

THE PRINCETON TORY

March 2007 Volume XXIV - Issue IV

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The Princeton Tory accepts letters to the editor. Direct correspondence to: P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, NJ 08542; or by e-mail: tory@princeton.edu. Advertisement rates for *The Princeton Tory* can be found on the magazine's website at www.princetontory.com. Donations to *The Princeton Tory* are fully tax-deductible. Please mail donations to: P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, NJ 08542.

The Princeton Tory is a member of the Collegiate Network. The Princeton Tory gives special thanks to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, Princeton Alumni Viewpoints, and The Bachman Foundation.

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From the Publisher

A special investigation in this issue of the Tory reveals that after a 116-year history of serving the campus community, McCosh Clinic has recently been plagued by ethics lapses and violations of state law. Since 2003, McCosh has broken the law by failing to send in important data used to protect students from outbreaks of STDs. During the same time, McCosh's director, Daniel Silverman, established a relationship with a consulting firm that violated university ethics rules and resulted in a lucrative job for Silverman.



His job? Telling Princeton how to improve its health services. Students, parents and alumni should demand that Silverman and his firm be barred from receiving any more of Princeton's money.

McCosh's failure to support STDs is part of a broader failure to warn of the risks students face. Now that one in four Princeton students is thought to have an STD, it has become apparent that the Orange Bubble is not made of latex. But administrators are unwilling to speak out about the risks posed by random hookups, claiming that to do so would amount to taking a moral position on students' private lives. However, doctors already advise on the risks of smoking, over-eating and a host of other 'lifestyle choices'. Sex should not be immune to good advice.

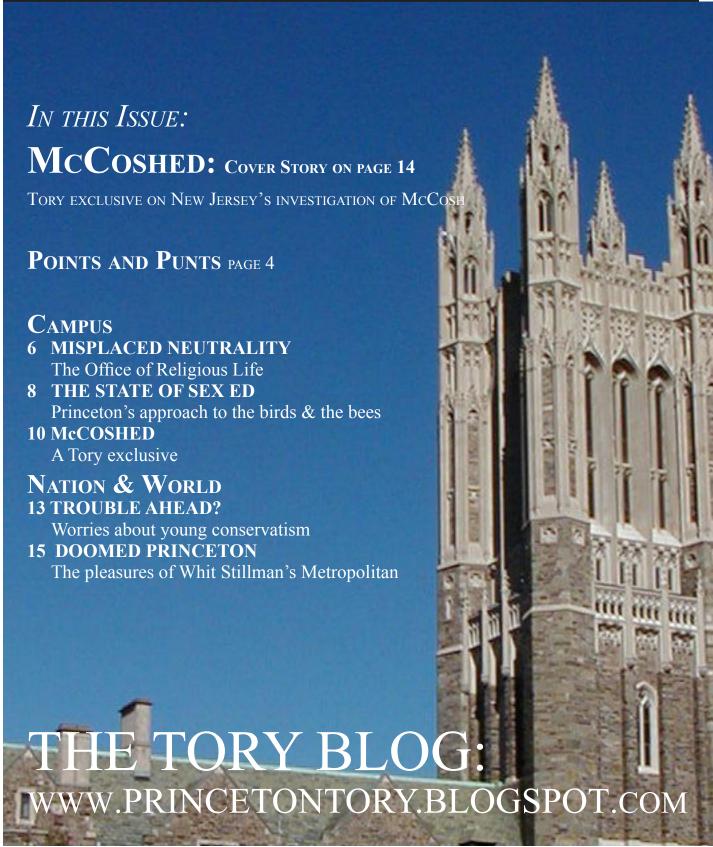
It is due to the efforts of the Tory's writers, editors and staff, that these revelations, first cracked open by Kyle Smith '09, have come to light. Our present staff is the finest the magazine has ever had. Through a relentless focus on reporting campus events and challenging administration orthodoxies, they haves built the magazine's reputation enormously. Arguments are never stronger than when they are based on the reporting of new facts. I would encourage young writers like Emma Yates, Shivani Radhakrishan and Christine Bokman to continue with their excellent reporting. With the magazine in the hands of Joel Alicea and Leon Furchtgott, our new Publisher and Editor-in-Chief respectively, I hope that this next year it will be even stronger.

Administrators have a responsibility for protecting student health, and though Latin may be a dead language, in loco parentis is a concept much in need of reviving. McCosh will not be healthy until students can be confident that they are getting medical advice unfiltered by political correctness and that the clinic is complying with health laws. McCosh can begin its recovery by following the law, adhering to ethics codes, and giving students the information they need to make informed choices.

