

THE *TORY* SALUTES THE CLASS OF 2003

April - May 2003

PRINCETON *TORY*

On the legacy of Dean
Fred Hargadon, and
the administration
trying to rewrite it...

- BRAD SIMMONS '03

Stacking the Deck

PLUS: JENN CARTER '03 on the Emptiness of "The Princeton Experience"
PETE HEGSETH '03 on Victory in Iraq
DANIEL MARK '03 on Abortion, Slavery, and the Democratic Party
And much more!

THE PRINCETON TORY

April - May 2003
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Notes from the Publisher

Amoebas on the Slide

Engineering is everywhere you look at Princeton. No, I'm not just talking about my department, ORFE, or the E-Quad. I'm referring to social engineering.

The racial "diversity" of the entering class is engineered to some arbitrarily-designated optimal ratio. The life of the athlete is engineered to some quota of practice and, well, anything-but-practice. The bounds of acceptable campus speech and religious practice are engineered to a non-offensive beige by a gauntlet of advisers, peer educators, and deans.

What's scary about this social engineering is not its current level of control but the conclusion that this engineering is increasing, a conclusion made inevitable by recent events. Some examples are ones with which you may be familiar: Tilghman's athletics moratorium and amicus brief, and the Bush-bashing fest sponsored by the Wilson School. I hope you'll read this issue and find more examples, from Murray-Dodge to the Office of Admissions to a subjective and multiculturalist curriculum. If the performance of the current administration is any indication of the future, this social engineering will only increase.

For example, extending the residential college system to six colleges and four years increases bureaucracy, tightens administrative supervision, and diminishes the importance, indeed, the possibility, of voluntary associations.

It's no wonder liberal administrations from Wilson to Tilghman have tried to marginalize voluntary associations like fraternities and eating clubs: these free associations are beyond their engineering capacity. These groups are often portrayed as "elitist." Far from it. Rather, they are the few groups humble enough to take a reasoned and democratic approach to self-organization rather than presuming the God-like wisdom and power necessary for social engineering.

This engineering fits nicely with the impressive academic credentials of the University's current President. Capable of manipulating life at the most basic, subcellular level, it is no surprise that her pipette is now extended into our particular colony. We are specimens in the tank; we are amoebas on the slide.

As conservatives, we realize that this engineering is an affront to the dignity of the individual, who, by intrinsic value and achieved merit, deserves to be more than just a science experiment.

In this spirit, I'd like to salute four of the finest individuals I know, Pete Hegseth, Brad Simmons, Jenn Carter, and Deb Brundage. You have my deepest respect, warmest regards, and best wishes. Together, you represent a great Class and a great generation of warriors, investors, lawyers, and builders that will achieve much for our great nation.

John Andrews
jandrews@princeton.edu



HAVE AN OPINION ABOUT THE TORY?

Send Letters to the Editor to:
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Letters need not be in response to articles; the Editors welcome letters on all subjects.

THE PRINCETON TORY

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Jurgen Reinhoudt '06



COVER STORY

Finding Fred Hargadon

A look at the career and legacy of Dean Hargadon, a dubious scandal and an uncertain future for the University.

Brad Simmons '03

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Approval Ratings

A Presidential Comparison

Shirley M. Tilghman

President of Princeton University

33%

Daily Princetonian
poll, April 7



George W. Bush

President of the United States of America

71%

Wall Street Journal/
NBC poll, April 13



BEMOANING PLIGHT OF JANITORS, AFFLUENCE OF *TORY* EDITORS

Dearest Tory,

Two things. Number 1: Why is it that you never accused Hal Shapiro and all of his male predecessors of "sexist administrative appointments" when they appointed only males to all of the administrative positions? The fact that you immediately assume that the only reason these extremely qualified women got their jobs is because they're women is what is sexist.

Number 2: I would just LOVE to see all of you try to support yourselves on a Princeton University/Yale University janitor's salary for a year. WithOUT any help from Mommy and Daddy. 30% of all unionized Princeton University employees have to hold down another job in addition to working full time for the university. (Imagine having to work for 12 hours or more every day just to be able to support yourself. And no, you don't get days off when you're scraping to survive.) 30% of all workers do not earn enough money to make ends meet and 38% earn "just enough." 62% of employees are the primary wage earners for their families. When you work full time, you should be able to support yourself. And when you can't, that is unjust.

Now, I understand that working for Princeton is a much better job than working for McDonald's, or something like it, but that does not change the fact that our workers are suffering. I know I will not be able to convince you that our workers should be paid more, but I would like to try to convince you to change your attitudes toward the workers. Instead of self-righteously assuming that they are complaining for nothing and are better off than most, please acknowledge that their circumstances are very difficult...

The problem with many rich Americans (including you), is that they tend to see the poor as the enemy. They assume that their poverty is their own fault, caused by laziness instead of by unfortunate circumstances...

Thanks,
Sarah Rivlin '03

Dearest Tory responds:

Dear Sarah,

As to your first point: It's completely untrue that Shapiro and predecessors appointed "only males to all of the administrative appointments." As an '03, can you remember seeing no female administrators your freshman or sophomore years?

We won't confuse you with statistics, considering your current track record. Suffice it to say that if the majority of

qualified applicants is male, accusations of sexism based solely on a male majority of appointments fall flat.

Here's the difference. Tilghman has declared her intention to appoint women qua women to administrative positions, and her appointments have been consistent with this ideology. That is, she's making gender a factor in her appointments. That is sexism. That is unjust.

Now, to your second point: We won't get started on the suspect nature of statistics taken by a student organization with a vested interest in the outcome and based on a survey given only to unionized employees and on company time, motivated by the possibility of more pay.

What I'd like to focus on is the basic economic argument against raising the lowest possible price of labor.

We've imagined with you what it must be like to be a janitor. Now, please imagine what it's like to be unemployed. It's much, much worse.

If you raise Princeton's minimum wage, then the demand for minimum-wage labor decreases. The University can then hire fewer workers, and fewer employment opportunities exist. More people are miserable.

A more economically sound idea would be to create a bonus system which rewards productivity. But WROC opposes holding workers to standards of accountability -- well, concerning their productivity if not their complaints.

Finally, I'm not rich; I live (and was raised) in Oliver Springs, Tennessee, and there are pigs, chickens, and destitute people in trailers on my road.

One reason I'm a conservative is that I know that wealth-creating, free-market capitalism is the better way to help the poor, both in my home state and in Princeton, New Jersey. It's not a question of attitude. It's a matter of economics.

Cordially,
John Andrews '05

A LETTER FROM "MISTER ROGERS"

Dear Princeton Tory,

It is a beautiful day in my neighborhood, thanks to your thoughtful staff. I can't express enough my gratitude for the lovely tribute to me in your March 2003 issue. Not only was it high praise from a respectable source, but you had the courtesy and tact to make it an item in your "Rant" section, your sarcastic and biting diatribe against everything you hate on campus and in the country. Sandwiched between a dismissive criticism of Professors Paul Krugman and Stephen Marglin and a condescending jab at OWL and campus liberals, I couldn't ask for more suitable treatment by your editorial staff. Thank you for giving my memory the respect it deserves.

