value of student agencies as “a learning experience.”

The educational value of encouraging capitalism on campus is difficult to dispute. However, since students are not permitted to run businesses from their rooms, their only outlet for entrepreneurship is through Weaver’s PSA. If a student wishes to operate a business, he or she must go through an extensive application process. After its first year, a business is either added to the agency list or terminated. A student cannot start an agency to compete with an existing one. And it seems that a successful manager must wait in line behind failing agencies and other managers before he sees his share of his hard-earned profits.

The Administration’s decision to enforce a regulated command-economy rather than permit *laissez-faire* markets can seem

It seems that a successful manager must wait in line behind failing agencies and other managers before he sees his share of his hard-earned profits.

like a noble one. Profitable businesses can be rewarding, while failing businesses could potentially leave students in debt. To protect students from starting flawed businesses that could derail their lives, the University could indeed erect a framework and monitoring process to guard against crippling losses. But to force students to accept a model that more closely resembles communism than capitalism seems downright un-American. The University is effectively telling budding entrepreneurs that Nassau Hall and Dillon Court are better judges of a student’s risk tolerance than the individual student himself. In essence, students don’t know what’s good for them, but academic administrators do.

The *Tory* was unable to obtain precise numbers to describe the rise in agency

profit confiscation in recent years. Student agencies do not file public annual reports or publish income statements. What is certain is that some successful agency managers are not seeing the cash flows that they used to—which should lead to a drop-off in applications for managerial positions. Haislip, however, was undeterred from his bid to rise to the top of the Shipping and Packing agency. “I still enjoy the job. It’s still good money, it’s just less than before,” he told us. The agency seems destined to have a gifted manager next year.

Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, wrote:

The uniform, constant and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his condition... is frequently powerful enough to maintain the natural progress of things toward improvement, in spite both of the extravagance of government, and of the greatest errors of administration.... It frequently restores health and vigour to the constitution, in spite, not only of the disease, but of the absurd prescriptions of the doctor.

- The Wealth of Nations, Book II, Chapter III

While we cannot place our faith in the administrators of our campus command economy, history has shown that the iron fist is never a match for the invisible hand. And just as the forces of independence triumphed

over taxation and oppression in Princeton in 1777, perhaps we shall ultimately see that this institution is prepared to let students make decisions for themselves. Until then, watch as our administrators reward failure at the expense of success in the name of benevolence. This lesson in government will be a crucial one for our nation’s future leaders.



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WAR FOR PROSPECT

NASSAU HALL V. EATING CLUBS

Will Scharf '08

Nassau Hall has been waging a war against the clubs on Prospect since the days of Woodrow Wilson himself. Prospect has been losing this war for close to four decades now. From a high-water mark of seventeen clubs, we are now down to ten. If the administration's current plans regarding four-year residential colleges are put into effect, we can expect to lose more of these uniquely Princeton institutions in coming years. The potential ramifications for social life at Princeton are simply devastating almost beyond comprehension, and yet, there is silence from the student body. When Campus Club, a venerable institution with a long history, shut its doors last year in what will be remembered as the first volley of a new phase in the war for the clubs, nobody blinked an eye. How many more Campuses will it take before people wake up to the fact that Nassau Hall is attempting to undermine the Princeton way of life, and erase well over a century of Princeton history with the swipe of a pen?

Within the next few years, four-year residential colleges will become a reality. In and of themselves, there is not really anything inherently wrong with the idea of four-year colleges. Some would argue that the "collegification" of Princeton will lead to a balkanized student body; others would say that the benefits of communities within communities outweigh the detrimental effects on student body unity. The problem with the plan as currently proposed by Nassau Hall is that students who join these four-year colleges will be forced to buy meal plans in the colleges. Assuming that the cost structure of meal plans as applied to the current two-year colleges is not changed dramatically, these compulsory board contracts in the four-year residential colleges would range in cost from just below \$4,000 to over \$4,300. In short, upperclassmen that choose to join four year residential colleges will be paying on aver-

age upwards of four thousand dollars to do so. These upperclassmen that join the four-year colleges will not, with the exception of a very small and particularly wealthy minority, join eating clubs, because, quite frankly, why pay for your meals twice?

It appears from looking at the various statements and releases that have come out of Nassau Hall that the initial goal for enrollment in the four year residential colleges is

the 10 clubs (this is not the case, but that particular fact is irrelevant to the overall argument being made here), your typical eating club feeds and generally provides for 184 students. A decline in overall Prospect enrollment to 1,275 represents a loss of 565 students, or slightly more than the aggregate membership of three clubs.