Conservatively,

Matthew J. Schmitz '08

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POINTS & PUNTS

THE TORY TACKLES THE NEWS

headline, the assault of Francisco Nava '09, turned out to be a hoax; the big shock of wounds are no less severe just because they the story was precisely that nothing had happened. In the course of four days we went from Nava to nada. But even while the administration put forward a placid front, there was a good deal of anger within West College. An email sent by Mindy Andino, a staffer in Butler College, stated that, "Dean Herbold is upset that she was not notified nor [was] anyone in West Colvall is looking into the Public Safety aspect of why a report was not sent to West Colcourse, false) report on November 11th, he process is brazen. heard nothing from Public Safety until over

Tothing ever happens in Princ- two weeks later. Even though the threats eton. Even the year's biggest turned out to be fake, the danger was real. Nava's actions were beyond the pale, but are self-inflicted. Had the University been responsive from the first, Nava could have been caught out in his lies before the situation exploded into public view.

↑ Iichelle Obama '85's grace and Mintelligence on the campaign trail have been a credit to her alma mater. It's distressing, though, that when reporters began to ask for her thesis, the University lege." Andino apologized to Nava for the chose to seal it. This would be a justifiable slowness, saying in the email, "Chuck Du-move had Princeton not treated one of its other alumni so differently. When Samuel himself from this basin. Alito was up for consideration before the lege." Despite the fact that a student was Supreme Court, the University posted thought to have received several threats, the a PDF file of his thesis online. Either quail on campus. It is a rare pleasure for relevant administrators didn't get so much approach is reasonable, but doing both as a note. After Nava filed an initial (and, of at once so as to manipulate the political

numors are circulating that Profes-Nor Paul Muldoon, head of the Center for the Creative and Performing Arts has given support and his stamp of approval to a group called 'Taft's Tub', an exclusionary society dedicated to the arts. His involvement raises questions of fairness, as students try to discern if this is a secret society or just the newest student group. The facts are fuzzy, but what is least clear is why this group's formation has occurred in the shadows. If it really is exclusionary, Muldoon should disassociate himself and apologize to the students he serves. We'll see if and how he extricates

overs of nature and beauty have Lenjoyed the recent sightings of a Prrinceton's campus to be frequented by a bird as beautriful as she is delicious. The quail has appeared near Forbes College.

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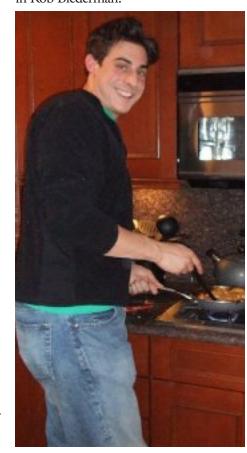
POINTS & PUNTS

ne of the sadder developments of the Healthy Eating Lab. Most students hated it, and they had their reasons. There was something especially fitting in its acronym (HEL). But for some, admittedly a very small minority, the Healthy Eating Lab provided a break from the tidiness and bustle of campus. At Princeton, where every space is utilized, it is hard to find a spot that not only feels like a bombed out parking garage, but is actually as empty as one. Even the employees stood outside its door to escape the place and get a glance at the nearby big screen. Though what the Healthy Eating Lab offered was never in demand, it was at least unlike anything else on campus.

Tt is time to consider candidates **▲** for Young Aluni Trustee. Among them is Grant Gittlin, who, despite serving as class president for three years, has paradoxically spent less time on campus than perhaps any of his classmates. As a member of the KA fraternity and an Ivy officer, Gittlin has had an undergraduate experience vastly different from that of most of today's Princetonians. It's easier to note Grant's problems when there are Former USG president Rob Biederman several other good candidates. Bennett Glassman has served capably as the chair of the Honor Committee and exudes competence. Rohan Joshi brought Ruckus to campus and gained interesting experience while studying abroad. Bill Foran, the former quarterback and track star, brings the valuable perspective of a varsity athlete, a group that deserves more of a voice but is heard from infrequently because of busy practice schedules.

The student with the most-needed perspective on campus life is Rob Biederman, who as an independent student and a member of Whitman College understands the University's social fault lines.. His experiences will enable him to inform the Trustee Board about the problems faced by independent students and

news of what's new on campus are likely to find their most knowledgeable source in Rob Biederman.



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Letter to the Editor

To the editor:

Sometimes, it is a pleasure to eat one's words. Earlier this year, I wrote a letter to the Tory admonishing the editors to treat seriously the issue of animal exploitation,

about what improvements are needed in as raised by the Princeton Animal Welfare on Princeton's campus is the loss the four-year colleges. Trustees looking for Society. Much to my surprise, in that same edition, the Tory printed an article by Leon Furchtgott analyzing PAWS' tactics and discussing the philosophy underlying that organization's protests. I thank them for their coverage and intellectual engagement.

Nonetheless, PAWS differs with the conclusion drawn by Furchtgott, particularly that we have not advanced any philosophical position. While PAWS is not an organization that seeks to shove ideology down the throats of students, we have held at least as many events in the past year dedicated to propounding the philosophy of animal liberation as we have had awareness raising demonstrations. It is also worth noting that the argument for animal "equality," as advanced by many PAWS members, is not based on the ridiculous proposition discussed by Furchtgott that animals are the same as humans in the external characteristics. Instead, we advocate the less-easily dismissed claim that animals are like us in that they can suffer and in that they, too, value their own lives.