Nothing could make me happier than looking down from this Beautiful Neighborhood above and seeing my legacy praised and preserved by such a worthy heir. I mean, if anyone embodies my lessons of “compassion and generosity,” it’s you, *Tory*. Like you, I too consider war protesters with disdain, since they are lazy and stoned most of the time. And yes, let’s do hope the miracle of life will “knock some sense into NARAL’s” Sarah Love, because if it doesn’t, then I’ll come down there and do it myself. Sometimes to be a good neighbor you have to get your hands dirty—I’m sure you of all people know what I mean. Right on with your jab at Jesse Jackson too—not only is he “irrelevant,” but what does he know about compassion and generosity? I wouldn’t want to be *his* neighbor, I’ll tell you that much. And good move on that Pat Robertson point—way to praise Whig-Clio for sticking by their controversial speaker while elsewhere in your magazine criticizing Princeton for sticking by their controversial appointment of Peter Singer. And as for “fantasy, orgasm, and pleasure”—all that wacky OWL nonsense—suffice it to say those are three sure factors for decidedly *unfriendly* neighbors. You start giving women ideas like that, and then see what happens to your neighborhood. Women will start demanding careers, equal pay for equal work—and then what’s next, the right to vote?

The Mr. Rogers legacy is alive and well on this campus, and I have you, the staff of the *Tory*, to thank for it. I can’t imagine a better, more compassionate, more generous neighbor than you.

Your eternal neighbor,
Fred Rogers
Neighborhood in the Sky
[a.k.a. David Segal ’03]

The Tory responds:

Dear David,

You’re absolutely right. We’ll never say anything nice about anybody ever again.

THE RELIGION OF PEACE

Re: the article on Islam and terrorism by Ira Leeds and Powell Fraser, here is a view on terrorism from Islam’s competition in Palestine. “Neither Jewish ethics nor Jewish tradition can disqualify terrorism as a means of combat...

First and foremost, terrorism is for us part of the political battle being conducted under the present circumstances... and it has a great part to play... in our war against the occupier.” [sic] They were written in 1943 by Yitzhak Shamir, later Prime Minister of Israel. (See pages 485-6 in Noam Chomsky’s *Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*.)

Sincerely yours,
Charles W. McCutchen ’50



Jonah Goldberg, National Review

To the Editor:

With regard to The Religion of Peace by Ira Leeds and Powell Fraser ’06, when was the last time they read the Torah? It makes the Koran look like the Boy Scout manual. Israel Shamir, the Israeli writer, points out that the Torah is God’s permission to Moses to engage in genocide and ethnic cleansing, so He can give Canaan to the Hebrew tribes.

The great Jewish sage, Maimonides, argued that the Torah was entirely metaphorical. He served as court physician to Saladin in Egypt, where he wrote his greatest works, including The Mishna Torah and The Guide to the Perplexed, in which he interpreted Jewish tradition in Aristotelian terms.

The problem with Islam is not the Koran, which is basically a poem and a work of art. It is that Suleiman the Magnificent, the Sultan of the Ottoman empire, closed the gate of interpretation to the Koran in the Fifteenth Century, engendering a fundamentalist approach to Islam’s text. Fundamentalism is the enemy of civilization. Religious texts must be historized and interpreted, something Leeds and Fraser fail to comprehend. We have Christian fundamentalists in this country who have done things like blow up the federal building in Oklahoma City. Other fundamentalist Christians, as members of the KKK, lynched countless black people because they believed it to be their Christian duty...

If you are going to be Tories, then you should be above such things as petty suburban prejudices. When I was at Princeton, there was so much anti-Semitism it was practically a Hitler youth camp. To see the same kind of bigotry directed against Moslems is deeply disappointing...

Richard Cummings ’59

[Mr. Cummings is a contributor to *The American Conservative* and *LewRockwell.com*.]



THE RANT

- So much for the free exercise of religion. Princeton's own Office of Religious Life closed the doors of Murray-Dodge to a visiting preacher who wanted to pray with a small group of students. Murray-Dodge is open to all the religious groups that meet Dean Breidenthal's standard of political correctness, but Rev. Pat Robertson's group was deemed "offensive" and shut out. Providentially, the cast of "Bums and Monkeys" next door welcomed Robertson and students to pray in Theatre~Intime. We know who the *real* monkey is here, and he should do Princeton a favor and resign.
- "Yes means yes and no means no, whatever we wear, wherever we go." Wrong. While our hearts go out to victims of sexual violence, Take Back the Night misses the point. Shouted slogans, victims' testimonies, and purple ribbons fail to confront the reality of the sexual climate on campus. If Take Back the Nighters are serious about changing that climate at Princeton, we're all going to have to make some real changes in our own lives. What we wear, what we drink, how we talk — let's stop pretending that these things don't matter and start to take responsibility.
- An arrest has been made in the case of the Christmas Eve 2002 disappearance of a pregnant California woman. Laci Peterson's body and the body of her unborn son Connor recently washed up near San Francisco, and her husband Scott now faces the death penalty. We cannot help but notice the tragic contradiction in California law that this case highlights. Scott Peterson is being charged with a double homicide for the murder of a pregnant woman resulting in the death of her child. But had Connor Peterson been killed by, say, a doctor performing an abortion on that same day, he would have had no chance at justice under California law. We pray for all those involved in this case and hope that justice will be served where it is due.
- *Daily Princetonian*, March 4, 1983: "The Women's Center met last night to plan protests against Whig-Clio's March 26 showing of *Debbie Does Dallas*, an X-rated film..." Shelley Rigger '84 of the Women's Center tells reporters at the time: "I think that porn shows profound disrespect and disregard for the rights and feelings of women... The message of pornography tends to be that it is legitimate to treat women brutally."
- Daily Princetonian*, February 11, 2003: "After a turbulent day in the face of inclement weather and planned protests, [the Organization for Women Leaders] yesterday postponed its 'pleasure seminar' featuring Cake, an entertainment company 'devoted to the promotion of female sexual culture,' which was originally set to take place at 8 P.M. in the Whig senate chamber... The co-founders of Cake... had contacted OWL and arranged a discussion on sexual fantasy, orgasm and pleasure."
- Same senate chamber, same filth, same outcome. In two decades, the only difference is that the real feminists have neither a wealthy, university-recognized student group nor, it now seems, a voice in the Women's Center.
- Whether President Tilghman has truly been "blind" to gender in her appointments, most can agree that three of her four prominent female appointees are near of the top of their respective fields. Most insiders agree that it's the fourth, Dean of the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences Maria Klawe, who is suspect. Klawe, if you remember, said publicly: "I have an unusual background for a dean of engineering because I'm not an engineer." This is like English Department Chair Michael Wood telling students: "Soy único porque no hablo inglés." We could be wrong on this, but from numerous conversations with engineering students, there's a lot of reporting to be done here. Don't we have a "newspaper" on campus for this kind of stuff?
- We at the Tory are firm believers in informed democracy, yet recent election practices show the Undergraduate Student Government (USG) feels differently. In the days prior to the recent election, nowhere on the USG site could one find a list of the candidates running, let alone a statement or photograph. True, such information appeared the night of

the actual election; yet imagine if this happened in any official municipal, state or federal election, no voter information released until the polls open! This only makes the election even more a popularity contest, and gives the advantage to those who send out more unsolicited emails or more effectively blanket the campus in neon election fliers. Furthermore, in this time of unbridled political activity by the USG, we question the complete lack of discussion of political views of each candidate, a topic quite relevant to the selection of leaders who claim to speak for us.

