

# THE PRINCETON TORY

MAY 2009

# 25th

# ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

Freshman Issue September 2004

## PRINCETON TORY

Princeton University's ONLY Conservative Student Publication

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# THE PRINCETON TORY

May 2009  
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## LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER THE IMPORTANCE OF TRADITION

Being publisher of this magazine doesn't afford much time for reflection on its tradition. One must live from deadline to deadline, handling the idiosyncratic problems that arise, working all the while with the silent hope that he is "making his mark" on the publication, that he will leave it better off than where he found it. These publisher's notes – which I affectionately call "my complimentary soap box" – are perfect example of this. Each issue provides me a new opportunity to express my own opinions, a new chance to assert my individuality. I even get my own photo.



And yet, as I sorted through the 25 years of *Tory* issues with Brandon McGinley looking for articles to publish in this one, I was hit with a sense of the tradition I was a part of. I saw quite clearly that I was part of a progression of people who had done the same. I was part of a history of publishers, all using this space as their own "soap box" - individual photo and all. Indeed, in one year's time, I too shall join these publishers as part of that history. I will become some future publisher's past.

What I felt in this sudden consciousness of tradition as I waded through the archives was not a belittling of my sense of self – this is still my soap box, thank you very much – but in fact a profoundly comforting feeling of continuity with my predecessors. And it occurred to me that this feeling ought to extend through the entire *Tory* community. For we all have played equal parts in a history that we helped write, and that bit we wrote was fundamentally dependent on what had already been written. It is only because of this history, for example, that I can intelligibly call this my "soap box" at all.

What I mean to say is that as we move forward, we constantly look to our past, whether we are aware of it or not. This maxim is nothing new for conservatives of course, and it is for this reason we find something quite perverse in the incautious tirade of our liberal counterparts against the historical and social traditions – be it marriage, faith, gender or otherwise – that have played such a foundational role in not only sculpting our acts, but our very identity.

For this 25th Anniversary Issue, we thought it appropriate to make our backward glance more explicit by publishing a few articles from the past. By doing so, we honor the *Tory's* past, to which we – as Tories – are forever in debt. We first offer you a revealing interview with President Tilghman just three months after she was elected president, in which she discusses her academic philosophy, her vision for Princeton, and the question of stem cell research. The second two articles, one written for Volume One of the *Tory* in 1985 and the other for the publication's 10th anniversary, are themselves reflective pieces. The first is a fascinating examination of the state of campus conservatism; the second, an in depth look at the *Tory's* history and influence: a project whose importance I have already provided the reasons for.

We have not, however, abandoned our tradition in our reflection in it. To do so would in fact be a most serious affront rather than homage. And so to that end, we have three new articles on campus issues and political commentary: an examination of the planned budget cuts in light of economic downturns, a look at the prospects of embryonic stem cell research occurring on our very campus, and a comment on the future of the social conservative movement in such unsure times for the Republican party. Brandon's Last Word offers his reflections on the current conservative movement - a piece which should serve our future as well as the past has served us.

We Tories have much to be thankful to the *Tory* for, and we have each other to thank for it. And so here's to the *Tory* on its 25th Anniversary. May she always stand athwart history, yelling "Halt," so long as that history is not her own.

Sincerely,  
Rob Day '10

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# BUDGET CUTS REVEAL UNIVERSITY'S PRIORITIES

## SUSTAINABILITY INITIATIVE IS BIG WINNER, WHILE DIVERSITY LOSES ITS LUSTER

**Nicholas Elan '11**

With the precipitous decline of its endowment, Princeton was forced to make a broad set of budget cuts. An investigation of these cuts will illuminate the university's priorities. The university's recent spending decisions paint a telling portrait of the varied ideological demands faced by the modern academy and outline a hierarchy among its ideological initiatives, with newer, more marketable initiatives taking priority.

The task of deciding how the university will spend its money is entrusted to the Priorities Committee (PriCom), a 17-member group of administrators, faculty, and graduate and undergraduate students. PriCom receives funding proposals from senior administrators and then deliberates on which elements of the proposed spending it will approve.

PriCom recommends how the university should allocate its budget each year. Its recommendation must then be approved by President Tilghman and the Board of Trustees.

The committee was recently left with a number of difficult choices. According to PriCom's January report to President Tilghman, the committee had only \$500,000 to distribute among various "programmatic requests." This was an allowance one third the size of the previous year's budget. PriCom was thus faced with an unusually difficult series of decisions as programmatic funding requests totaled more than \$2.8 million.

How, then, has the committee allocated funds to a body of interests that has been growing steadily since college campuses

were revolutionized in the 1960s? The university administration has often readily accepted a range of fashionable, "progressive" academic and administrative initiatives as they emerged. And as each earned its place on the growing list of the university's professed imperatives, the bureaucracy flourished. How would a nascent movement, e.g., the sustainability effort, fare in comparison with the older emphasis on "diversity," and how would each fare in comparison to less politically charged concerns? The committee was put

newly created Office of Sustainability. Thus, nearly 60 percent of additions to program funding fell under the category of sustainability.

Meanwhile, PriCom declined to fund requests from the Carl Fields Center, the Office of Human Resources, and the Office of the Vice Provost for Institutional Equity, all of which had asked PriCom to pay for a Diversity-related bureaucratic position. For example, the Office of Human Resources wanted permanent funding for the "Manager of Diversity and Inclusion," while the Institutional Equity office applied to have the job of "Director for Equal Opportunity Programs" funded permanently. Both jobs, which were created on term funding in 2007, were projected to pay a salary of \$101,303 according to a report presented to the committee by Executive Vice President Mark

*While the university is willing to bestow equally fawning rhetoric upon each of its adopted initiatives, sustainability is "more equal" than diversity where actual funding decisions have to be made.*

in the difficult position of having to make the proper genuflections to one interest while actually funding another.

PriCom's spending decisions suggest that while the university is willing to praise each of its adopted initiatives, sustainability is of greater importance than diversity when actual funding decisions have to be made. PriCom embraced a number of requests that, in its report, it separates into two themes: Sustainability and Health Care. Of the \$500,000 available, \$193,000 – almost 40 percent – went to University Health Services, in order to fund several staff positions. PriCom also pledged \$180,000 for a "Transportation Demand Management" program, which makes up part of the university's Sustainability Plan. Meanwhile, another \$112,000 went to the

Burstein. The same report stated that "both positions have spearheaded University efforts to attract and retain a diverse workforce and cultivate a community that respects and celebrates differences of gender and ethnicity." Though PriCom declined to provide these funds, it did "[express] support for these important University staff members." The Fields Center did not respond to an inquiry about how it was handling the university's budget cuts.

Ultimately, PriCom only agreed to provide additional funding for one minor diversity related position. One of the two postdoctoral fellowships in psychiatry granted permanent funding by the committee is described as being related to "diversity" in a report released by Vice President for

Campus Life Janet Dickerson. The report explains that the position, which “has focused on diversity issues,” “[specializes] in culturally competent treatment to diverse student groups.” Oddly, the final PriCom report speaks only in general terms about the postdoctoral fellowships, neglecting to mention any connection to diversity. One might have expected that the committee would have trumpeted this small concession to “diversity” in its report – but it did no such thing. Even on a rhetorical level, then, there are signs that the University’s focus on diversity may be waning.

Some might point out that, once the requisite diversity bureaucracy has been set up, it requires less money for expansion. But diversity advocates must not have been satisfied without a “Manager of Diversity and Inclusion,” prompting them to seek permanent funding for the position. The demands of the diversity bureaucracy continue to grow. The denial of these funds indicates that diversity spending at Princeton is increasingly seen as a luxury, reserved for more prosperous times. This is in contrast to Harvard’s treatment of diversity initiatives: In December 2008, Harvard appointed a new “diversity dean” for its Faculty of Arts and Sciences, who would presumably be expected to work with the “Senior Vice Provost for Faculty Development and Diversity.”

At Princeton, then, the sustainability efforts dominated. Referring to the administration’s sustainability efforts, Vice President for Facilities Michael McKay said in an interview that “at the current time, we have no plans to reduce our long-term goals”. There are many possible rationales for this trend. Princeton’s administration has repeatedly cited the

*The denial of these funds indicates that diversity spending at Princeton is increasingly seen as a luxury, reserved for more prosperous times.*

potential for cost saving as a reason for continuing to fund sustainability initiatives through the recession. And while many of the reductions in resource consumption prescribed by Nassau Hall may indeed cut expenses, the sustainability effort also offers the potential of lower bureaucratic overhead: the university may not need to hire as many dedicated Sustainability administrators, since student groups are willing to work on the same tasks for free.

Henry Barmeier ’10, the chair of Princeton’s Greening Dining Committee, which he described as “a group of students and Dining Services officials that works to improve the sustainability of campus food,” told me that his group “advises Dining Services on sustainability initiatives

and assists in carrying out programs such as trayless dining and others.” “This kind of student-administration collaboration in the dining hall really is unprecedented,” he added.