This argument is ignored only at the risk of perpetuating systematic and unnecessary abuse of sentient beings worldwide. I therefore encourage the Tory to continue to follow its own advice to "welcome PAWS to the debate and pay close attention to what it has to say," a cue that progressive groups would be wise to follow as well. Most importantly, Tory readers should heed Furchtgott's admonition that food has "moral as well as physiological dimensions" and critically evaluate their own dietary choices. It is a great relief that the Tory has realized that this issue is too critical to ignore.

Sincerely, Alex Barnard '09 Vice President Princeton Animal Welfare Society

MISPLACED NEUTRALITY

THE OFFICE OF RELIGIOUS LIFE AND DEAN BODEN

Christine Bokman '11 and Shivani Radhakrishnan '11

The mission of the Office to abstain from of Religious Life is to "support acting on their all religious traditions in the sexual desires. practice and expression of their Asked further faith." Last spring, Rev Alison whether the Boden was chosen as the new ORL takes a Dean of Religious Life and of stance on conthe University Chapel. Boden is tested moral

"The Office of Religious Life has no formal (or informal) positions on any theological or political question."

a minister in the United Church Religious Life of Christ; prior to coming to has no formal Princeton, she spent twelve years (or informal) as Dean of Rockefeller Chapel at the University of Chicago. theological or political question." throw a war, no matter how many Boden's vision for the Office of

Boden confirmed that the ORL tral among these if it is to serve clearly assert Boden's convictions.

from groups like Courage, an tolerance, civility, and reciprocorganization that helps same-sex ity are necessary for healthy attracted Catholics who wish debate about contested issues.

questions like the ethics of homosexual conduct, Dean Boden gave a resounding No: 'The Office of positions on any



would even support speakers them. Especially at a university,

But will Dean Boden be able to uphold this ideal of neutrality? Does she exemplify the intellectual virtues she swears by? In her years at Rockefeller Chapel, Boden not only infused politics into her sermons but often took an explicit stance on key contested issues. In a 2002 sermon, for instance, Boden declared: "Our President

and his close advisors seem determined to

This is commendable. Recent citizens are against it... we are Religious Life is one of neutral- criticism of the ORL, includ- currently in such a bizarre, surity on a variety of issues. But ing in these pages, has shown real situation, blithely engaging in practice, the dean has not how a religious life office that in national musing about whether completely upheld this ideal. doubles as the Democratic Party's or not to kill thousands of people In a recent interview, she mouthpiece on campus cannot in Iraq, not to mention thousands consistently reiterated her desire adequately serve the whole reli- or more from the US, neighborfor impartiality. Boden seemed gious community at Princeton, ing countries in the Middle East, willing to encourage interfaith which spans the political spec- etc. Any self-righteousness we dialogue and engage a variety of trum. Individual ministers will, muster to support Bush's appetite speakers, even if they presented of course, espouse the moral and for war is flat-out dangerous—it a minority conservative view theological views of the traditions is evil itself." Certainly, these that would be contested among which they represent, but the statements are far from an im-Princeton students. When asked, ORL itself ought to remain neu- partial reading of the facts; they

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when it comes to determining

policies and otherwise discharg-

ing her duties as ORL dean under

the semblance of neutrality, such

pointed policy statements from

the pulpit would be inappropriate.

spoken just as loudly as her words.

While at the University of Chica-

go, she organized a trip to Tehran,

Of course, as an individual and wonders how Boden's implicit those who forgo any form of even a United Church minister, sympathy for Mr. Ahmadinehad's Boden—like other ORL leaders— oppressive and aggressively anti- analogous to the Women's Cenis entitled to express her views Semitic regime would be taken by, on political questions. However, say, the ORL's Jewish constituency.



religion or spirituality would be ter holding an equal number of events geared towards males as females, or the LGBT Center spending half of its time focusing on heterosexual relationships.

Dean Boden's words and actions thus suggest a misplaced neutrality. With regards to politics and foreign affairs, advocacy sermons and trips should not be associated with the campus office meant to serve all people of faith. Conversely, where the ORL is expected by definition to favor religion, Boden is hesitant to do so. The ORL should be partial towards the practice of religion and neutral on political issues, not vice versa. But if Dean Boden follows through on her commitment to neutrality among competing If the ORL shows any partial- moral and political claims with-

ity, it should be toward religion out allowing that concern to di-The ORL should be partial towards the practice of re-the

ligion and neutral on political issues, not vice versa.

ing as possible, both for those who and although she was unable to seek out religious or spiritual com-

However, Boden's actions have over irreligion. Boden hopes "to ORL's focus on religious groups, make religious programming as then her tenure bodes well for rearelevant, substantive, and uplift- son and faith alike on our campus.