- And you thought the *right*-wing conspiracy was vast. Captured Iraqi documents, according to London newspapers, prove three crucial transactions: between Paris and Baghdad, Baghdad and al-Qaeda, and Baghdad and Whitehall. They prove that the French government shared the contents of private diplomatic meetings and correspondence (including Bush's post-September 11 meeting with Chirac) with Baghdad and that Hussein's intelligence service communicated with bin Laden and invited him to Baghdad. Finally, they report that Labour MP George Galloway, perhaps the most vocal critic of Tony Blair and Gulf War II, received \$10 million over nine years from the Iraqi Foreign Ministry and is now under investigation. Sometimes, but only sometimes

(note well, no-blood-for-oilers) the conspiracy theorists are right.

- 1,600 selected Princeton students were asked to take a survey on "The Princeton Experience." Question number 24: "For analysis purposes, it would help us to know your sexual orientation. Please click a button below that reflects your self-identification." Choice A: "I identify myself as gay, lesbian, or bisexual." B: "I do not identify myself as gay, lesbian, or bisexual." And finally C: "I decline to respond or neither of the above fit." So, at Princeton these days, we're all either "gay" or "not gay" – homosexuality is a positive, "diverse," quality that straights, like whites, lack. Were the administration not preoccupied with pandering to the fringe, maybe it wouldn't need such surveys in the first place.
- The president of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) has requested in her will that her corpse be barbecued. Ingrid Newkirk also asks that her skin be made into leather and her liver into *foie gras*, a move she hopes will raise awareness of animal cruelty. Roasting the left (figuratively) is good fun, but when it comes to cannibalism, we'll pass...



- Compiled by the Editors

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SLAVERY, ABORTION, AND THE DEATH OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Daniel Mark '03

With the “laser-like mind of a philosopher and the cadence of a poet,” Abraham Lincoln simultaneously smashed a major political party and Stephen Douglas’s presidential hopes.¹ In a series of debates culminating in Alton, Illinois, Lincoln exposed Douglas’s position as untenable both to the slave-holding South and the free states of the North. To the North, he demonstrated that Douglas’s views could not be reconciled with the North’s efforts to contain slavery to the slave states. To the South, Lincoln showed, famously, “there is not such an Abolitionist in the nation as Douglas, after all.”² Crucially, Lincoln’s political acumen was rooted in his moral clarity. Drawing on this clarity, he did far more than split the party along its fault lines, ensuring Douglas’s defeat. In identifying the irreconcilability of the Democratic platform with the principles of the American republic, he catalyzed the dissolution of the Democratic Party itself. Today, nearly a century and a half later, that occurrence is poised to repeat itself.

The centerpiece of Douglas’s position on slavery was popular sovereignty—“each State having the right to prohibit, abolish, or sustain slavery, just as it pleases.”³ In other words, it mattered not whether or not a polity chose slavery so long as it was free to make the choice.⁴ In our day, Douglas might have compared the issue to speed limits, arguing that it is of no moral moment whether people may drive fifty-five or sixty-five miles per hour on the New Jersey Turnpike as long as the citizens of New Jersey get to decide. Easily recognizing the flaw in Douglas’s argument, Lincoln knew that freedom from bondage, an intrinsic good, is unlike the freedom to drive at high speeds, merely a

conditional good whose goodness depends on a cost-benefit analysis of the consequences of driving at that speed. The comparison to speed limits is instructive in illustrating Douglas’s understanding of the question of slavery as an amoral one. As in Lincoln’s timeless reminder, no one may have a right to do a wrong. Nor may people be restrained from doing that which is their right. Accordingly, a champion of popular sovereignty, Douglas had to maintain that



slavery, like a particular speed limit, was neither right nor wrong. Only in this way could he profess the right of a territory’s people to vote slavery either up or down. Although this does not prove the wrongness of defending slavery, it does show that Douglas was not truly neutral on the question of slavery; he considered slavery to be “not wrong.”

Inevitably, Douglas’s opinion discomfited both the North and the South, the former which wanted to keep slaves from territories regardless of popular sentiment and the latter which wanted just the opposite. Yet if Douglas found himself stretched thin before 1857, then his career began to truly unravel with the notorious *Dred Scott* decision.

In *Dred Scott*, Chief Justice Roger Taney, speaking for the Court, pronounced that people could not be dispossessed of their property, including slaves, when they moved to the territories from the states. This created quite a conundrum for Douglas. On one hand, he had to support the decision for the sake of his Southern base. On the other hand, *Dred Scott* pulled the rug out from under Douglas’s popular sovereignty thesis because it meant that a majority could not prohibit slavery from a territory. Though Taney’s decision applied explicitly only to the territories, Lincoln readily observed that the logic of the decision would carry it over to the states. If slave-holding were a constitutional right, as the Court opined, then the exercise of that right could not be prohibited anywhere in the country. Such a conclusion made Douglas unacceptable to the North.

With Northern support waning, Douglas attempted to minimize the *Dred Scott*’s implications. To do so, he posited that the residents of a territory had the power to combat slavery through so-called unfriendly legislation, meaning laws that effectively eliminated slavery in that territory. Yet if there were, as Taney said, a constitutional right to hold slaves as property, then surely a majority could not contravene that right through unfriendly legislation. And if majorities could circumscribe constitutional rights through unfriendly legislation, then the free states of the North could refuse to return runaways as the Fugitive Slave Clause of the Constitution demanded. The South cared deeply about its constitutional right to recover fugitive slaves, but if Douglas was correct about unfriendly legislation, then Lincoln was also correct that Douglas’s argument for undermining constitutional rights in the territories endangered all constitutional protections for slavery. That conclusion made Douglas unacceptable to the South.

Douglas’s candidacy imploded

precisely because in his flailing he perverted the logic of the law. The law derives its authority from the logic of morals; that is, the law may prohibit actions that ought not to be done. If it were morally wrong to own slaves, then the law could prohibit or at least punish slave-ownership.⁵ Or, if there were a right to own slaves, then the law could not justly rescind that right. In order to straddle both sides, Douglas had to posit both a right to slavery and right to interfere with slavery through unfriendly legislation. Nevertheless, if it were a question of rights, then it could not be in the hands of popular sovereignty. In that way, he divorced the logic of the law from the logic of morals.