Sustainability also has the potential for broader, less controversial appeal than diversity, as the university-sanctioned sustainability initiatives that have emerged on this campus is milder and less overtly politicized than those that have developed elsewhere. As thousands of demonstrators swarmed Washington in March vehemently to protest the coal-burning Capitol Power Plant, students at Princeton squabbled over whether residential college dining halls should go “trayless.”

The diversity effort, on the other hand, has lost much of its luster. Its basic principles have become almost tautological. The fervor for diversity that gripped campuses through the 1990s has largely been replaced with a broad and feeble complacency among students. It is an open question whether the latest progressive effort will follow the same path. ¶

**Nicholas Elan** is a sophomore from Washington, D.C. He is majoring in philosophy. He may be reached at [nelan@princeton.edu](mailto:nelan@princeton.edu).

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# STEM CELL RESEARCH COMES TO PRINCETON?

## WILL EMBRYO-DESTRUCTIVE RESEARCH FIND A HOME IN THE ORANGE BUBBLE?

Shivani Sud '12

On March 9, 2009, President Barack Obama signed the Stem Cell Executive Order, lifting the ban on embryonic stem cell research funding restrictions. Previously by law, no federal funds could contribute to embryonic stem cell research with cell lines created post-2001. Research with newer cell lines was restricted to state and private funds. The Executive Order allows for federal funding of research performed with hundreds of new lines regardless of their date of creation. “Leftover” blastocysts from in vitro fertilization clinics may be utilized to produce new cell lines provided parental consent, but no new embryos may be formed.

Like abortion, the embryonic stem cell debate has divided the country. There are questions of definition—when does life begin? Questions of morality—is it ethical to create and to destroy embryos for our own selfish purposes? Although science, via technology, has brought us many modern marvels, it has also made us halt to think about at what point life begins and what exactly entails a human being with a right to live.

In a recent address President Obama announced, “[S]cientists believe these tiny cells may have the potential to help us understand, and possibly cure, some of our most devastating diseases and conditions.” The primary objective of stem cell research is to develop stem cell lines which contain the same DNA as that

provided by the somatic donor and which have the capability of differentiating into any human cell, tissue or organ, without the danger of immune rejection. Perhaps a brief explanation of stem cell technology explains the possibility of these outcomes.

Most cells execute specialized tasks and cannot be taught to perform

*“The plain fact is that destroying an embryo is destroying a life...Even in the embryonic and fetal stages, the developing human is a distinct organism—one that is numerically identical with the organism that will, if all goes well, someday be crawling, then walking, then riding a tricycle.”*

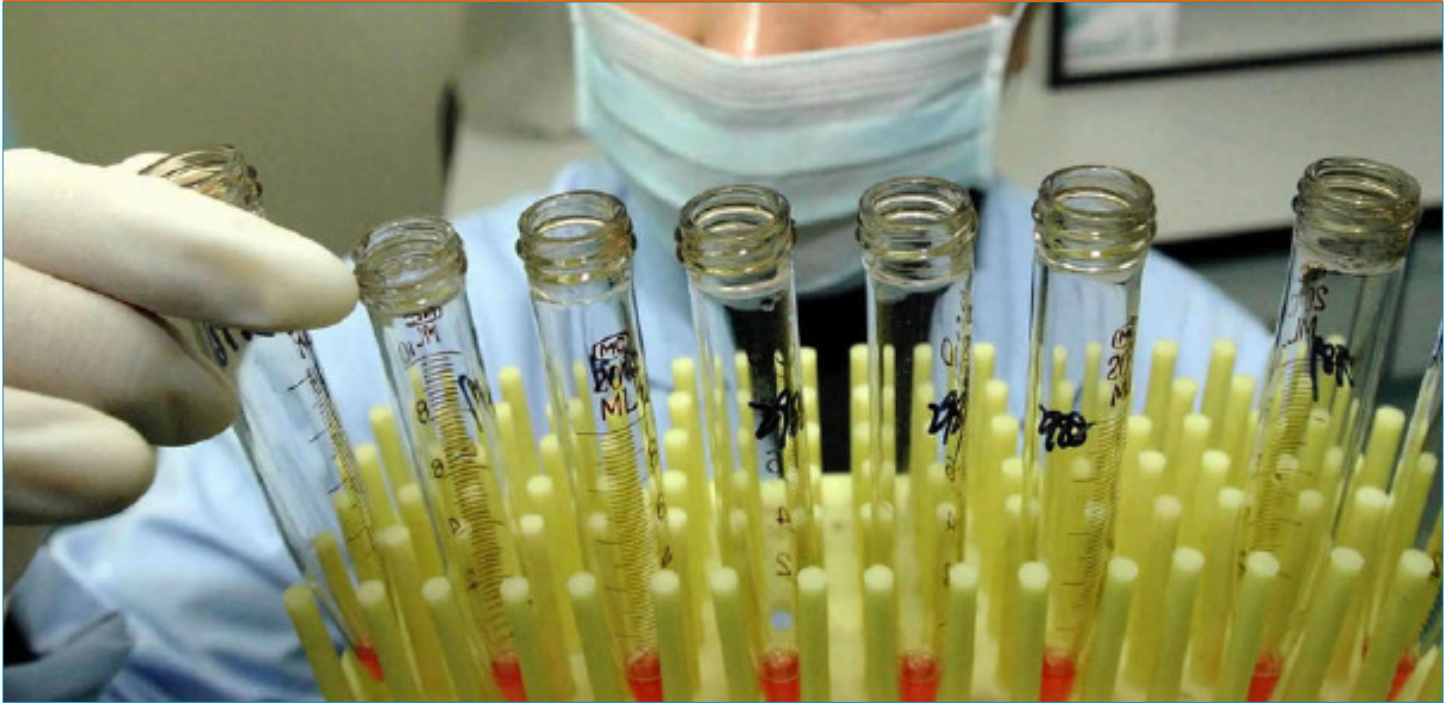
differently. Red blood cells and neurons, for example, have finite life spans and particular functions; they are considered terminally differentiated. But stem cells have two unique properties, the ability both of self-renewal through mitosis and of differentiation into various cell types depending on transcription and translation patterns. Two forms exist—adult stem cells, which are sparse in mature adult tissue, and embryonic stem cells, which are extracted from embryos. Embryonic stem cells are pluripotent—differentiable into any type of cell, while most adult stem cells are unipotent or multipotent—differentiable into one or a few types of cells, respectively. Embryonic stem cells, specifically, are derived from the inner cell mass extracted from an eight-day-old blastocyst. Isolating this inner cell mass involves the destruction of an embryo that, if otherwise placed in a womb, would develop into a mature human life.

The nature of this research brings up some moral uncertainties: Does deriving stem cells from an embryo constitute destroying a life and playing the role of God? Surely we cannot remove the organs of a person deemed of lesser value, and use them to save others’ lives; so how then can we pick apart embryos for research purposes? Or, conversely, if we know that research involving embryos will potentially save lives, are we being immoral by choosing not to sacrifice the embryos? To all these questions, Princeton faculty members have a variety of responses.

When asked what goes into the process of weighing the ethical concerns regarding stem cell research, President Shirley Tilghman responded,

*For me personally, this is a cost/benefit analysis. In coming to my own decision to allow stem cell research I have weighed the potential harm that comes from destroying a human embryo that is in excess of clinical need in an in vitro fertilization clinic (and is likely to be discarded or left in a liquid nitrogen freezer indefinitely) against the potential benefits of furthering research into early development, and developing cures for disease.*

Yet, in his article, “How is the Ethics of Stem Cell Research Different from the Ethics of Abortion?” from the journal *Metaphilosophy*, Dr. Gilbert Harman, Princeton University Professor of Philosophy, challenges this assessment. He writes in response to the argument that leftover embryos will under no practical circumstances develop into embryos that, “The mere fact that a bad outcome was



**Stem Cell Research:** Scientists in Britain have found alternative methods of stem cell research. *Photo courtesy of www.abc.net.au.*

going to befall someone anyway does not always make it permissible to ensure that outcome.” Just because an embryo might not become a human, we are not granted the unreserved right to destroy it. On this matter, Princeton Politics Professor Robert George explained further,

*The plain fact is that destroying an embryo is destroying a life... Even in the embryonic and fetal stages, the developing human is a distinct organism—one that is numerically identical with the organism that will, if all goes well, someday be crawling, then walking, then riding a tricycle, then asking mom and dad for the car keys... We recoil at the very idea of killing a mentally retarded child for the sake of saving, say, eight mentally able people -- one of whom needs a heart, one of whom needs a liver, two of whom need a kidney, etc. We should recoil at relegating any human being in any condition or at any stage of development to the status of disposable research material.*

Princeton philosophy professor, Peter Singer, whose views are generally utilitarian, favors embryonic stem cell research and argues that the religious beliefs discouraging embryonic stem cell research are hindering millions from being

helped by medical technology. In a summer of 2004 *Free Inquiry* article entitled, “The Harm That Religion Does,” Singer wrote,

*If anyone tries to tell you that, for all its quirks and irrationality, religion is harmless or even beneficial to society, remember those 128 million Americans—and hundreds of millions more citizens of other nations—who might be helped by research*