If Dean Boden follows through on her commitment to neutrality among competing moral and political claims... then her tenure bodes well for faith and reason alike on our campus.

interest in hearing "from a variety

join the excursion, she expressed munity and those who do not.'

But the ORL's primary foof Iranians about 'the axis of evil' cus should be people who are representation by the US." But of interested in religious and spiricourse, the 'axis of evil' moniker tual direction. The ORL serves attaches to the Iranian govern- precisely people of faith; for it ment, not to its people. One to provide equal attention to nan are members of the Class of 2011.



Christine Bokman and Shivani Radhakrish-

CAMPUS

THE STATE OF SEX ED

AN INSIDE LOOK AT SEXUAL HEALTH ADVISORS AND SEX JEOPARDY

Emma Yates '11

I was not aware that a condom could be cut in half and put over a woman's vagina during oral sex or that dental dams come in flavors and cool colors like violet—before I attended the freshman Safer Sex Jeopardy Program. Safer Sex Jeopardy is a sexual education program put on by the

Sexual Health Advisors (SHAs) that advises freshman "'zee groups" about sexual decisionmaking according to the basic Jeopardy format. The SHAs are a group of students who operate under the guidance of UHS and help students make informed sexual decisions. In Safer Sex Jeopardy, students choose among the categories Contraception and Birth Control, Relationships, STIs, Grab Bag, and LGBT Sex, and they answer questions weighted between one hundred



Sex Jeopardy

and five hundred points. While this program, unlike Sex on a Saturday Night, is not required, it is strongly recommended that all freshmen attend.

In my three weeks of attempting to understand the Sexual Health Advisors program, I must say that my interactions with individual SHA's have been pleasant. I had a nice conversation with the SHAs who put on Safer Sex Jeopardy for my 'zee group, though I was later asked to not print any of the contents of that conversation. The president of the SHAs is apparently the only

person whose answers can be considered authoritative, and (according to her) those answers must come exclusively by email after being reviewed by the Communications Office of the University.

The answers that former SHA president Anna Bialek '09 provided to me describe a program that I would unequivocally support if it actually

> functioned according to her descriptions. In fact, I might even seek to become a SHA. The goal of Safer Sex Jeopardy, according to Bialek, is merely to "provide students with accurate information to help them make whatever sexual decision they choose to make in the healthiest way possible." The content of the program is continually evolving in response to student evaluations and questions that the SHAs receive. In preparation for their duties, the SHAs participate in a multi-day training program at the beginning of the year and receive continuing education from UHS and the remainder of the campus health

community. Additionally, statistics are reviewed by "other experts in the campus community" such as staff member Debbie Bazarsky of the LGBT Center.

In reality, though, Safer Sex Jeopardy is not as sex-neutral as it purports to be—or even as informative.

The SHAs certainly provide students with a wealth of information, including such reassuring statistics as the fact that 91.2% of students believe that sex is better when sober. However, all of the statistics referenced by the SHAs relate to

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college students in general rather than to Princ- for choosing abstinence, which led students to

eton students. According to Janet Finnie, the provide such answers as "self-confidence issues." Interim Director of University Health Services I later learned that abstinence is actually one of (UHS), "Because some students seek health care two final Jeopardy questions, the other involvelsewhere or do not visit UHS for treatment, ing a race to put a condom on a banana. But figures for the prevalence on Princeton's campus the remainder of the Safer Sex Jeopardy quesare not available." It would seem that whatever tions within my presentation did not deal in any statistics we do have would be very important for substantive or memorable way with abstinence. sexual decision-making, however, especially since Despite good intentions and mission-statementa student's risk of contracting an STI increases like generalizations, the SHA's programming is dramatically after having sex with four partners. no beacon of neutrality on moral issues. Instead Since Princeton students are most likely to have it seems to operate as an instruction manual on sex with other Princeton students, statistics de- how to engage in the hook-up culture with minimized but crucially unstated risk.

I firmly believe that the SHAs have the best of intentions, and that they do see the Safer Sex Jeopardy program as "an effective and memorable way of getting students basic sexual health information early in their college years," as Bialek stated. It seems to me, though, that if students remember Safer Sex Jeopardy at all when making sexual decisions, they will remember the fact that sexually transmitted diseases have recently been reinvented as sexually transmitted infections to downplay their significance.



Plush STDs were some of the Safer Sex Jeopardy prizes at Frist FluFest.