These losses will be distributed, and it is unlikely that the picture after the in-

If the decision is made to push ahead with the creation of four-year residential colleges, and every indication is that the colleges will be established as planned, we, as a unified student body, need to ensure that compulsory meal plans for upperclassmen in the colleges are scratched

50% of the junior and senior classes. This goal is not at all unreasonable, and could be met easily if the administration incentivizes joining the colleges well. Financial aid packages including upper-class meal plans in the colleges but no similar assistance for upperclassmen that join clubs, or even the nicest dorms and rooms on campus being pulled into colleges would be all that it would take. Assuming that the undergraduate population will be, after the expansion currently planned, in the vicinity of 5,100, we can similarly assume that 2,550 students will be of the age to join clubs or four year colleges. If the administration meets its goal of 50% college enrollment, there will be at most 1,275 students remaining on Prospect. This number cannot sustain the existing clubs.

Undergraduate enrollment at the moment is approximately 4,600 students. Assuming equal distribution amongst the four classes, our eating club-age population is 2,300. Assuming further that 80% of these students actually join clubs, Prospect feeds about 1,840 students at the present. If there were an equal split of membership amongst

the 10 clubs (this is not the case, but that particular fact is irrelevant to the overall argument being made here), your typical eating club feeds and generally provides for 184 students. A decline in overall Prospect enrollment to 1,275 represents a loss of 565 students, or slightly more than the aggregate membership of three clubs. These losses will be distributed, and it is unlikely that the picture after the introduction of the four year colleges will be quite as clear as three clubs closing and the rest keeping current membership levels. If we assume that bicker clubs, because they are already turning down so many potential members, will be able to maintain their enrollment levels, we now have a loss of 565 purely from the five sign-in clubs. We can safely assume that two of these clubs will close, and that the remaining membership deficit will negatively impact numbers at the remaining three sign-in clubs. Depending on the financial solvency of these clubs, a third sign-in club may close as well.

Some might argue that this is not a problem; that clubs have been closing for years, and that maybe a couple more clubs closing wouldn't be such a bad thing. This argument is overly simplistic, and not at all concerned with the broader ramifications of any more clubs, particularly sign-in clubs, closing their doors. Quite frankly, Princeton's social fabric will be torn asunder, and the damage will be irreparable.

Right now, the Street is the great social leveler at Princeton. Yes, some of the clubs are more "prestigious" than others, but at the

end of the day a great majority of students find their niche, and spend a very significant portion of their time eating in their club dining halls, working in their club libraries, and partying in their club taprooms. Upperclassmen lives, in this way, follow a pattern, regardless of social standing or economic background. Four-year residential colleges will establish a distinct economic, elitist boundary between those who join clubs, and those who don't.

At Yale, everyone is in a residential college for their last three years. In some ways, loyalty to Pierson College outweighs loyalty to Yale itself. In addition, a very narrow segment of Yale's student population joins elite secret societies. At Harvard, a small percentage of students join a finals club. What we run the risk of doing here at Princeton is taking our relatively--and I do emphasize relatively here--egalitarian social scene, and turning it into a Yale or Harvard-like system, with a small segment of students belonging to a social scene from which others are simply and literally locked out. This is far more exclusionary than not getting into a club on a Saturday night because you don't have the right pass color. A Princetonian mirror of Yale's or Harvard's respective systems, which is where this author and many others see the four-year colleges taking us, would establish a solid divider along Washington Road, between those who can afford to pay the thousands of extra dollars required to join clubs, and those who simply can't. This is a pretty bleak vision, and it is one with which the administration has not yet come to terms, or publicly addressed. It is no secret that Nassau Hall really does not like the bicker process. The irony of this situation is that the colleges are probably going to leave the bicker clubs mostly intact, and just kill off the sign-in clubs -- clubs which would seem to be much more in line with the administration's views on social leveling.

If the decision is made to push ahead with the creation of four-year residential colleges, and every indication is that the colleges will be established as planned, we, as a unified student body, need to ensure that compulsory meal plans for upperclassmen in the colleges are scratched. Upperclassmen should have a choice, wherever they decide to live on campus, how they want to eat their meals. If they want to eat dining hall food, let them purchase a meal plan; if they want to join a club, let them join a club without the school setting up serious financial disincentives for them to do so; and if they want to remain independent and cook their own



"Princeton Whitman Club" just doesn't have the same ring to it...

meals, let them do so as well. Coercion of students to buy into a comprehensive room/board system is just wrong. How and where one eats his meals should have no bearing on eligibility to live within a four-year college. The two have nothing to do with each other, and should have nothing to do with each other.