*“We recoil at the very idea of killing a mentally retarded child for the sake of saving, say, eight mentally able people... We should recoil at relegating any human being in any condition or at any stage of development to the status of disposable research material.”*

*that is being restricted by religious beliefs. Meanwhile, just be glad that Christians in South Korea do not have the political clout that they have in America.*

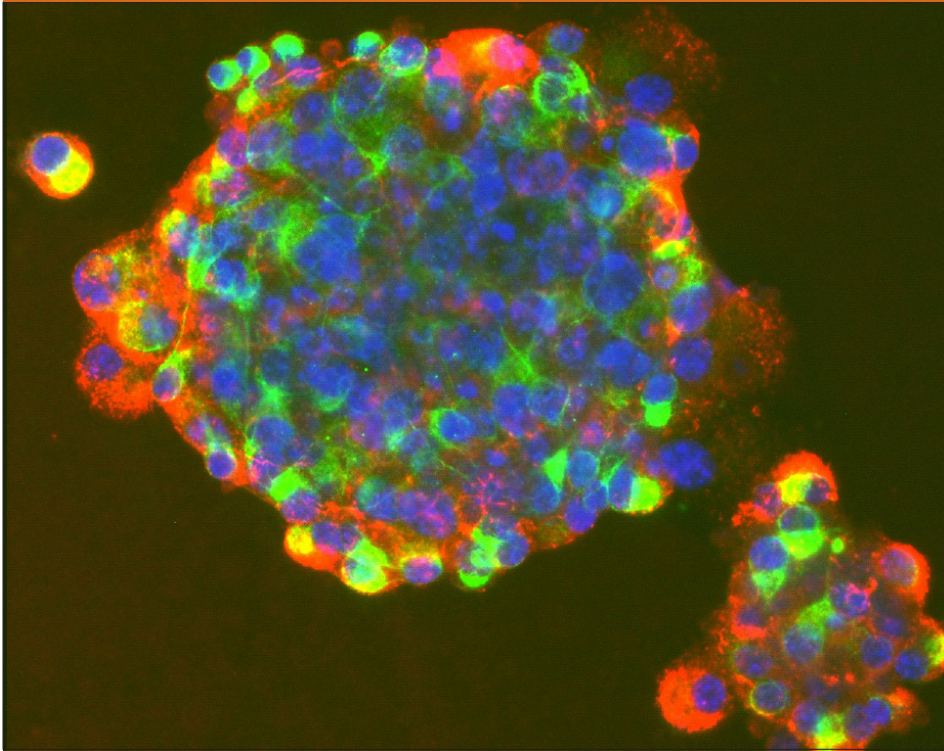
Alternative methods of stem cell research do exist. A research group at Newcastle University in Britain led by Lyle Armstrong claimed in April of 2008 to have created human-cow hybrid embryos that survived past 3 days, by fusing cow eggs with human DNA in order to overcome the global short fall of human eggs and to deal

with ethical issues involving egg donors. But rather than end the controversy, this research only reignited the debate about what it means to be human and whether it is ethical to fuse two different species. Cardinal Keith O’Brien, the head of the Catholic Church in Scotland, said the work consisted of “experiments of Frankenstein proportion.”

Another technology, induced pluripotent stem cells, involves injecting skin cells with four genes that reprogram them to become malleable stem cells. Indeed, induced pluripotent stem cells are effective and have treated conditions such as sickle cell disease and Parkinson’s disease symptoms in mice.

In spite of the two professors’ differences, both Professor Robert George and Professor Lee Silver are in agreement regarding induced pluripotent stem cells. Professor George strongly favors research involving reprogrammed somatic cells. Similarly, in an article published in Newsweek in May 2008 entitled, “Half Human, Half Cow, All Baloney,” Professor Silver wrote of the embryonic stem cell dispute and human-cow embryos,

*A new technology [induced pluripotent stem cells] has removed the entire basis of*



**Embryonic stem cells.** Photograph courtesy of [yorkstudentrn.wordpress.com](http://yorkstudentrn.wordpress.com).

*this longstanding dispute, though neither side is widely aware of it.... In a few years, the field of stem-cell research will incorporate these findings. Research on stem cells will continue apace and the entire stem-cell controversy of recent years will fade away in Britain, the United States and everywhere else...Of course, some diehard embryo research advocates, scientists and supporters may have a hard time adjusting to life without a cause to fight.*

But even with the moral questions over stem cell research potentially resolved, the issue of opening Pandora's box on all human embryonic research still exists. Panayiotis Zavos, a controversial fertility doctor, in April of this year claimed that he had cloned 14 human embryos, 11 of which were implanted into the wombs of four women for the generation of cloned children. All ethical guidelines in the Executive Order handed down by the Obama administration would prohibit such behavior, but Zavos, an American citizen conducting research in the Middle East, exemplifies our inability to prevent immoral research from taking place completely.

The intersection of science and ethics is one that must be closely monitored, for it indeed has many gray zones. President Obama said of his choice to allow embryonic stem cell research, "As a person of faith, I believe we are called to care for each other

and work to ease human suffering. I believe we have been given the capacity and will to pursue this research – and the humanity and conscience to do so responsibly." Does this mean that we are not to view embryos as potential lives that we are harming through their destruction? Where do we draw the line between progressive research and destruction of life? Does faith allow us to make such a trade-off between the value of life at different stages, and why is it that society is vehemently opposed to the harm of infants, but not of the little bundle of cells that they were only a few months prior?

Princeton, although we think of it as its own intellectual orange bubble, is in no way immune to the political ramifications of stem cell research. As a research institution, Princeton labs have worked with stem cells and many Princeton administrators have been active advocates of making stem cell research more feasible. Former Princeton President Harold T. Shapiro served as the chair of the National Bioethics advisory Commission and President Shirley Tilghman led the National Institutes of Health committee charged with the establishment of ethical guidelines concerning stem cell research. Both have been advocates for embryonic stem cell research.

Princeton already plays a large role

in the stem cell research community. In December of 2005, New Jersey became the first state to award grants for stem cell research and since then has received 71 applications for approximately five million dollars in funding. Among the seventeen scientists selected to receive grants were researchers Tom Shenk, Ihor Lemischka and Kateri Moore of Princeton University's molecular biology department.

None of these professors responded to requests for comment from the *Tory*.

In terms of the role that stem cell research is likely to play at our institution, President Tilghman said,

*Now that it is legal to use federal funds to support human stem cell research, I see no reason why our faculty should not pursue this research, consistent with the ethical guidelines that will govern the research. I doubt whether "many" of our researchers will apply for these funds, as stem cell research is a rather narrow area of biomedical research. However many believe that this will be a very active and important area to pursue in the years ahead.*

Even though president Tilghman is unsure that "many" Princeton researchers will apply for funding, clearly stem cell research already has a place at Princeton and, given the size of the molecular biology department, three stem cell grants is significant number to be awarded to Princeton researchers. Though the academic debate surrounding the ethics of embryonic stem cell research will undoubtedly continue both on and off campus, we hope that our university will successfully contribute to stem cell research efforts through work grounded in sound moral principles. **P**

**Shivani Sud** is a freshman interested in medicine and science policy implications who plans on majoring in the natural sciences or engineering. She can be contacted at [ssud@princeton.edu](mailto:ssud@princeton.edu).



# THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL CONSERVATISM

## THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS REBUILDING, BUT THE ABORTION AND MARRIAGE ISSUES ARE STILL MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER

**Bobby Marsland '11**

Is conservatism dead? Obviously, it's not dead yet—otherwise you wouldn't be reading this—but there is a great fear rising among conservatives that the movement is on its way out, and will be completely lost within a few generations.

This sentiment immediately raises the question of what conservatism is in the first place. A growing number of Republicans are arguing that conservatism need not and should not include the “socially” conservative element. They fear that it will soon be politically impossible for a socially conservative party to win national elections, and many of them think that basic conservative principles require us to abandon social conservatism.

At this time, as the Republican Party enters into a critical period of self-evaluation and rebuilding, it is vitally important that

we consider both questions: is social conservatism consistent with conservative principles, and, if it is, is it a politically feasible option in this age?

Social conservatism encompasses many issues, but the most fundamental and divisive are abortion and marriage.

In the context of this discussion, abortion is by far the less problematic of the two. Conservatives think the state exists to allow individuals to flourish through free and responsible activity. The first responsibility of the state, then, should be to guard the lives of its citizens, and especially to support those who are responsible for the lives of the most vulnerable, so that all may have the opportunity to exercise their freedom. Legalized abortion creates a

society in which pregnant women in tough situations feel enormous pressure to abort their child, instead of being encouraged and helped to fulfill the great responsibility entrusted to them.

My own experience has convinced me that younger generations are coming to recognize this problem. Of the 200,000 people who descend on Washington, D.C., each year to protest *Roe v. Wade*, at least half are young people.

A new pro-life facebook.com group started in February of this year had over a million members by April 4. A 2003

Gallup poll confirms this anecdotal evidence: 45 percent of teens believe

of social conservatism, and some young Republicans are beginning to argue that opposition to same-sex marriage is merely an inherited prejudice which conflicts with conservatism's most basic values. To many people, it seems that restricting marriage to opposite-sex couples institutionalizes hatred and discrimination against homosexual individuals, and thus violates the state's basic duty of creating a framework for a thriving human society.