Even before *Dred Scott*, Douglas and the Democratic Party teetered dangerously at the edge of a steep precipice. *Dred Scott* merely exposed the contradictions inherent in their position. The Democratic Party was doomed because it stood at odds with the fundamental premises of the American regime. As Harry Jaffa demonstrates forcibly in *A New Birth of Freedom*, American independence was predicated upon a right of self-government. That right to self-rule and freedom from tyranny, in turn, rested upon human equality, namely a rejection of claims of inherent authority to rule over others. In violating that principle of equality, slavery was irreconcilable with republicanism. Just as a free people may not rightly vote to abandon democracy, major political parties must eventually be reconciled to the foundation of the regime, either through change in the party or change in the regime. For example, a democratic party in a totalitarian regime must either remain powerless or seek power by undemocratic means. So too, a totalitarian party in a democratic regime must: remain powerless, seek power by democratic means (the totalitarian party ceases to exist), or seize power by force (the democratic regime ceases to exist). When a party and a regime embody diametrically opposed principles, only one can survive. Slavery and secession threatened the survival of the republic. The question of whether the pro-slavery party or the anti-slavery regime would survive was the question to which Lincoln addressed himself in his speech on the crisis of a

house divided: "I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."⁶

The current abortion debate parallels the slavery debate of Lincoln's generation. With the 2002 Born Alive Infants Protection Act and the upcoming partial-birth abortion bill, President George W. Bush and Republicans have begun to bring the untenable pro-abortion position to center stage. The new laws, which restrict only the rarest and most horrifying forms of feticide (and infanticide), divide the ideological pro-abortion apologists from the more moderate libertarian-type voters who prefer to limited abortion. This division recalls the eventual separation of the slave-holding Southern Democrats from the live-



and-let-live Northern Democrats. When Congress considered the Born Alive Act, many Democrats wished to see it pass quietly while activists groups like NARAL raised the alarm. NARAL comprehended that the bill, like a ban on slavery in the territories, advanced principles and policies that closed the window on the immoral positive law supporting abortion. In contrast, most Democratic strategists worried that opposing the Born-Alive Act and a partial-birth abortion ban at the behest of the radical left would drive moderate liberals from the party. This fracturing of the party forced politicians to choose between gratifying the grassroots activists who often decide

primary contests and maintaining the wide base that enables victory in general elections.

Moreover, the pro-abortion position unifies a party that increasingly comprises diverse special interest groups. If so, the abortion issue may finally be the wedge that comes between the party and its solidly supportive black constituency, which is consistently more religious and more anti-abortion than its white counterpart. The loss of minority backing would prove devastating to the Democratic Party.

Fundamentally, the fatal flaw in the Democratic position resembles that of the party's antebellum predecessor. At its core, the pro-abortion stance contradicts the principle of human equality that is the basis of republican government. As human beings, fetuses possess a natural right to equality. Denying their equality is to deny nature as the basis of equality and, in turn, to deny the premises of self-government, which ultimately rely on natural equality. Thus, a party that denies the truth of human equality also denies the basis of the American regime. Perhaps once again the house will not fall but will cease to be divided.



Endnotes:

¹ Hadley Arkes, lecture, 13 February 2003.

² *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*, Robert Johannsen, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 322.

³ *Ibid.*, 288.

⁴ Lincoln did not dispute the constitutional right of a state to choose slavery, yet he wanted to see the federal government keep slavery out of the territories so as to limit the support for slavery in those regions when they became states.

⁵ The logic of morals does not establish the wrongness of slavery but the wrongness of prohibiting the exercise of rights.

⁶ Johannsen 309.

Daniel Mark '03 is a Politics major from Englewood, New Jersey. Next year, he hopes to become a high school teacher in New York City.



FINDING FRED HARGADON

A Tale of Prudence, Longevity, and Scandal

Brad Simmons '03

Fred Hargadon is no conservative. From the criticisms of this longstanding dean of admissions, though, one might mistake him for Senator Trent Lott.

Posters protesting the announcement that he will deliver this year's Baccalaureate address read: "Why Hargadon? Accountability Now." A *Daily Princetonian* staff editorial about the same issue suggested that Hargadon is "not the best possible choice" for the event, owing in part to the "cloud over" his term. A number of students privately discussed Hargadon's regrettable association with the "old boys" club. In a scathing op-ed titled "What are we really saying 'Yes' to?", a campus gay rights activist wrote that "Hargadon does not represent the values that we as a community should be respecting and promoting."

That one of the most experienced and nationally revered university administrators has been conflated with Princeton's "old guard" – and that such an association is immediately suspect – suggests much about the state of the university. Primarily, it suggests a need to reexamine the history of Dean Hargadon's term in West College. But more than that, it reminds us of the interest many Princeton activists have in continually redefining the institutional history of the University.

As unsparing condemnation of Princeton's traditions and culture has reached its apex with the arrival of a new president (and the first not to receive a degree from Princeton since the antebellum period), the time is ripe for this debate. And, if the topic is Princeton's history, then the twilight of Hargadon's career is the right place to begin. When a public advocate for women and racial

minorities in the admissions process is slowly transformed into a conservative bogeyman, something is amiss. First, a look backward – at Hargadon's arrival, his operating procedure, his national reputation, his role on Princeton's campus, and his mishaps. Then, a look forward – at President Tilghman's arrival, Hargadon's departure, and an appropriate lens through which to view his legacy.

"No Strings Attached"

Take the current emphasis on multiculturalism, race, and gender at Princeton and amplify it about three times: this is a fair approximation of the University's climate in 1988.

A brief summation of the time: University of Michigan president and economist Harold Shapiro had recently succeeded the highly-regarded William Bowen in Nassau Hall; having been admitted for less than two decades, women comprised only 40 percent of the student body; and, though a variety of issues showed up on the campus radar from year to year, the headlines of the *Daily Princetonian* were reliably race- and gender-related.

Enter President Shapiro's most prominent appointee, a former Swarthmore and Stanford admissions dean with no prior affiliation to the Princeton community. Shapiro told *Prince* reporters that the newly-appointed Hargadon could use his clout on the college admissions scene to modify Princeton's often-unwelcoming image. Hargadon, never one to mince words, even told reporters that his major goals revolved around "the recruitment of women and minorities, an area in which Princeton has encountered difficulties recently." By making the admissions office more visible and revamping its informational brochures, Hargadon hoped to tear down its "lingering image" as "a

predominantly white male school." The new dean declared in the fall of 1988: "I think in everything we do we need to let women know they are as welcome at Princeton as everybody else."

Like it or not, Hargadon was a hired gun who aimed to make Princeton a more "progressive" community.

Operating Procedure

Tell-all books about admissions at Duke, Wesleyan and other selective colleges give the impression that committee-based decisions are the norm in admissions offices. Readers are told that the "tough cases" are decided through passionate rhetorical exchanges, as admissions officers fight and negotiate over the fates of their favorite applicants.