Moreover, though Bialek claims that absti-

Our final jeopardy question directed students to write down five reasons for choosing abstinence, which led students to provide such answers as "self-confidence issues."

the spread of STIs and, for heterosexual couples, pregnancy" is "fundamental" to sexual health education and is adequately covered in SHA programming, this was not my experience with Safer Sex Jeopardy. True, our final Jeopardy question directed students to write down five reasons

scribing the prevalence of sexually transmitted They will remember student-created team names diseases on campus should be a crucial part of like "Masturbation 3.14" and be reminded that, Safer Sex Jeopardy and the SHAs' other programs. if University programming is any indication of its position, conservative sexual decisions and nence, "the only 100% effective way to prevent thought are a clear variation from what is normal and expected. They will remember that heterosexism, the presumption that someone is heterosexual, is categorically unacceptable. Most of all, they will realize, as I did, that if they choose to make conservative sexual decisions, they will be



going against the grain and struggling against an entrenched culture unequivocally accepted perhaps even perpetuated—by the University.

Emma Yates is a freshman from Coconut Creek, FL.

McCoshed:

A CLINIC PLAGUED BY ETHICS LAPSES, INCOMPETENCE LEAVES STUDENTS AT RISK FROM STDS.

Matthew J. Schmitz, '08

tigation by the State of New Jersey revealed that since New Jersey law requires that STDs be reported Janet Dickerson, who directly supervises the head of McCosh, did not learn of the state investigation until three months after it occurred. When a Tory reporter asked her to comment on the case she was caught unawares. "I'm looking surprised here," Dickerson said, "and it's not often that I look surprised."

McCosh's motive for concealing the event was not clear, but details gathered over several months provide context for what was a major breach in protecting public health at a health center harried by ethical difficulties. The investigation comes at a time of instability. A month after the investigation, Daniel Silverman, head of University Health Services and McCosh Health Center, left Princeton to work for a consulting firm that he had assisted in winning no-bid contracts from the University.

On June 25, the State of New Jersey sent a surveillance team from its STD program to meet with officials at McCosh. Sexually-transmitted diseases, or STDs, is the official term used by the state of New the eighteen months before last June, the state had Jersey for what McCosh calls sexually transmitted received no STD reports from McCosh. Local health

measures" to ensure that all past cases were reported.

team instituted a plan of "cor- One in four Princeton students is rective action" and "remedial believed to be infected with an STD. for UHS, downplayed the impor-

They also instituted a plan requiring McCosh to sub- every effort to be in compliance with state health first step in a process that can lead to fines and even lab that the University hires to conduct STD testing

revocation of the license for Princeton's University Health Services and its clinic, the McCosh Health Shortly before the unexpected departure of Princ- Center. Such steps will be pursued if University Health eton's top chief medical officer this summer, an inves- Services (UHS) fails to remedy its reporting failures.

2003, Princeton's McCosh Health Center has failed within 24 hours of diagnosis. While most communito comply with state laws for reporting STDs. The cable diseases can be reported to local officials, STDs state investigation, which involved a visit from a sur-like gonorrhea, chlamydia and syphilis are grouped veillance team and an official warning, was concealed with tuberculosis and hepatitis C in a more serious from students and administrators. Vice President class that must be reported directly to the state. For



McCosh Health Center

infections. The surveillance ______ officials were also not notified.

Janet Finnie, interim director tance of the state's investigation, saying in an email, "We make

mit to quarterly reviews in order to ensure continued policies." According to her statement, reporting compliance. The warning Princeton received is the STDs was the responsibility of Quest Diagnostics, the **CAMPUS**

on samples collected from students. However, since 2003, state regulations have required reporting directly from the heath provider. New Jersey law, which is similar to most states, requires doctors to file confidential reports that include the name, age, race and home address of any person diagnosed with an STD.

The reports are the state's primary means of tracking infection rates and preventing outbreaks. Thomas Slater, press secretary for the state Department of Health and Senior Services, stressed the importance of the STD reports: "It gives us an overall picture to see what disease we need to address, to see whether or not

there are public health emergencies." Due to McCosh's reporting failures, there has been no such protection for most of the time current students have been on campus.

McCosh Clinic: **Broken law, bad ethics**

McCosh begins to break 2003 STD reporting law.

> Task force cites problems with Daniel Silvermanregulatory compliance.

ethics rules.

All STD reporting stops. Consulting relationship continues.

2006

2007

2008

2005

2004

June 11 Investigation begins. June 20 McCosh begins to advertise for Silverman replacement. June 25 Surveillance team visits. Sept 30 Dickerson first hears of STD

Meeting to select new director.

failures.

A Conflict of Interest

Around the time of the investigation, Silverman left the University for a job at Keeling & Associates, a higher-education consulting firm that Silverman helped gain several no-bid contracts in violation of University ethics rules. As a consultant for Keeling, Silverman will be advising Princeton on how to improve its health services.

Keeling & Associates provides consulting ser-

vices to universities seeking advice on how to improve their operations. It has provided Princeton with a range of services, going from reports on how to improve McCosh to organizing retreats and conferences.

Janet Finnie, Silverman's former employee and temporary replacement, said that she expects Silverman to be working with Princeton in his capacity as a Keeling employee.