Furthermore, for many, a loving and committed marriage is one of the most important aspects of a responsible, fulfilled life. If a conservative government is supposed to encourage human fulfillment through responsible use of liberty, then denying certain people the opportunity to pursue this noble goal stands in direct opposition to the very core of conservatism.

Yet this view stems from a fundamental misreading of the marriage question. The marriage debate is not about whether to deny certain people the opportunity to marry; it is about what marriage is. Marriage has always been intrinsically bound up with the bearing and rearing of children.

None of the qualities we typically associate with marriage make sense otherwise, including the restriction of marriage to two people and its necessarily sexual character. It is impossible for marriage to be “extended” to same-sex couples, no matter how much we might want to do so.

To apply the word marriage to relationships that have nothing to do with reproduction is to destroy the meaning of the word. This destruction has been occurring for a long time now, which is

*Conservatives think the state exists to allow individuals to flourish through free and responsible activity.*

that abortion should be illegal in some circumstances, while 33 percent believe that it should be illegal in all circumstances.

Among both young and old, there are many Republicans who view abortion as so grave an evil that they will never vote for a pro-abortion candidate over a pro-life one, and any weakening in the GOP's pro-life stance would throw all these votes to the wind. Republicans have nothing to fear from outspokenness on abortion; this issue may in fact be the most effective avenue for making the conservative movement relevant to young people.

Same-sex marriage is the more difficult matter, both philosophically and politically. It is clear from polls that young people are losing touch with this aspect

why many have been able to accept same-sex marriage so quickly, and it may not seem worth the effort to resuscitate the institution we used to call marriage.

Nevertheless, the public institution of marriage as a framework for reproduction is in fact demanded by the conservative principles I have outlined, and same-sex marriage has given conservatives an excellent opportunity to explain the reasons why marriage is important and to work to restore it.

In terms of conservative principles, there are two issues at stake here. The first is deeply related to the abortion question. During my discussion of abortion, some readers may have thought that I was being too harsh, since from the point of view of many desperate, unwed expectant mothers, the effort of carrying a child to term seems simply impossible.

In order to create an environment in which a woman is truly free to exercise her responsibility for her child's life, the state needs to encourage fathers to fulfill their own responsibilities both toward the women they impregnate and toward the children that result. Marriage has always been the institution for accomplishing this goal. The fact that it does not accomplish this goal very well right now does not mean that we should demolish it, but rather that we should work to rebuild it and reawaken our society to a deeper awareness of its purpose.

The second issue is the state's obligation to provide a setting in which children can be properly reared, so that they in time become free, responsible adults. It is very difficult for an unwed mother to give her child all the love and attention required to bring him to full maturity, and it is impossible for the state to do so directly, however much it tries.

Children raised by an impersonal bureaucracy and indoctrinated by the state will not have the sense of genuine liberty that is conservatism's primary value. While adoption is a better solution than a state-run orphanage, it is still inferior to a stable marriage, in which a child can look to his own biological parents as examples of responsible freedom in their loving care for him.

Many people point to the high divorce



**The Future?** Governor of Louisiana, Bobby Jindal, is considered by some to be a future leader of the Republican Party. *Photograph courtesy of wikipedia.org.*

rate as proof that marriage is no longer stable and thus fails to accomplish this goal, but they do not propose any other solution. Again, the best way to ensure that children are raised well is to restore to marriage its power to hold fathers accountable to their wives and children.

restore the party to youthful vigor. The marriage issue is more risky, and the GOP is in dire need of leaders who know what is at stake and can frame the problem correctly.

The upcoming generation will not be convinced by appeals to instinct or custom, and can only be won over if they see both that marriage is important and that our commitment to reviving marriage is genuine.

It will not be enough to keep same-sex marriage illegal; to stop there would be to make ourselves hypocrites, and the party's youth will notice this. Rather, Republicans need to take positive steps toward restoring marriage to its original stature.

If we take these steps, both on the political level and in society at large, we will win over enough young people to ensure our continued political viability, and we will have the great privilege of participating in the renewal of the most important institution of a free society. **P**

*The marriage debate is not about whether to deny certain people the opportunity to marry; it is about what marriage is. Marriage has always been intrinsically bound up with the bearing and rearing of children.*

If we destroy this inherent aspect of marriage by removing all reference to children or reproduction from our definition of the institution, as the Iowa Supreme Court has explicitly done recently, we will only cause further harm to future generations.

In light of these considerations, we see that a party committed to protecting freedom and promoting its responsible exercise needs to do everything in its power to end abortion and to restore marriage to its original place in society as the institution that encourages parents to take responsibility for their biological children and for one another.

There is little to fear from becoming more outspoken on abortion, and the pro-life cause may be the one factor that can

**Robert Marsland** is a sophomore in the physics department from Madison, Wisconsin. He may be reached at [marsland@princeton.edu](mailto:marsland@princeton.edu).

# WHEN PRINCETON'S POLITICAL SCIENTIST BECAME PRESIDENT

AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT TILGHMAN JUST THREE MONTHS AFTER SHE WAS ELECTED IN 2001.

Peter Hegseth '03

**H**ow does it feel to be following in the historical mantle of such an illustrious line of Princeton presidents; leaders such as among other, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson and Rev. John Witherspoon, who signed the Declaration of Independence?

I think the simplest response is: humbling. This university has had, I think, really extraordinary leadership, not just in the eras prior to the 20th century, but I would say my last three predecessors have really put a unique mark on the place, as well. So I am humbled about the prospect of following in all of their footsteps.

**Has it been overwhelming thus far?**

No, I don't find it overwhelming. I think partly because I've adopted the attitude that I'm going to take it one day at a time and I'm not going to expect that I'm going to learn the job all in one day. Every day I'm going to learn a little bit more and know that it will probably take a year before I really have a full grasp of the breath of this university and a reasonable plan for moving on for the next ten years or so.

**In a speech on the occasion of the sesquicentennial of Princeton University, President Woodrow Wilson said, "It is the business of a university to impart to the rank and file of the students whom it trains the right thought of the world, the thought which it has tested and established, the principles which have stood through the seasons and become at length part of the immemorial wisdom of the race." What do you believe is the business of this University here and now?**

Well, I would actually go back to a different quote of Woodrow Wilson's that I think comes closer to my view of the business of the University. These are Wilson's words, "What we should seek to impart in our colleges, therefore, is not so much learning itself as it is the spirit of learning. It consists in the power to distinguish good reason from bad and the power to digest and interpret evidence, in the habit of catholic observation and a preference for the non-partisan point of view, in an addiction to clear and logical processes of thought and yet an instinctive desire to interpret rather than stick to the letter of reasoning, in a taste for knowledge and a



President Tilghman was all smiles after her election in 2001.

deep respect for the integrity of the human mind." That quote captures my view of what the work of the University should be.

**Princeton was founded as a Presbyterian institution, and in the 18th and 19th centuries its presidents were all clergymen. What role should religion play in the University today?**

Well, I think it should play an important role. I think religion is part of the culture of virtually every society that I know of on the face of the planet and for many people, it plays a central role in their lives. So I think that we should be open to that. We have a very robust and exciting Department of Religion – we have a very good Center for the Study of Religion – and I see no reason that we shouldn't in fact continue to maintain and enhance those activities. There is no question that there is a call for it from students and we need to respond to it.

## Special 25th Anniversary Section

**You have said that you plan to place a high emphasis on diversifying the student body and removing Princeton's tenure system which you believe discriminates against women. How do you plan to tackle these issues?**

I would start by saying that the first is true and the second is not. Just to clarify the second point quickly, I had back in the early 1990s suggested that tenure, as it was currently practiced at many universities, disadvantages women. The reason is really simple. That is, the period up to the decision of tenure comes at peak reproductive years for most women faculty. As such, unless human cloning happens a lot more quickly than we think it will, women are still going to have babies. As a consequence, one of the things I suggested then – and I still believe – is that we should be asking ourselves, “Is there another way to obtain the benefits that the tenure system definitely brings to the University, which is the protection of academic freedom plus the time for peer review, that in fact is not affecting one gender more than the other?” So I’m not in favor of abolishing tenure, what I’m in favor of is reviewing the ways in which we can go about doing it in such a way that it doesn’t make this distinction – which I think it does. The way I would go about doing that is a way in which the University goes about considering virtually everything it does, which is to get a group of very thoughtful people together to study the question and look at how other institutions do it – to ask whether there is any evidence, for example, that by doing it a different way other institutions have solved this problem that I think tenure poses; and then to make a recommendation to me.

With respect to the first, I think that we have already begun to make real strides in the diversification of the student body. One of the things that is going to be announced sometime after Labor Day is the impact of the new financial aid policy: what effect it has had – not on the way in which we accepted students, because, after all, that had all happened essentially by the time that we had made the announcement – but more importantly, on the kinds of students who have accepted the invitation to come to Princeton. What we are really seeing is that the number of low-income students who will be here as a result of that has really increased. What it means is that we are opening the doors of the University to a greater diversity, I think, of the really talented students out there, and I think we should be very proud of that.