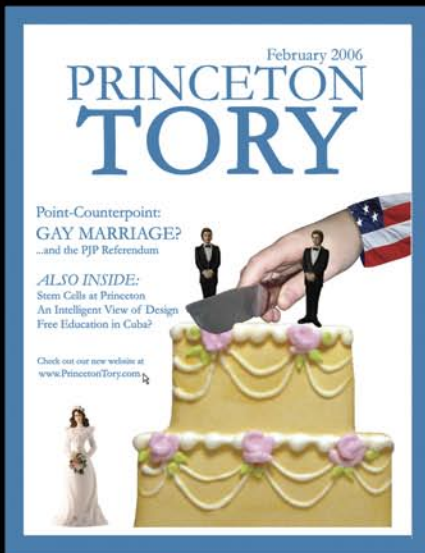
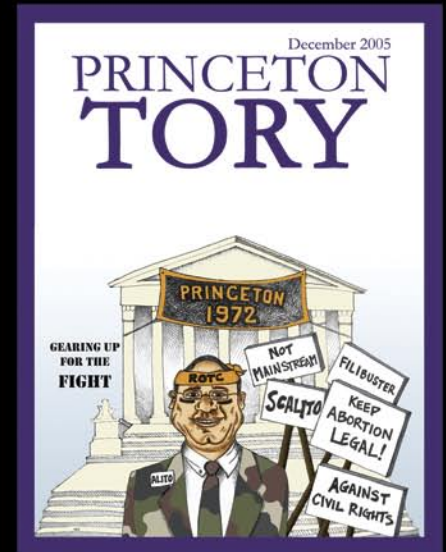
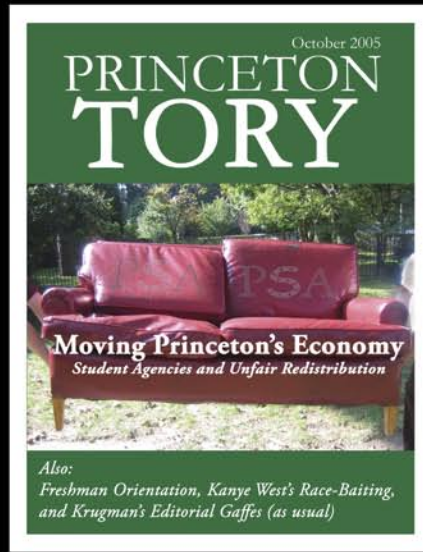
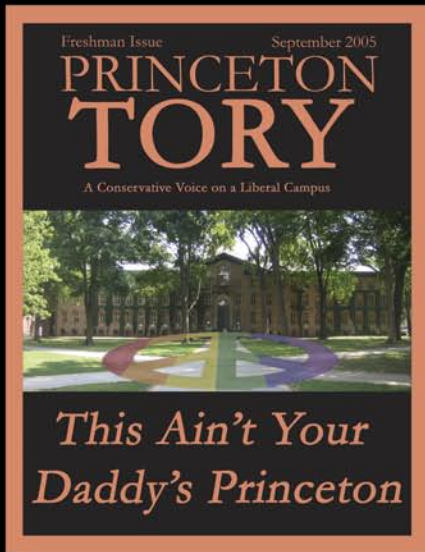
In the lead up to the implementation of the now-infamous grade deflation policy, the USG took a leading role in fighting the arbitrary and simply absurd policies Nancy Malkiel pushed past a largely unwilling and partially coerced teaching faculty (I emphasize the word "teaching" here as Malkiel hasn't been in a classroom for over a decade. Interestingly enough, various former students of our beloved Dean of the College have attested to the fact that she was a particularly easy grader, giving far more than a mere 35% A-range grades. Hypocrisy, anyone?). The problem was that the USG's fight largely ended after the policy was implemented. The USG gained minor concessions with regard to enclosing a written explanation with transcripts telling prospective employers why Princeton GPAs are about four-tenths lower on average than say the average GPA at Penn, but did not continue to fight the policy itself in a meaningful, concerted way. We, as a student body, pushed our noses to the grindstones that much more, and received less reward for our hard work.

This attitude has to go. We as a student body have to be willing to fight. When

Campus Club closed, there was no talk of a University aid package to the club in need, or any effort to restore Campus to financial solvency. We abandoned our fellow students and a beloved institution, and the USG patted itself on the back over finally finding a solution to the 24-hour study space problem. We hung our classmates and their home out to dry, to enable us to work even harder for longer hours and get even lower GPAs under Malkiel's grade-busting. How many more Campus Clubs will it take for the student body to wake up and realize that our way of life is under attack? How many more Campus Clubs will it take before we start fighting back? Let's throw down the gauntlet. Let's tell the administration that we will not tolerate a four year college system designed to undercut Princeton's unique social institutions. We had seventeen, now we're down to ten. In my book, we're losing seven to nothing. Let's not allow that deficit to grow any larger. P

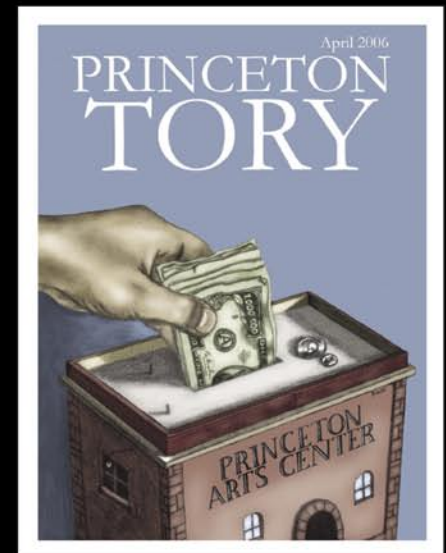


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