Silverman's relationship with the firm violated University ethics rules designed to prevent unfairness and conflicts of interest. They state

Consulting firm Keeling & Associates that any contract exceeding \$2,500 be awardgets \$15,000 contract in violation of ed through a bidding process. This ensures that contracts are awarded to the person with the lowest price, not with the most influence.

If for some reason the contract cannot be awarded by bid, a form must be filed explaining why. In one case in 2004, Silverman endorsed Keeling for a nobid contract worth \$15,000 for which no exemption form was filed. None of the people involved in the contract could offer a reason for why no bid was asked for. Though others also favored the contract, only Silverman was the only one who later sought to benefit financially from his dealings with the firm. In the end Keeling received the contract for **Aug 15** Silverman leaves for Keeling. \$15,000, and did so without facing any competition.

University administrators flatly denied that Silverman's dealings with Keeling involved a conflict of interest. Vice Presidents Janet Dickerson and Bob Durkee both pointed to Keeling's "sterling reputation." The contract for the Health and Well Being Task Force was awarded at the urging of Sil-

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verman and Dickerson. Dickerson had dealt with Keeling & Associates at Duke, where she worked before coming to Princeton. Vice President Bob Durkee, whose office handled the contract, declined to produce it, citing a change in secretaries.

Silverman's dealings with Keeling continued as late as this August, when he hired Keeling to organize a retreat for staff at the health center. Silverman is also continuing to work on an intercollegiate health panel that he joined as a representative of Princeton. Silverman did not respond to phone calls and emails requesting comment. Janet Finnie



A Student Inquires

The events that led to New Jersey's censure of McCosh began on a Saturday night last April. Then-Princeton sophomore Kyle Smith was studying with a group of friends. When conversation turned to Princeton's 'hookup culture,' someone remarked that the one in four students on campus is believed to be infected with an STD. The onein-four figure reflects campus health administrators' belief, affirmed in multiple conversations with McCosh officials, that Princeton's rate of infection reflects the national average. Concerned by such high figures, Smith decided to learn more.

At the campus health center, triage nurse Miriam Torres told Smith that state regulations require the reporting of new STD cases. Months later, Finnie and Silverman, who ran the clinic, claimed ignorance on changes in the state reporting law. State law requires that administrators take responsibility for STDs on campus. In addition to physicians and certain types of nurses, people overseeing institutions of higher education are required to report cases of STDs.

When Smith called the state to learn how many

STDs McCosh had reported, state officials—who later cited Smith's inquiry as the impetus for their investigation—discovered that McCosh had broken the law.

Danger from STDs

The problems that would lead to the state investigation were noted over three years ago in a University report. The report, written by the Health and Well Being Task Force cited failings in regulatory compliance and data collection. According to the report, there was "simply no way for UHS to operate" without hiring additional staff. The University heeded this warning by giving \$195,291 to health services. Just a year after the warning and funding increase, the state stopped receiving any STD reports for Princeton students.

Princeton's failure comes at the same time other colleges face problems with STDs. Miriam Grossman, a psychologist with UCLA's Student Psychological Services, argues in her book Unprotected that during her tenure at UCLA, administrators did not do enough to make students aware of the physical and psychological consequences of casual sex. Last year, nearly 10% of students at ten southeastern colleges tested positive for chlamydia. Grossman faults campuses nationwide for the lack of medically accurate health education: "Too many young people, especially young women, are paying a very high price."

Months after Silverman's departure, the University is well into a search for his replacement. In January it convened an informal dinner meeting that included administrators and applicants for Silverman's post. Notably absent, according to one participant, was any mention of the state investigation of McCosh or of Silverman's history with Keeling & Associates.



Matthew J. Schmitz is a senior from O'Neill, NE. He is the Publisher of the Princeton Tory.

TROUBLE AHEAD?

A Personal Take on the Young Conservative Movement

Andrew Saraf '11

The 2006 midterm disaster and the impending presidential election have prompted a great deal of soulsearching on the Right. This soul-searching, ideally a meditative affair, has become something of an inquisitorial one; but the opportunity to ponder conservatism's current state lecturer" who always seemed to overstay his tutions that we had previously viewed with

is welcome nonetheless. As I reflect on our uncertain *I had long thought of modern liberalism as* Academic Freedom (SAF),

lege campus – for signs of part of the conservative movement since the 1980s; from such books as The Closing of the American Mind and Illiberal Education to such organizations as Students for Academic Freedom and the Young America's Foundation, opposition to leftist administrators and academics has been instrumental in defining the movement, cementing its intergenerational appeal and, most importantly, recruiting its leaders. The strength of the college conservative movement is, then, a sign of conservatism's intellectual health and a leading indicator of its political potency.