**A quick point of clarification: In another interview you said, “I would like to think we could begin to attract students with green hair.” What exactly did you mean by that?**

It is my sense that in part because of history, in part because of geography, and in part because of public perception of the University, we probably are not even receiving applications from students who think I would not only benefit from a Princeton education, but would benefit the rest of us who are here. Those are students who are, I would say, a little outside the norms, students who are extraordinarily talented in one thing, but not your all-around student. Not someone who is going to be in 32 activities and president of the student body, although those are wonderful, wonderful students. I think it is worth our while in fact to ask: what do we lose by not having, whether or not we call them “green haired,” which was my metaphor, or slightly unusual students? I would be interested in looking into whether we could attract a greater variety of those students.


**A writer from the *Boston Globe* recently described you as a “closet radical.” Is this an accurate characterization?**

I’m insulted. I didn’t think I was in the closet at all (laughing). Well, I think what she meant by that was that I came up in a generation of scientists who did not see taking public stands on issues as something that was within the job description of being a scientist in the United States. So while I think scientists have very strong views about a lot of things, including stem cells, the intent of most scientists was keep your head down, do your work and stay out of the public domain. That really began to change I would say in the last ten years. There is sort of a new cohort of scientists, a lot of them roughly my age, who have begun not only to speak out, but in fact take very senior jobs, both in the government as well as in the private sector, and become visible scientific spokespeople. I think what she meant was that I was one of those people and in that sense was radical.

**You recently wrote a letter to President Bush urging him to allow embryonic stem-cell research. Did he respond? And what did you think of his final decision?**

I thought it was a reasonable compromise. I think that President Bush was put into in a very difficult position, a classic between a rock and a hard place. If there were one part of his announcement that I would have changed if I’d been in a position to do so, I would have put a time limit on the length of time in which we were going to explore these roughly 60 stem cell lines that are now going to be available. Put clearly a time when we would revisit the question and ask: Is it really the case that those lines are sufficient to answer the basic science questions that I really do believe need to be answered before anybody can think about putting stem cells back into people? Now in reality, that’s going to happen anyway, but I think it would have had the effect of sort of dulling the concern of the scientists who in large part should have been happy with this position who worry that 60 stem cell lines are not going to be sufficient. I wrote him rather early in the game; I wrote him back in May and at that time his position was quite rigid that he was opposed to using federal funds to study embryonic stem cells.

**When your time as president is over, how would you like to be remembered, and how will this be reflected in your approach this coming year?**

I am trying very hard not to make any big pronouncements about what my goals are for a few more months until I know a great deal more. Certainly the simplest answer is to have Princeton be considered a better place when I leave than it is now. That I think reflects a fundamental philosophical agreement that I have with President Shapiro, which is no matter how good a place is, it can always be better. The only way you become better is never allowing yourself to rest on your laurels or be self-satisfied and to be always asking: How can we do this better? How can we really make this a better place? But the precise things that I am interested in accomplishing, I am not prepared to really make that list yet. 

*This interview was originally published in the September/October 2001 issue (Volume XVIII, No. 3)*

# WHY IS JUNIOR SO CONSERVATIVE?

Daniel Polisar '87

The question “Why is Junior so conservative?” has puzzled sociologists and politicians alike since exit polls from the elections last November revealed that President Reagan fared better among college students than any Republican presidential candidate in the last two decades. Liberals had grown accustomed to looking at universities as bastions of political and intellectual support. After all, it is a time-honored tradition for students to seek out injustice in every landslide and surveys’ showing increasingly conservative views on domestic and foreign policy have changed this perception.

It is easy to overemphasize the magnitude of this shift towards conservatism. Campus Democrats managed to generate substantial support for Walter Mondale, and students are overwhelmingly liberal on nuclear policy and women’s rights issues. Since the rightward shift at universities parallels a trend nationwide, it might easily reverse itself, like the pendulum which is metaphorically used to represent American political opinion. It is certainly ill-advised to overstate the magnitude of the shift, but whatever its size, its causes are worth considering.

Various writers have sought to explain why students are no longer as liberal as they were in days gone by. Most of these explanations have come from self-identified liberals, whose writings, not surprisingly, take on the form of a lament. The basic thrust of their argument is that students are more conservative because they are ignorant, apathetic, fearful, or self-interested. In other words, they are conservative because they don’t know enough or care enough to recognize the inherent truth of liberalism, or because their “better” instincts have been subverted to their desire for job security or Sony Walkmans. The tacit premise of all of these explanations is that conservatism must be explained the way mental illness must: in terms of pathology and of things unnatural. These explanations fall short of the mark because the authors’ value judgments blind them to a multiplicity of factors affecting students’



political and social judgments. [...]

Campus conservatism is also fueled by a desire to go against established norms. In the 1960’s and early 1970’s students questioned authority and fought virulently against the military establishment which led America into Vietnam and against the political establishment which brought about the Watergate scandal. Today, however, liberalism has become the establishment – of universities, in the media and in politics. The Reagan Revolution, for all the hoopla about federalism, new beginnings and grass-roots change, has not altered the basic framework of the Great Society. To go against established norms in the 1980’s, one must either be conservative or so far left (towards socialism) as to step outside the bounds of the American political dialogue. Consequently, conservative activists at universities now turn to George Gilder, Ayn Rand and William Buckley, glorying in how radical these writers are.

Viewing conservative students as anti-establishment is difficult, particularly for those journalists who cannot decouple the association of liberalism and oppositionism, which was engraved in their thinking patterns during the 1960’s. Similarly, the historical association between liberalism and activism

has colored interpretation of campus sociopolitical trends. The 1960’s and early 1970’s were the glory days of student political activity: riots, sit-ins, sit-downs, teach-ins, sleep-ins, draft-card-burning, flag-burning, bra-burning, the works. Political activism since then has paled by comparison, while students have simultaneously become more conservative. The false conclusion has been reached that conservatism, by its very nature, bespeaks slothfulness and inactivity just as liberalism implies action and involvement. Thus there is a misconception that students are conservative because they are apathetic, and conversely. The corollary is that we are witnessing the struggle of conservatism versus activism.

These misconceptions all stem from the notion that something inherent in liberalism sparked the 60’s generation to unprecedented levels of political activity. In point of fact, it was the looming presence of the Vietnam War, affecting everyone of draftable age, which proved the greatest spur to activism. Anti-war and anti-draft sentiment was at the root of most protests, creating a pool of people who were justifiably angry, frightened and willing to fight back. It makes sense, after all, to go to a rally if by doing so you are encouraging your government not to send you to be

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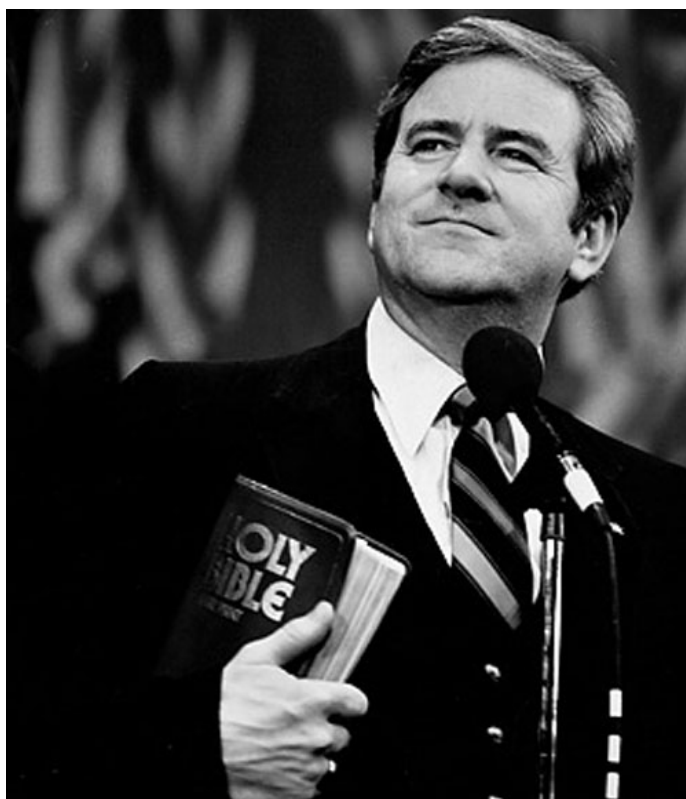
killed in a foreign country. Admittedly, there were other issues which spurred students on to protest, but these issues received the attention they did in large part because students were living in an environment made ripe for demonstration by overwhelming opposition to the Vietnam War. Having made the value judgment that a protest is more valuable than spending time studying, many students found themselves caught up in a plethora of causes. Without the war, universities would have been quieter, and liberalism and activism would not be inextricably linked in the minds of so many people today.

Although Jerry Falwell gets the headlines, it is not the New Right agenda, with its emphasis on social retrenchment, that has won the allegiance of campus conservatives today. The issues most salient to students lie instead in the areas of economics and foreign policy. Young conservatives are rejecting a liberal tradition which appears to have failed and embracing a doctrine the practical merits of which they can clearly see.