Not so at Princeton. Fearing that, with committees, the outcome of students' applications will hinge on the



Read 'em and weep: The agenda behind

oratorical abilities of their advocates, Dean Hargadon emphasizes thoughtful written communication. If comments about a particular applicant diverge widely, Hargadon makes the final call. This has the effect of creating more hierarchy than might be expected in an admissions office receiving well over 10,000 applications annually. Former admissions officer Rachel Cederberg reveals the practical result: "He closets himself in an office for three weeks before the notification deadline." This lends some credence to the widespread campus half-truth that Hargadon knows every undergraduate by name, for, as Cederberg says, "he takes personal responsibility for every decision."

From here, another laudable attribute of the Hargadon system reveals itself: treatment of each applicant, no matter his or her background, as a complex individual deserving special consideration. A candidate for admission to a top university, from this perspective, is not simply a "middle-class swimmer with good grades" or "a Puerto Rican girl with a terrific SAT verbal." All of that, though crucial, risks missing the larger picture. The combination of recommendations, activities, biographical and demographic information, academic promise, and per-

sonal statements creates a genuinely unique applicant, even if just on paper. Another former admissions officer told me that Hargadon would always demand that staffers avoid distractions while reading files. No phone calls, no e-mail, no talking with friends – the dean understood that "the next file" always represents a significant portion of someone's life on the line.

Cederberg mentions two other unique aspects of the Hargadon operating procedure. First, in Hargadon's eyes, there is "a right answer" to every admissions case, a proposition at odds with the claims of admissions officers who – typically while defending race-oriented preferences – emphasize the intrinsic subjectivity of the process. Second, Hargadon believes strongly that experience matters. On this understanding, the length of an admissions officer's tenure is directly related to his or her ability to make sound decisions.

Each of these characteristics helps to foster an admissions culture that is at once caring and straightforward. And, while every new admissions dean brings a new set of quirks to the office, Hargadon's meticulous, hierarchical approach largely stayed with his successors in Palo Alto, as former Stanford admissions dean Jean Fetter suggests in her book *Questions and Admissions*. With new blood in Princeton admission beginning this fall, significant components of the Hargadon culture are likely to remain in West College as well.

Dean of Deans

Selective undergraduate admissions is a relatively new thing. In the early 20th century, the Registrar and Dean of Admissions positions typically overlapped. Absent the contemporary perception that financial success requires a university degree, the size of the applicant pool in, say, 1920 was not nearly as intimidating as it is today. Increasingly, after World War II and the Civil Rights Movement, prestigious universities required teams of staffers and administrators to weed through the thousands of applications sent to campus every term.

If his goal was to achieve maximum influence on the future of univer-

sity admissions, Hargadon inserted himself into the field at precisely the right time, assuming control of Swarthmore's admissions office in 1964 and then Stanford's five years later. Procedures had not yet been fine-tuned and policies had not yet been debated with sufficient vigor – an overwhelmed army of administrators needed a general.

Known for his strong convictions and stronger work ethic, Hargadon set the national tone for undergraduate admissions early on. His colleagues and peers have referred to him as the "dean of admissions deans" and "the father of admissions." The wealth of praise for Hargadon's career resembles that designated for a pioneer. And appropriately so.

First Encounter

A Princeton student's first encounter with Hargadon is the beloved "Yes!" letter sent – in the big envelopes – to nervous high school seniors. From there the relationship deepens, even without personal contact. He is, at only the slightest risk of exaggeration, ubiquitous at campus athletic and artistic functions. No longer married and his children fully grown, Hargadon has placed the University community at the center of his professional and personal lives. He has been known to make guest appearances at comedy performances, to photograph sporting events and send participants copies, and to engage in surprisingly detailed conversations with students whose names he came across years ago.

I first heard Dean Hargadon speak at a Sunday evening meeting of the Undergraduate Student Government. The topic was the decline in campus intellectualism; the question for Hargadon, tacitly understood by all present, concerned the prudence of his admissions decisions. Specifically, concerns among faculty members about the role of athletics in the admissions process had gained prominence through the voices of their student protégés. (The point about Hargadon having a distinctive appreciation for student-athletes is essentially beyond dispute. A Princeton men's heavyweight crew coach told a *New York Times* reporter in 1996 that



the scandal and punishment is revealed.

Hargadon is “like another athletics director,” a comparison likely to draw fire from professors. Hargadon is quoted subsequently as saying, however, that coaches know not to attempt to “fool him” with students with borderline academic credentials.)

Admissions decisions had not yet been finalized at the time of this meeting, perhaps explaining his apparent fatigue. With a full head of white hair, an old-fashioned assertiveness, and a happy-go-lucky attitude, he was equal parts John Madden and Santa Claus. Belying his tired appearance, however, were both precision and vigor in his remarks.

While questioning him, USG members fell back on generalizations about the applicant pool – too many athletes, too straight-edge, too conservative – which Hargadon batted away with a demand for specificity reminiscent of a professor managing a chaotic precept. “I don’t like to generalize about the entire applicant pool,” he retorted frequently. “Each application must be judged individually.”

After tossing in a few pointed comments about the role of the curriculum in shaping the University’s intellectual climate, he left a room that was, for the most part, genuinely impressed. He had taken an hour during the busiest portion of the admissions process, treated USG members as peers rather than subordinates, and responded to questions forcefully and directly. No one agreed with the entirety of his remarks, but respect and admiration for his demeanor were palpable.

...And the Controversies

As is the case with any leader in a nascent field, responsibility for the successes and failures of higher education admissions tend to fall on Hargadon’s already cluttered desk. About the criticism he regularly receives, Hargadon told me: “In my job, especially if you stay at it a while, you invariably get shot at from each of the 360 degrees in a circle.”

Selective undergraduate admissions, by virtue of its “gatekeeper” role

in society, has been marred with controversy from its inception. Anti-semitism, racism, sexism, multiculturalism, Vietnam, grade inflation, legacy admits, athletics recruiting, and standardized testing have posed unique problems for admissions officers. Hargadon has withstood these tests, staying at the vanguard of higher education admissions while simultaneously avoiding the radicalism characterizing many administrators of the past thirty years.

Take, for example, the aftermath of the 1978 *Bakke* case, which is now interpreted by most admissions officers to permit the use of preferences

mandated more evidence, analysis, and specificity in the claims on both sides of the admissions spectrum. Those transcribing the event write of Hargadon’s remarks: “He said there was still an urgent need for more data on minority populations, on their progress or lack of it, and cited this as a special research priority;” he thought “better fundamental preparation was needed for minority students;” he recognized a “real dilemma in the issue of individual versus group rights;” he supported the use of “objective tests” as a means for “democratizing” the nation’s student populations; he inquired about “how an institution might best define ‘diversity’ because of the many forces contributing to or influencing an institution’s definition.”