So how are we doing? The situation is not easy to assess. A freshman's experiences are admittedly not the strongest basis for judgment; life as a college conservative has so far consisted of showing up at a handful of meetings and writing an article about South Park for this magazine. My relationship with the young conservative movement, however, began well before September 2007. As a high school junior increasingly skeptical of my community's liberal worldview, and increasingly drawn to alternative ideas, I got my first

taste of the ideological isolation felt by many campus conservatives. I got my first taste, too, of conservative activism: I, along with fellow student Avishek Panth (Duke '11), challenged our school's "Peace Studies" course, pointing to its rather blatant political bias. We catalogued the course's many absurdities on the high school listsery – a pacifist "guest

ism, of what was within the pale of academic discourse, were no longer compatible. My self-identification as a liberal, which had remained even as I abandoned "progressive" orthodoxy, no longer seemed reasonable.

As one can probably surmise, it was a rather nasty, disillusioning ordeal. But it had its redeeming qualities. Individuals and instisuspicion – Students for

Malkin – praised our efforts.

situation and try to get a an intellectually ascendant persuasion, what- Young America's Foundasense of what the future will ever its flaws; the intellectual dishonesty of the bring, I find myself looking at my own milieu—the col
class's apologists thus came to me as a shock.

News contributor Michelle the times. Campuses have been an integral welcome, a class textbook edited by said guest. It was my first real, honest encounter with

lecturer, guest speakers invited by said guest lecturer, weekly antiwar protests (on school time) whose organizer need not be mentioned – and called for more speakers, representing alternative views, to be brought in. As we took heat for our stance, I found

myself becoming increasingly sympathetic to conservative grievances. I had long thought of modern liberalism as an intellectually ascendant persuasion, whatever its flaws; the intellectual dishonesty of the class's apologists thus came to me as a shock. Parents, residents of the seventh most educated city in America, accused us of impudence, slander and (gasp) neoconservatism. A debate about the meaning of education fast became an argument about Bush, with our own position dismissed as pro-war, Republican propaganda. The lecturer's fundamental presumption – that his personal vision represented the world's last, best hope – was never questioned; as one student wrote in a local newspaper, "we all just need to understand that the class teaches peace." The Left, I realized, this Left, had no place for me; our notions of plural-

the American Right. What I saw, beyond a source of support, was a movement characterized by its ardor and solidarity, qualities displayed even when addressing supposedly local, minor issues. More importantly, I was exposed to ideas that I had embraced but been unable to properly express. I had, in clichéd terms, found something to care about and be committed to, a group of people who saw the world as I did and knew what to do about it. I, along with my fellow critic, promptly became "involved" - reviving our school's defunct Young Republicans club, working on a local Republican's quixotic congressional campaign, and accepting YAF's invitation to speak at its high school leadership conference.

My enthusiasm, driven partly by bitterness, partly by flattery, and partly by ideological commitment, did not last long. Though I would remain a conservative in ideas, my feelings about the conservative movement, about conservatism in action, grew decidedly ambivalent. Seemingly minor excesses-mere blemishes – began to look more and more like symptoms of a deeper problem. At the

YAF conference, which featured a series of speakers, the most passionate audience plaudits went to Kevin McCullough, who called liberals the "Diabolical Dagger Society" and accused them of social ills ranging from pedophilia to forced abortion. The fact that such a demagogue had been invited by a mainstream organization, a cosponsor of the Conservative Political Action Conference and employer of such public figures as George Allen and Edwin Meese, came as a shock, And, upon learning that Ann "Liberals Just Want to Kill Humans" Coulter was YAF's most popular campus speaker, I began to suspect that McCullough and a group of immature high schoolers were only part of the problem.

The activities of Students for Academic Freedom – an organization more actively involved in shaping university policy raised similar concerns. I saw in its agenda troubling signs of cynicism, of a willingness to distort conservative values in the name of narrow ideological goals. Its chief objective, I discovered, was the implementation of an "Academic Bill of Rights" on college campuses. This particular document, it turned out, bore little resemblance to its inspiration. Rather than primarily listing a set of liberties – what students would be free from – it listed a series of entitlements, entitlements that imposed positive requirements on professors and curricula and, presumably, empowered university institutions to enforce those requirements. To justify these "rights," the increasingly meaningless concept of "diversity" was trotted out. The organization that had taken my side on Peace Studies, I realized, had a vision very different from my own: while I had recommended the modification of an unambiguously biased course offered to high schoolers, SAF seemed to call for a systematic redefinition of the relationship among university administrations, professors and their adult students. The paternalism of this new order, and the Machiavellian use of language to justify it, reeked of the very social theories that conservatives claimed to oppose. In order to promote the ideas of the Right, SAF had em-

braced the very worst tendencies of the Left.

Since those initial disillusionments, my ambivalence has only grown. In September, YAF gloatingly posted a video of Jason Mattera, its youth spokesman, on its website; Mattera's particular accomplishment was to corner Congressman John Murtha and demand an apology for "besmirching our troops" in the Haditha, Iraq, war crimes case. On October 16, as many Princeton students are aware, SAF's founder, David Horowitz, dropped by McCosh Hall to give a bombastic, simplistic, and rather embarrassing lecture on "The Global Threat of Islamofascism [and Mike Nifong, Women's Studies Departments and black urban leaders]." As such "incidents" multiplied, a deeply troubling question formed in my mind: haven't I seen this somewhere before? Wasn't this the problem with Peace Studies? Wasn't it the intellectual dishonesty, the self-righteousness, the sheer shrillness of the Left that led me here in the first place?