The 1960's was a period of economic abundance and optimism in America. With wealth all around him, and social scientists whispering sweet nothings in his ear, Lyndon Johnson launched the "War on Poverty." Like all good crusaders, Johnson was convinced that the battle would be short and that the heathen would be routed. On his side was the "Great Society," an American public altruistic enough to share its growing wealth in an effort to end poverty. Advances in social science convinced many people that poverty was eradicable, if only money could be targeted by the wisest men of the world, all of whom conveniently lived in Washington or could be moved there from Harvard. Twenty years later, these well-intentioned efforts have fallen well short of their aims. After one trillion dollars of federal spending, squalor and misery still form an unfortunate part of the American social landscape. Confidence in the federal government's ability to "solve" social problems has diminished drastically, as "judicious allocation of resources" has become a hollow-sounding euphemism for what the man on the street calls "throwing money at problems." Liberals are left holding the proverbial bag, as their program of redistributing wealth has

failed to effect concrete benefits for the redistributees. The failure of the Great Society to achieve the lofty goals it set for itself has largely stripped liberal economics of its appeal, and the burden of proof now lies on the advocates of higher domestic spending. [...]

Reinforcing the appeal of fiscal conservatism has been the experience of the last four years. In 1981, President Reagan persuaded Congress to enact legislation which was termed "conservative:" cutting marginal tax rates, slowing spending growth for domestic programs and increasing defense spending. Since America is clearly in the midst of an economic recovery now, students naturally credit fiscal conservatism for the turnaround.



Collegiate Conservatives were less interested in Falwell's cause, caring more about economic and foreign policy issues.

Deficit spending and increased consumer demand, solutions right out of Keynesian economics, are in large part responsible. Economists can demonstrate this rigorously, but attitudes about policies stem not so much from John Galbraith as from bottom-line statistics and the simplified explanations which they engender.

In foreign policy, there is a similar pattern of failure of policies associated with liberalism where conservative policies appear to succeed. The Iranian hostage crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan are watershed events in political lives of today's college student. Iran in particular received exten-

sive television coverage, and was discussed widely by people of all ages. [...] The humiliation of Iran engendered a "Don't mess with the U.S." attitude that colors the thinking of college students in much the same way that World War II and Vietnam influenced the beliefs of people who grew up during those conflicts. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, following on the heels of the hostage takeover, shocked Americans into a critical view of the Soviet Union and severely damaged the notion that the United States and the Soviet Union are moral equals. To many people who came of political age with Iran and Afghanistan, a simplified world view featured a moral but weak United States and a powerful, expansionist Soviet Union.

[...]

Americans are also once again confident of their ability to influence world events and aid fledgling democracies, just as the Soviets aid nations in their ideological camp. The Vietnam War had engendered an ethic of clean hands, an aversion to being involved with any nation whose human rights record was in any way suspect. Many foreign policy setbacks of the 1970's are directly attributable to this failure to get involved. What has emerged is an ethic of consequences, which focuses on the disadvantages of United States isolationism and the benefits that firm action can have for democracy in countries like Grenada. Even if governments bolstered by American aid are not perfect, they are certainly better for their people than the alternative of Communist rule. Abuses in Vietnam, Cambodia, Cuba, Angola and Ethiopia stand as testament to the horrors of American

inaction and lack of resolve. Since the right of the United States to defend certain interests is no longer in question, the existence of ROTC has ceased to be a volatile question. For similar reasons, CIA recruitment no longer sparks the same antipathy that it used to generate.

Another factor which helps account for increasing conservatism among students is a growing contentment with the fundamentals of American society. In the 1960's, the assumptions of an entire culture were on trial. Capitalism, the economic foundation, was attacked as being destructive of individuality and exploitative of the lower classes.

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Business, the concrete manifestation of capitalism, was viewed as monopolistic and anti-people. The bourgeois mentality of hard work and concrete achievement was pigeonholed as materialistic and narrow-minded. In short, almost everything that defined an American identity was in danger of delegitimization. This fundamental opposition to the premises on which American society is built led, not surprisingly, to a demand for wholesale change: a welfare state, regulation of business and a relaxing of laws which were perceived to embody the bourgeois morality of restraint and moderation.

The social complement to these political demands was that students severely violated societal mores. Drug use became widespread while sexual activity became increasingly creative and decreasingly monogamous. The search for new and better ways to escape pressure led to hippies and yuppies, to colonies and cults. The inhibitions that had previously defined social interactions and personal behavior were, in short, conspicuously absent.

The major reason why this counterculture has fallen into disfavor is that many of the major abuses which spurred its creation have been corrected. Racism, while still prevalent, is neither as pronounced nor as overt as it was during the 1960's. Women have achieved rough legal equality and now their battle is to attain economic parity. The Vietnam War is over, so American lives are not being sacrificed in a war that is viewed as unjust. Politics is a little bit less corrupt after Watergate, so voting is permissible again. Bourgeois American democracy doesn't seem too bad once some of its ugliest warts have been removed, and by helping to remove warts, the counterculture has sown the seeds of its own demise.

The counterculture has also been set back by a resurgence of social conservatism among students. Traditional institutions such as marriage are clearly rising in popularity, although the role of the two sexes within the marriage has been irrevocably changed, and for the better. The free love atmosphere and alternative lifestyle orientations of the 1960's did not produce nirvana, but led instead to insecurities and a high divorce rate. Collegians today are discovering that the American tradition of a strong family is grounded in a solid understanding of human nature, and is not just the result of a bourgeois aberration. Similarly, the use of "mind-expanding" drugs no

longer seems as attractive as it once was. The day-to-day reality from which drugs provide an escape is more palatable than the rather harsh reality of the drug user: overdoses, physical harm, and mental deterioration.

Both the counterculture and liberalism demand constant self-recrimination on the part of society. Continuous reform presupposes endless problems, and liberals have more than complied by pointing out social illness with an enthusiasm previously reserved for Old Testament prophets. Every time we feel

*The major reason why the counterculture has fallen into disfavor is that many of the major abuses which spurred its creation have been corrected.*

that justice is ascendant, someone informs us that a closer look will reveal how disgraceful we really are. No sooner were Jim Crow laws abolished and enforcement mechanisms instituted than equality of opportunity became obsolete and equality of station was hailed as the only accurate barometer of a society's justness. Since equality of station is an impossibility, given the differences which separate individuals and cultures, the liberal vision for America affords little opportunity for satisfaction or optimism.

And while liberalism seems to be chasing after ever more intangible causes, conservatives have in recent years begun to meet objections on moral grounds, particularly in defending the free market itself. Ayn Rand, writing in the 1950's and 1960's, defended capitalism as the only economic system compatible with individual rights. Seven years ago, Irving Kristol and William Simon formed the Institute for Educational Affairs (IEA), a group dedicated to defending traditional American values. IEA now funds moderate and conservative magazines, journals, and newspapers on college campuses nationwide.

Conservatives used to be in a position of saying that liberalism is right in theory but does not work in practice, or that liberals are correct about goals but unwise in choosing means. Redistribution of wealth, for example, was praised as a principle and criticized as a practical approach. By asserting that capitalism is the economic system which best guarantees individual freedom, conservatives

are challenging liberalism directly, instead of ceding the moral high ground without a fight. This is extremely important in explaining the vitality of campus conservatism, because the student leaders who form the core of the right-of-center movement are in many cases ideologues for whom ethical considerations are paramount. It is hard to imagine the dedication being maintained if conservatism stood only for slower change towards liberal goals.

The lack of an effective liberal spokesman has been compounded by a lack of any real focus to liberalism in general. As the causes liberal spokesmen advance become ever more esoteric, the public is less likely to rally around any one of them. It is more difficult to arouse the ire of the masses over equality of station than over equality of opportunity. Vietnam and the worst abuses of racism served as initial focus points by which liberalism

consolidated its strength and from which it derived an aura of powerful popular support. Without this base of support, liberalism found that the advocates of conservatism were no longer willing whipping boys. Ayn Rand, William Buckley and other conservative spokesmen began fighting liberals, not as an academic exercise, but to erode the already eroding bastion of liberal support.

Conservatism's defense has been all the easier because of certain other changes in the political climate. The traditional linkage of social to political issues has prompted rejection of liberalism along with the counterculture which accompanied it. The Soviet presence in Afghanistan and Poland has restored credence to conservative claims of Soviet aggression. Whatever anti-establishment bias rests inherently in youth is now directed towards the liberal military-industrial complex. For better or worse, economic factors play a larger role in an economy recently emerged from a recession than in one with continually bright forecasts. Though these are not the only causes of the rightward shift of college students, they are certainly more important reasons than ignorance, apathy and fear. **R**

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# THE FIRST DECADE OF THE TORY: 1984-1994

Alexander G. Sherman '97

Historians often fit their material into neat packages of centuries or decades. With this issue, the *Tory* will do the same as it boasts of one decade on campus. But, sadly enough, the founders did not have the foresight to align the *Tory* with any particular decade. Many early issues combine topics that still provoke heated debates in 1994 with those that appear as ancient history. For example, an issue from 1984 discusses large nuclear defense strategies and attacks abortion. In another issue, an essay on the legality of all-male eating clubs follows a diatribe on the inefficiency of the University Student Government. Remarkably, the *Tory* offered solutions ten years ago to problems that still plague Princetonians.