Sensible observations, all of them. As other participants in the conference sought to validate their predispositions about race, Hargadon acknowledged uncertainty. Neither conformist nor ideologue, he seemed intent on interpreting the Court’s decision objectively and methodically. And yet one can imagine, rather easily, how a gradualist approach like his can be contorted into a call for complacency. Questioning minority students’ level of preparation suddenly morphs into ignorance of a larger “institutional racism;” pointing to potentially large downsides of “group rights” is interpreted as a lack of sensitivity; and so on. Even if meant constructively, moderate skepticism about the path toward racial diversity in higher education is generally a poor career move for an admissions officer. That Hargadon did exactly this at such a pivotal time in affirmative action’s history is remarkable.

Other controversies during Hargadon’s career were more procedural than ideological. For example, the lead from the April 30, 1993 edition of the *Prince* reads: “‘No!’ says Hargadon: University admits miscalculation; must refuse 53 expected members of the Class of 1997.” However, in Princeton’s history books, as written by President Shirley Tilghman, this embarrassment is but a footnote to the 2002 Yale website scandal.



Pair of Kings, Dethroned:

In the absence of broken laws or filed charges, Hargadon and LeMenager were unfairly punished. One wonders if Yale, who shares in the blame, treats her faithful so ungraciously.

for underrepresented racial minorities. In the weeks after the monumental decision, hundreds of professors and college administrators met to hash out in seminar-format the implications of the Court’s opinion. From a report by the College Board summarizing these meetings, it becomes clear that a great deal of confusion enveloped the discussions. Most administrators are quoted as remarking, not at all jokingly, that the only certainty in the post-*Bakke* era was the job security of constitutional lawyers.

Only Hargadon – then Stanford’s admissions dean – and a few others pierced the touchy rhetoric with grounded observations about the intersection of race and admissions. He de-

Stacking the Deck

Recently, members of the admissions office – though not Hargadon, specifically – admitted to accessing sensitive information about applicants by capitalizing on a poorly-designed Yale admissions web site. President Tilghman reacted quickly and loudly, condemning the incidents and, in a rare move, sending individual letters to Princeton alumni explaining her disapproval. It is now commonly thought, and an administrative source at another university has claimed, that Hargadon's term ended one year earlier than he had expected on account of institutional pressure arising from the Yale scandal.

Hargadon's departure and the ascent of Tilghman to the presidency are mostly happenstance, though their concurrence is emblematic of a deeper shift underway in the Princeton community. Students tend to overlook the magnitude of events occurring under the auspices of the new administration: the forthcoming influx of 500 undergraduates, the construction of a new residential college and the gradual move to a four-year residential college system, a number of strikes against fraternities and the eating clubs, the introduction of a seven-week moratorium on varsity athletic practices (as well as rumors that Princeton sports teams might be downgraded to Division III in the near future), the appointment of a new team of deans and department heads, and a Supreme Court decision about the future of affirmative action that will likely be subject to interpretation by the administration, to name a few prominent ones.

It is conceivable, though unlikely, that Hargadon might support each of these moves. It is virtually certain, however, that his approach to the issues of athletics, the augmentation of the student population, and affirmative action in undergraduate admissions would be different in tone if not substance. This doesn't make Hargadon a conservative; it merely reflects his well-documented aversion to radicalism. If aggressive

steps are needed, a Hargadon-style approach would at least invoke extensive research findings in their defense, as well as a straightforward presentation of the broader vision those steps are meant to bring about. In short, it seems likely that the difference between Hargadon and Tilghman is partly about ideas, but mostly about contrasting styles of leadership.

This is no small matter. When Tilghman initially took over the administrative reins from Shapiro, it was hard not to notice that the first departures from

ing to a partially web-based notification process for applicants; Yale had been one of the first universities to institute one of these systems, which allowed prospective students to check their "admit/reject" status by typing in their Social Security numbers and birth dates; Princeton admissions officers, aiming to install a similar system, tested the Yale web site using information from Princeton applicants (including a few high-profile ones), claiming they did not expect the applicant's status to be as simple to access; when Princeton officials told their Yale counterparts at a subsequent Ivy League conference of the ineffectiveness of Yale's online security measures, word leaked to Yale student journalists, who went straight to the

New York Times with it. That week's headlines were public relations disasters.

Hargadon was permitted to stay on, at least one high-level staffer was removed from the office, and the *Times* had Tilghman as saying that "everyone involved in the break-in would be disciplined." Headlines in major national papers decried the "break-in," alleging that it violated the privacy of applicants and confirmed the decline in the ethics of admissions offices.

Those who have studied the incident since understand that this reaction was overblown. Laws were probably not broken, because the information acquired – whether a given applicant had been accepted or rejected – is not legally protected under the Family Educational Rights and

Privacy Act (FERPA). The claim of unauthorized computer access seems more credible, according to Lee Tien, a privacy specialist and attorney affiliated with the Electronic Frontier Foundation. But, as Tien explained in a phone conversation, that argument would encounter difficulties in court, for it requires that the harm done rise above a fairly high damage threshold. "The real issue here is not legal," he emphasized, but rather thoughtlessness on the part of Princeton and Yale administrators. "So often in the security world we see the same basic pattern: poor, thoughtless

Condemning the entire office in a letter to alumni, Tilghman ensured the succession of an outsider.

Nassau Hall were those whose moderate views seemed destined to conflict with a bold, liberal agenda for Princeton's future. For example, Vice President of Finance Richard Spies, maligned by many activists as hostile to the recent workers' rights movement, was ousted immediately.

It seemed a matter of time until the strongest dean – he who controlled the ideological, athletic, racial, artistic and academic contours of the University's 5,000 undergraduates – would depart. Hargadon's reputation for championing varsity athletics, his reluctance to jump

Hargadon's legacy is constructive skepticism, an aversion to change for change's sake.

on the affirmative action bandwagon until substantive policy concerns were addressed, and his stronghold on admissions decisions did not appear to lend themselves to a presidential vision emphasizing racial and gender diversity, greater appreciation for the arts, and a reduced role for the rough and tumble of athletics.

On this account of Tilghman's decisions, the Yale admissions scandal makes a great deal of sense. To recapitulate the basics of the incident: Ivy League admissions officers had been discussing openly the possibility of mov-

security, then someone exploiting it. The question of whether it was legal is barking up the wrong tree – let's come back to the law book when people are really doing what they're supposed to do in terms of securing information."

The incident can be surmised thus: no laws broken, no charges filed, and shared culpability by two elite institutions. Yet, counterintuitively, Hargadon and a potential successor who had worked with him, Stephen LeMenager, were uniquely targeted for punishment. The entire admissions office was condemned, tainted even, in a letter to Princeton alumni. As a result, no one is astonished that the next dean of admissions is an outsider to the Hargadon system. By the terms of Tilghman's own response to the Yale incident, promoting one of Hargadon's subordinates – all of whom she had indirectly implicated in public statements – would be senseless. It's all very convenient.