My discussions with two of Princeton's conservative leaders - Jon Fernandez '08 and Evan Baehr '05 – gave me an interesting perspective on this problem. Reflecting on their tenures as College Republicans presidents, both emphasized the importance of embracing, rather than denying, intellectual pluralism. Baehr, who also served as Editor -in-Chief of the *Tory*, recounted his efforts to reach out to "feminists, liberals and gay-rights activists" - the very groups conservative commentators vilify on a daily basis - through "joint initiatives such as Princeton Votes." Though he founded the Princeton chapter of SAF, his agenda displayed none of Horowitz's anti-intellectualism, placing a premium on speaking with individual professors and students (Prince, Christian Burset, "Baehr '05 seeks freedom of academic ideas with new club," March 29, 2004). Fernandez, recognizing George Will's dictum that "conservatism comes in many flavors," discussed the need to respect the "broad array of conservative ideas and values" and give them "a place in the Republican Party." In talking to these leaders, I noticed a striking contrast to the attitude

of the national organizations that claimed to represent their interest. Having experienced the realities of college politics, they described the campus not as an arena for ideological combat but as a forum for rational debate.

Here, I think, lies the crux of the issue.

There is a dangerous disconnect between

national conservative leaders and individual

conservative students. People like Baehr and Fernandez understand the value, pragmatic and intrinsic, of recognizing pluralism; indeed, such a conclusion follows naturally from life on a modern college campus. The adults running such groups as SAF and YAF, however, tend to view things in much harsher terms. Surveying American universities from a distance, they see a clearly defined battleground, in which college faculties and liberal organizations play the role of irreconcilable enemies. Speaking as a former liberal, I can say with certainty that such an attitude can only alienate the uncommitted, independent-minded students that conservatives should be appealing to; images of David Horowitz pulling a Mike Gravel and Jason Mattera pulling a Michael Moore hardly present an attractive alternative to the foibles of the Left. Such cheap polemicism, more importantly, erodes the firm intellectual foundations on which modern conservatism is built - in Baehr's words, "thoroughly sapping political debate of any meaning." Until YAF, SAF and other organizations begin to acknowledge the experiences of young conservatives, a process that young conservatives must initiate, the campus Right will remain in a divided, and troubled, state.



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DOOMED PRINCETON

WHIT STILLMAN'S METROPOLITAN

Tory Staff

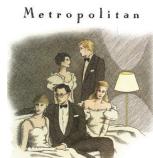
Those seniors who are looking beyond the speech to the freshman brink of graduation at the strong possibility of failure would do well to view Whit Stillman's Metropolitan. The film skewers a group of Princ- activism paves the way for eton freshmen who return to their homes on the a good-humored embrace Upper East Side for winter break. Privileged and over-read, they balk before the possibilities of adulthood.

One of the film's teens is the stuttering Charmen set aside their rivalries lie Black, who insists that it is impossible for the vitiated "urban haute bourgeoisie" to succeed because they have been raised in an environment so singular picture of New York. Scenes were filmed insulated from failure that any real possibility of success has also vanished Charlie is sent reeling when a washed-up banker sporting a Princeton tie tells him that some preppies do indeed succeed. Failure, if certain, is easier to countentance.

Townsend, introduces himself as a follower of Fourier, but is disabused of his ideas when Nick delivers a scathing speech against condescension that also, of course, drips with it: "It's a tiny bit arrogant of people to go around worrying about those 'less fortunate' ... has it occurred to you that you would do well to take a trip down Witheryou are the less fortunate?" One wonders if the spoon and check out Metropolitan. It's better than busybody USG of 2005-2006 could have been writing your thesis.

avoided if someone had only delivered the same Leslie-Bernard Joseph.

Stillman's rejection of of action. When the villain threatens the beautiful Audrey Rouget, the young and go to save the girl.



THE CRITERION COLLECTION

Stillman carefully chooses his sets to create a in historic buildings slated for demolition, which the characters travel between in old-style checkered cabs. Nick Smith, the movie's guiding spirit, expounds on the virtues of detachable collars; it is the details that matter, he insists. Stillman's The one 'West-Sider' in the group, Tom meticulously staged sequences do not make one doubt the claim.

> In receiving the Criterion treatment for his freshman effort, Stillman shows that success just may be attainable for us all. Unless, like us, you owe thirty dollars in fines to the public library,



A still from 'Metropolitan



Photo and quotation from Whit Stillman's "The Last Days of Disco

"VD's not all bad. I think you'll find it will actually improve your reputation with these guys enormously. You'll be more popular than ever—watch."

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