The most pressing and incessant problem that the *Tory* faces does not bother the rest of the campus. The staff must know the goals of the *Tory* before beginning to write, or the issues will not form a coherent whole. Readers, on the other hand, have only to pick up and read. Each year the staff struggles to choose a direction for the volume. Without a purpose, the *Tory* avoids disintegration and achieves unity through a high standard of rigorous argumentation for each article. In addition, most of the staff leans toward a conservative viewpoint. However, effective writing, not ideology, is the prime requisite for *Tory* writers.

In the beginning, this identity was not evident. Although dedicated to good debate, the staff was unsure what conservative meant. Ten years later, this elusive definition still remains hazy. Too often the term conservative is confused with apathetic or elitist. For this reason—and to clear up the confusion of the staff itself—at least one article each year is devoted to defining conservatism. Nonetheless, because the *Tory* seeks primarily to argue conservatism rationally rather than preach an ideology, the *Tory* does not need to obsess with the definition itself. It was this attitude that led Dinesh D'Souza in 1986 to call the *Tory* “too cerebral.” [...]

Perhaps because of this commitment to serious thought, *Tory* staffers are so horrified by the apathy they perceive among fellow Princetonians. Not thinking at all about an issue is sinful to those who care so much about finding truth. In each volume, a writer laments the negligence that appears so consistently that it might well be another Princeton tradition. Princetonians themselves have done nothing to care more, despite the numerous indictments. Some *Tory* writers have argued that Princetonians simply do not have enough time to care; they are already committed to many other activities. Although this statement may be true, it cannot justify insouciance. In an interesting twist, John Fay recounted his run-in with Princeton demonstra-

tors who cared, but did not know about what. Offended by posters' condemnation of the C.I.A., Fay staged a counter-demonstration, right next to the original one. During the course of the day, Fay discovered that though his opponents were passionate, they were not “cerebral.” He learned that they had not taken the time to evaluate their anti-C.I.A. claims and had protested in ignorance of the facts. Fay rightly found this misplaced indignation even more horrifying than the standard lack of concern. Some students obviously had too much free time. [...]

In his own definition of apathy, Peter Heinecke challenges the common assumption that conservatives are not political activists, that they do not care about the world around them. Instead, Heinecke argues, conservatives tend to express their views in different ways. A conservative political activist is more likely to write an intelligent piece defending his ideas than to march on the president's office. This train of thought still continues at the *Tory*. In the journal's tenth year, Nick Maynard wrote an article that claimed caring belonged to no one part of the political spectrum: another example that the *Tory*'s ideas and arguments have continued for over a decade in new and changing forms.

Another ever-present problem is race relations. In the past, *Tory* writers were concerned with the effects of the then-new Third World Center and the now-new Center for Jewish Life on the campus racial climate... Several different writers argued that such fortresses for ethnic groups would encourage self-segregation among students. Rather than mixing and profiting from Princeton's prized diversity, students would scurry into more comfortable and homogeneous groups of their own accord.

As these articles were being written, the Los Angeles riots occurred, and Princeton administrators feared incipient repercussions on the campus. An inter-racial coordinator was appointed and a study commissioned. Now, the recent report by the Vice Provost suggests that race is still a salient issue on the Princeton campus. The continued presence of the Ombudsman implies race relations are as bad as ever. In the most recent issue, publisher Marc Allen revisited this matter and reformulated the *Tory*'s earlier stance. Race is not the most pressing problem on campus. And, as the *Tory* predicted, the Third World Center and similar organizations have contributed to the self-segregation of minority students. But it is beneath the *Tory* to say, “We told you so.”

Gender relations have also supplied *Tory* writers with a constant flow of material. Most notably, the *Tory* has more than a few times examined the proper conduct of the sexually active on campus. From safe sex to date rape to images of beauty, the articles have run the gamut. Predictably enough, the conservative staff has urged abstinence for

*Because the Tory seeks primarily to argue conservatism rationally rather than preach an ideology, the Tory does not need to obsess with the definition itself. It was this attitude that led Dinesh D'Souza in 1986 to call the Tory “too cerebral.”*



several years. In the past, writers assumed this stance as a response to the problems of pregnancy, venereal disease, immorality, and AIDS. The *Tory* published articles which refuted all solutions to these problems, except abstinence from sexual intercourse. Contraception, the usual recourse of college students, has its obvious faults. Besides the unreliability of drunken students, most forms of contraception fail at one time or another. The University has adopted a policy, in recent years, of educating the students in these various forms of contraception. However, no amount of education could force the contraception to be absolutely effective. Therefore, the *Tory* urges abstinence, the most sure prevention of pregnancy and AIDS.

In addition to practical arguments, writers have offered the moral condemnations of contraception. Seen in this light, the University policy is actually offensive to the large percentage of the student body that is religious. Comments in this direction from letters to the editors served to strengthen the *Tory's* position.

Most recently, the major concern on campus has not been AIDS but date rape. Brian Tvenstrup accepted the challenge of confronting this important issue. He wrote an eloquent and convincing article which offered an old solution to a newly recognized problem. The University policy of sex education is ineffective, Tvenstrup argues; as proof, he offers the statistics of consistent rape and date rape, despite the counseling. The only solution which remains is abstinence. He concludes that the University must educate the students in all methods of prevention, including chastity. No amount of guidance will eradicate date rape unless the University advocates and encourages abstinence as the best way to avoid conflicts between the genders. Interestingly enough, the *Tory* has used one piece of advice as an unchanging yet effective solution to an evolving problem.

The issues of gender relations is not confined to sexual activity, but runs into the processes of language and communication as well. As political correctness swept across the campus, some were affronted by the rehauling of the American language. Challenging the more and more common notion that exclusionary language inhibits excellent academic achievement by women, Thayer Scott wrote a humorous yet convincing parody of political correctness. In concluding, Scott expressed feeling sensed by many on campus: "To endlessly refute and correct those curmudgeons is tiresome and tests the patience of even the most tolerant and understanding of us, for they have become so utterly predictably." Political correctness is exhausting and, he ultimately shows, neither substantially changes circumstances nor is possible to effect. He argues instead that the notion that language is responsible for oppression of women or minorities is ludicrous: efforts for reform must be focused elsewhere.

Another area to which the *Tory* continually returns is abortion. In the past decade, the *Tory* has published nine articles condemning abortion without once repeating itself. Each writer brings new insight to this issue, finding new reasons to oppose abortion. Arguments have included the stock statements of religious or scientific proof that life begins at conception. When departing from such familiar ground, writers have had to rely more on the strength of their reasoning than on tradition.

In volume six, Mary Meaney offered a new approach to the abor-

tion question. Rather than examining the morality of the act itself, which is eternally debatable, she turned to the effects. Looking beyond the individual act, Meaney saw the social repercussions of widespread abortion—eugenics. Citing statistics from around the world, Meaney demonstrated how legalization of abortion and social pressures might, quite possibly, lead to a resurrection of Nazi ideals. When the society as a whole ceases to allow "undesirables" to be born, the concept of a "master race" is suddenly not very far off. Fearing the evil of such genetic pruning, Meaney sought to eradicate the problem at its root by banning abortion.

Two volumes later, Danielle Allen developed another feminist critique of abortion. She looked around and saw many feminist organizations fighting so that women's will and power to decide to be

recognized. Everywhere, women combated the stereotype of the flitty woman who lacks conviction and the will-power to abide by her decision. But Allen perceived a great hypocrisy in the feminist agenda: abortion, which feminists advocate, is the ultimate form of indecision. Women, Allen argues, make a commitment when they choose to become pregnant, and they tacitly assume responsibility for this decision. Advocating and even encouraging abortions sug-

gest that women do not have the mental capacities to make a worthy decision; they must always keep a back door open so they can retreat vacillating. Allen rejects abortion because it refutes women's ability to make an unequivocal decision.

[...]

In contrast to the many different approaches to one problem, the *Tory* has also offered the same solution to the same problem several times. Dealing with campus issues, morality and philosophy fade from the spotlight. Instead, the problems are of a more practical and material nature. For example, the *Tory* has repeatedly censured the University Student Government for ineffectiveness, misguided expenditures, and corruption. Despite the clear explanations of the USG's faults, no changes have occurred. Nine years ago, the *Tory* devoted an article to illuminating the USG's misguided attempts to improve student life. Clearly, the members of the student government did not take the time to peruse this article, for similar articles appear each year thereafter. But writers at the *Tory* have not lost hope. In the last issue, Maynard continued the sad reproaches. Though the *Tory* had resigned itself to bringing the old litany of charges to light, this year the faults wore a different face. For example, in the past, the USG was attacked for not representing the student body to the administration on the issue of co-ed clubs. This year, Maynard accused the USG of not only misunderstanding the students' views on the proposed student center, but also of acting unethically. Will repetition rectify these faults?