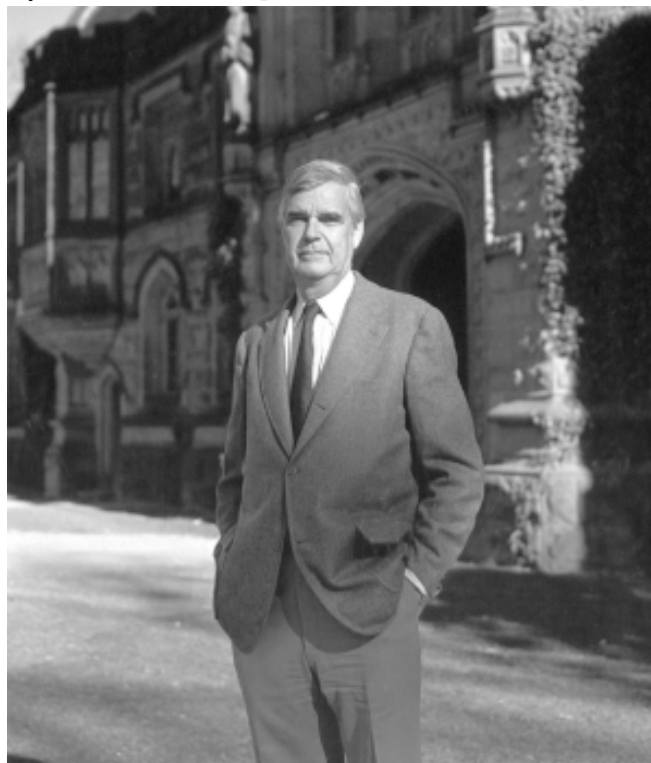
The Big Picture

The man who, in 1988, symbolized a newly progressive approach, a heavyweight in admissions circles snatched by President Shapiro to change Princeton's conservative image, now leaves the University amidst charges that he marches with the old guard. The dean who fought to maintain a 50-50 ratio of females to males at the University is now pooh-poohed by an administration for which gender is central. The guy who is at nearly every artistic, cultural, and athletic event on campus, and whose politics seem much more in line with Bill Bradley's than Steve Forbes's, has been stuck with that nasty "conservative" label.

More than anything else in recent Princeton history, Hargadon's final years show that moderate liberals have a tough time in the academy. When compelling evidence points to a need for reform, as it did with early race-based affirmative action efforts and the problematic 60/40 gender split at Princeton in the 1980's, Hargadon's activist credentials have been unmatched. When the evidence is mixed, his positions have been marked by a constructive skepticism – a

reluctance to change for change's sake.

I suspect something similar was at work in Hargadon's alleged unwillingness to create separate admissions ma-



The King of Hearts
Take care, Dean Fred.

terials and events for incoming gay students. From his decades of experience and observation of similar efforts at other schools, he may have concluded that orientation and recruiting efforts work would be harmed by singling out gay freshmen. The Princeton admissions and orientation formula has a long record of unifying students and alumni more than any other American university. It's something some administrators and activists simply don't get: a presumption in favor of school tradition.

Despite the controversies, I have no doubt that Dean Hargadon has enjoyed his tenure immensely. He once told a reporter, just after completing a spring's worth of admits and rejects, that he "has the best job in the world."

The five admissions deans previous to Hargadon maintained their posts for an average of five years. Former dean James Wickenden once said of the admissions deanship: "It is the type of job you do for four to six or seven years and move on," citing the tasking institu-

tional pressures he encountered after signing thousands of rejection letters yearly. Hargadon, defying the odds, stayed at both Stanford and Princeton

for fifteen years. (Even now, he tells me that most of his nights are spent responding to e-mails and letters from frustrated parents.) His acute institutional memory – with respect to Princeton and higher education generally – is rivaled only by the professorial and administrative dinosaurs of our day.

Unfortunately, in a university system whose face is constantly changing with the times, always aiming to become more "progressive," experience carries with it as much suspicion as respect. There are, to be sure, no three dirtier words in the dictionary of elite higher education than "old," "white," and "male." Put together, they have partially masked the positive contributions Hargadon has made to the higher education community.

His attention to the applicant as an individual rather than merely a group member, his decision to shoulder responsibility for the fate of every undergraduate matriculant to the institution he served, his demand that convictions be rooted in thoughtful research, and his participation in the whole of the Princeton community should not be forgotten. Take care, Dean Fred. The hearts of all Princetonians go with you.



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THE PRINCETON NON-EXPERIENCE

Emptiness at the Core

Jennifer Carter '03

Last week I received an e-mail and a letter from President Tilghman soliciting a second installment of my responses for the Princeton Experience survey.

I did fill out the survey, as I did two years ago when members of the classes of 2001 and 2003 were randomly invited to participate. The questions ranged from inane (rate a variety of “experiences” on a negative-to-positive continuum) to rant-provoking (“is there any group at Princeton that you think is treated unfairly?”) and took the better part of an hour to complete.

The survey missed the point, though. While I’m sure that registering my negative freshman-year R.A. experience will somehow benefit countless future generations of Princetonians, the bigger picture sadly went untouched.

The Princeton Experience project’s fundamental flaw is its premise that by amalgamating the responses of hundreds of students to questions like “What has been your most significant (positive or negative) academic experience at Princeton?” pollsters will be able to answer the ultimate question: “What is the Princeton Experience?”

That question, I’m afraid, cannot be answered by the present generation of Princetonians because the Princeton Experience no longer exists.

I know what you’re going to say. “That’s nuts. Lots of things define the Princeton Experience. There’s the senior thesis, and the ‘Street,’ and the residential colleges, and team sports, and Reunions...” But let me explain what I mean.

The one and only thing that all Princeton students have in common is Dean Fred’s “YES!” letter (and even that is about to change). I have often remarked that the only thing a Princeton

education means is that you got in to Princeton, and while I realize that may be a terribly cynical view of the place I love so much, I do think it’s true.

Socially and extracurricularly, Princeton students invest their time in a vast array of activities, and our scholastic interests are equally diverse. This is not necessarily a bad thing, of course. It’s a tremendous blessing to be surrounded by such talented, interesting, and dynamic people. But the downside of all this is that there is nothing we have in common aside from our physical proximity to one another. There are no topics guaranteed to strike up a fascinating intellectual conversation, no subjects on which anyone you meet is sure to have an opinion, or at least to want to know yours.

This problem is primarily academic in nature, and I would isolate it to the absence of coherent curricular program. The failure here is on the part of the University, not its students—I believe that anyone admitted to Princeton is capable of this sort of intellectual discourse. The substance and the forum for a unifying academic inquiry are simply not being provided.

The lack of a common Princeton Experience manifests itself in various well-known ways on campus: the perennial “anti-intellectualism” debate, the fact that 55 percent of students major in one of five departments, chronic grade inflation, political apathy, the athletics “problem,” the overrepresentation of graduates in the financial services sector.