The USG members are not the only ones to disregard the *Tory*; for years, this journal has been declaiming the problems of the excessive drinking which occurs in the eating clubs. In past issues, writers have speculated about the motivations for so many students drinking themselves into McCosh each year. In 1988, Tom Cuniff compared The Street to Russian roulette. With this deadly metaphor, he attempted to scare readers into moderation.

[...]

Later writers, taking up his encouragement of moderation, ad-

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# THE SILVER ANNIVERSARY

## WHY MORALITY HAS ALWAYS MATTERED (AND ALWAYS WILL)

Brandon McGinley '10

vocated drinking, but not to extremes. In one article, *The Princetonian* was condemned for its coverage of initiations. The daily paper focused on violations of the twenty-one drinking law. With this standard, reporters attacked equally clubs that had sent initiates to McCosh and those who had responsibly mandated moderation. The *Tory* sought to distinguish between breaking the law and acting irresponsibly, perhaps a line of morality too fine for the daily paper. Accepting that college students drink, this journal tried to temper their actions by appealing to Princetonians' sense to encourage them to act moderately. To achieve this moderation, the *Tory* praised those clubs which had responsible alcohol policies, regardless of the age of the drinkers, and reproached those which advocated immoderate inebriation, even if the culprit was twenty-one.

This policy of urging moderation led to further articles which examined the role of drinking at Princeton. Several different writers agreed that lowering the drinking age would actually help the situation. One writer suggested that the age be chosen so that all college students fall on one side or the other of the line. In this way, he hoped to unite the campus with either less drinking or responsible attitudes toward drinking. Another writer suggested that the age be lowered to remove the allure of breaking the law. Another writer, as well, moved for the alteration of the drinking age. He argued that, if all Princetonians could drink in the Student Center and in town bars, the clubs would lose their importance as centers for alcoholism. In bars, the price of beer would force moderation. In the clubs, the excitement would be gone, and so students would act more rationally and temper themselves willingly. Despite the *Tory's* continued efforts to propagate moderation, Princeton students still drink themselves into oblivion weekly.

Although the good results of the *Tory's* suggestions on various issues, from race relations to drinking to sex education, may not land on the front page of the *Prince*, the *Tory* has still fulfilled its purpose. It has helped Princeton students organize their thoughts into coherent articles available for others to view and ponder. *Tory* writers can rest happily for they know that the campus monthly receives the journal and cannot help responding to the provocative articles contained within. ■

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I have argued, in a previous edition of this segment ("The Blank Slate," December 2008), that the future of the national conservative movement will be decided to a large degree in America's universities – institutions like Princeton. The *Tory* has been both an integral part of and a perceptive commenter on the conservative movement at this university for the last 25 years. The occasion of this commemorative issue and the reprinting of some classic *Tory* articles provide a great opportunity to examine the past and the future of Princeton's conservative cadre through the perceptive lens of this publication.

The classic commentaries presented in this issue, hailing from the first and tenth volumes of the *Tory*, are like intellectual time capsules, providing views of Princeton conservatism at two moments in time. Furthermore, however, these articles are part of an ongoing conservative narrative on this and other campuses, a narrative to which the *Tory* has borne witness for two and a half decades. These moments in time do not and cannot stand isolated; they both require and provide context, a context which we, as the modern conservative movement at Princeton, are living.

One of these moments in time is, indeed, today. And today's issue of the *Tory* contains another insightful commentary, another intellectual time capsule, in the article "The Importance of Social Conservatism" by Bobby Marsland '11. In arguing that the cultural side of the conservative movement, particularly opposition to abortion and same-sex marriage, is both demanded by conservative principles and vital to conservative success, Marsland represents one strand of Princeton conservatism, a stand which I contend is currently dominant, at least in its influence on campus political

debate. But has it always been this way?

A first glance strongly suggests that this focus on social conservatism is a new phenomenon. I often tell interested people that collegiate conservatives tend to be more passionate and active in the realm of social issues because these are the concerns that bear most directly on our lives as students. We are neither tangibly affected by nor can possibly hope to influence decisions of an economic or foreign policy nature. On the other hand, we find ourselves living every day in a culture steeped in the libertinism of the countercultural era. It is tangible to every college student; it effects our social perceptions and lifestyles; and, because of its immediateness, campus activism promises at least the potential to effect change.

And yet, roughly 25 years ago, Daniel Polisar '87 wrote of Princeton conservative culture that "it is not the New Right agenda, with its emphasis on social retrenchment, that has won the allegiance of campus conservatives today. The issues most salient to students lie instead in the areas of economics and foreign policy." This statement is so strikingly different from today's campus conservatism as to be startling. We see through Polisar's work a far more policy-oriented conservatism than that which invigorates campus debate today. This is not to say that such issues do not interest modern Princeton conservatives; rather they are incidental to a movement which is driven by and finds purpose in cultural issues.

Polisar describes a conservatism which is most comfortable in the Woodrow Wilson School and the Department of Economics, whereas today's movement finds its home in the departments of Politics, Philosophy, and Classics. Polisar's conservatism takes its cues from Friedman, Rand, and Buckley whereas the current movement finds sustenance in Aristotle, Aquinas, and,

## LAST WORD

well, Buckley as well. Despite this apparent shift in focus, the fundamental nature of Princeton conservatism may not have shifted as drastically as it might seem.

Polisar credited part of the resurgence of collegiate conservatism in his era on a willingness “to meet objections on moral grounds.” Although it engaged liberalism on different intellectual battlefields than today, this older generation of campus conservatives was shifting the terms of the debate towards a discussion

of values and first principles, presaging the moral philosophical focus of today’s social conservative movement. Indeed, Bobby Marsland’s definition of conservatism proposed in this issue of the *Tory*, that “the state exists to allow individuals to flourish through free and responsible activity,” can be seen as the ultimate fulfillment of the conservative project in moral thinking explained 25 years earlier in the pages of the same publication.

Furthermore, an examination of Alexander Sherman ‘97’s article on the tenth anniversary of the *Tory* suggests that Polisar’s analysis of the motivations behind campus conservatism was flawed, or at least had been quickly overtaken by time. A significant portion of Sherman’s synopsis of ten years of *Tory* writings is dedicated to precisely those culturally conservative issues which Marsland identifies as so important to the movement. The *Tory*, despite its name, which suggests a more genteel libertarianism, has traditionally presented a consistently strong front in opposition to abortion and in favor of traditional sexual ethics. It is fascinating that only fifteen years ago the *Tory* proudly trumpeted its pro-abstinence stance, a position which today attracts ridicule and scorn to the only secular campus organization which explicitly advocates for such values – the Anscombe Society.

Princeton conservatism, it seems then, has always been to a large degree preoccupied with issues of morality, and in particular with those issues that we



What’s next for the *Tory* and conservatism on campus? Expect more moral discourse.

today identify with the clichéd “culture war.” Peering through the lens of the *Tory*, Princeton has been, at least for the past 25 years, an intellectual haven for a particular sort of conservative. In the vernacular, we could dub this type “culture warriors,” but this shortchanges them. Princeton conservatism, as exemplified by the history of this magazine, has been and continues to be motivated by a desire to bring the full intellectual force of the academy to bear in defense of those moral values which are considered “traditional.”

As 25 years have passed since the *Tory* first went to print, these moral values have been increasingly under siege both inside and outside of the academy. At the time of the founding of this publication, issues of society and culture were subordinated to the more interesting policy discussions of the era. Over time the salience of those cultural issues which are related most closely to traditional moral values has increased at an exponential rate, and so the intellectual force of campus conservatism has been increasingly focused in that direction. Any serious analysis of Princeton conservatism would be incomplete, of course, without noting the influence of Professor Robert George on this recommitment to a full-bodied intellectual defense of traditional values.

And so, despite the differences apparent in Daniel Polisar’s account of campus conservatism in the first volume of the *Tory*, we can see in its pages the seeds of today’s deeply moral, deeply philosophical,

deeply cultural conservatism. The motivations of individual conservative students have changed with the times, from Reagan’s 1980s to the age of Obama, but the desire to construct a thoroughly intellectual, thoroughly moral conservatism with the tools provided and required by the academy – ideas and arguments – has remained constant and will always set Princeton conservatism apart from its collegiate counterparts. It is indeed this aspect of the *Tory*’s personality that prompted Dinesh D’Souza in 1986 to

label it “too cerebral” – a moniker that the *Tory* holds with pride to this day.

This commemorative issue of the *Tory* has afforded us, as the modern conservative movement at Princeton, an engaging opportunity to look back at our political and intellectual lineage. What we discover is that Princeton conservatism has always been uniquely motivated by moral concerns, by a desire to apply distinctly moral thinking to the most significant issues of our time. That this approach has not been discarded, but has been solidified over time is a sign of its salience, of its success, and of the fact that the *Tory*, arm in arm with its counterparts in the conservative community at Princeton, continues to make true progress towards a more perfect society, one which remembers the moral foundations on which it is constructed. **P**

**Brandon McGinley** is a junior majoring in Politics from Pittsburgh, PA. He is Editor-in-Chief for the *Tory*.

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and friends! JOIN US!*

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