These are only symptoms of a much deeper problem. Let us remember the words of Robert Maynard Hutchins, the University of Chicago

president responsible for reintroducing the “Great Books” curriculum to American universities in the last century: “If the curriculum were rational and intelligible, the students might not run from it in such large numbers to devote themselves to extracurricular activities.”

Hutchins’s revolutionary “Chicago plan” advocated restructuring undergraduate education based on “a course of study consisting of the greatest books of the western world and the arts of reading, writing, thinking, and speaking, together with mathematics, the best exemplar of the processes of human reason.” The heart of his curriculum became known as the “Great Books,” the classic works

that have indelibly shaped Western civilization and the way we think about our world.

“It sounds like you’re talking about Princeton’s HUM sequence,” you might say, and you’d be right. Princeton’s best-kept secret is HUM 216-219, a two-semester, four-course “Great Books” program sponsored by the Council of the Humanities and taught by a brilliant faculty ensemble.

Unfortunately, the program is underpublicized, and uninformed academic advisors do not encourage students to enroll. Worse, enrollment in the “HUM sequence” is limited to a total of 30 freshmen and sophomores each year. The Humanities Council is stretched too thin, expending much of its resources and efforts on the Princeton Atelier (creative workshops with Toni Morrison and friends) and other such ventures.

But the real reason for not having a truly influential “Great Books” core curriculum at Princeton is a philosophical one. The prevailing postmodern relativism in the twenty-first century acad-



Robert M. Hutchins

emy proclaims that there are no universal truths and no intrinsic reasons for asserting the greatness, evilness, or any other absolute characteristic of a text or of a culture. According to this brand of thought, there is nothing inherently great about "Great Books" or "Western civilization."

One caveat: this cultural relativism is not to be confused with multiculturalism, another pervasive concept in today's academy. Multiculturalism is, fortunately, why we have programs and departments like East Asian Studies, Latin American Studies, and Spanish Language and Culture, and unfortunately, why President Tilghman signed your name endorsing race-based admissions policies.

Instead, academic subjectivism and the belief that no truth is universal have resulted in the marginalization of the liberal arts project. (I cannot help but note here that the statement that there are no universal truths is self-defeating on its own terms: if nothing is true, neither is the very statement that nothing is true.) Knowledge for its own sake has been replaced with "Princeton in the Nation's Service," and Princeton has become a place for training politicians and investment bankers rather than scholars and thinkers.

The A.B. distribution requirements are the last vestige of a liberal arts curriculum, but these days their most visible effect is to force students into courses affectionately known as "E-Mail for Credit," "Shake and Bake," and

"Math Alive!" (wait, that's its real name). Increasingly, the liberal arts are being encroached upon by highly attractive trade-school programs like the Bendheim Center for Finance and non-disciplines like the Woodrow Wilson School for Public and International Affairs.

There is, however, still hope that Princeton has not yet fully abandoned the liberal arts project. Princeton consistently tops college rankings in large part because of the faculty's emphasis on teaching undergraduates. It is my fervent hope that newly appointed Dean of the Faculty David Dobkin will continue to support this important tradition. As the Undergraduate Student Government, Dean Dobkin, President Tilghman, and the entire University community prepare to address the symptoms I have mentioned, I hope—though not with great optimism—that students, faculty, and administrators will see and confront the greater, underlying problem.

But there is a fourth group in whom I do place a great deal of faith: the alumni. Arguably the most influential of the four subcommunities, Princeton alumni could significantly shape the future of the curriculum. It's true that no living alumni have experienced a true liberal arts experience at Princeton, though many have come closer to that experience than we do now. But their ability to see the big picture, academically and otherwise, may help them to see the pressing need for a coherent curriculum.

So where to begin? The exist-

ing HUM sequence is a great place to start. We could learn a lesson from the University of Chicago, where the immediate success of the Great Books course was guaranteed by having President Hutchins personally teach the inaugural class in 1931.

Wait, you say, we don't have a president who is a scholar in the great liberal arts tradition. True, but at Chicago Hutchins himself said he hadn't read most of the Great Books until he taught the course. Curriculum reform will require a serious commitment from the very top and an aggressive restoration of the liberal arts project at all levels.

Twenty-first-century Princeton desperately needs a reaffirmation of the search for truth as its mission and of a coherent, unifying academic program. Only then will we be able to speak of a Princeton Experience that is more inclusive than athletics, more enduring than the senior thesis, and more meaningful than the "Street."



Jennifer Carter '03 is a Spanish and Italian major from Tracy, California. She will attend Harvard Law School next year.



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BUILDING AN AMERICAN IRAQ

Bradley Heller '05

After what had seemed to be an eternity of stalling, the combat in Iraq has started and ended, and the reconstruction of Iraq has begun. It is difficult to say how history will remember this campaign, but it is clear that issues involving the active proliferation of democracy and the importance of protecting American security interests abroad will dominate the record. The ensuing political landscape of the Middle East is now fundamentally different. In the coming years, some form of democracy run and supported by the Iraqi people will peacefully stabilize a richly diverse nation without the brutal methods Hussein employed.

Of course, the theory that this war was fought only to liberate the people of Iraq is a gross oversimplification, if not a complete obfuscation, of its true purpose. Primarily, the invasion of Iraq was a move to rid the world of a very dangerous regime that posed a very real threat to America and her allies. Now that the combat phase of this war is over, eliminating the caches of illicit weapons that the regime has been harboring is now a priority. And as an added bonus, the Iraqi people would be liberated from an unquestionably oppressive dictatorship. The only part of a so-called Iraqi nation building process is to construct a secular democracy in the Middle East. In the future, thousands of American troops may not be stationed in Iraq but that does not mean that a strong American presence will be absent.

But even though the war has gone at least as successfully as anyone has hoped, the real key to achieving closure here lies not on the battlefield but in the calm that follows. The real struggle is yet to come, for the United States must not fall into the trap of winning the war and then losing the peace.

The first step towards achieving this peace is maintaining stability, a task not easy in a country suddenly emerging from generations of dictatorial control. The archaic Western response to nation-building efforts of the past maintained that the native populations were not sophisticated enough to support democracy. Although

entering into the democratic "family of nations" as Tony Blair put it will be challenging, Iraqi people are definitely capable of supporting democracy and will embrace the new system in due course. Perhaps the best way to transform a nation from police state to republic should be under the guidance of an initially strong but non-despotic leader who gradually yields his power to a democracy that forms beneath him. This way, there is some degree of continuity between the one-man rule of the past to rule by the people in the future.

Of course, the Coalition interim government will have to control the earliest stages of development until the people

elect an Iraqi of their choosing in elections, a year or so away. One former Baghdadi, Ahmad Chalabi, is favored in particular to fill the premier role as soon as the Coalition's work is finished. Besides his devotion to freedom as an American-educated democrat, he has the ability to relate to the Iraqi people as a moderate member of the Sunni majority. Moreover, he has already shown his leadership capability before in the organization of successful movements against the Hussein regime in the mid 1990's. But according to National Review, he has also been decried as a playboy and opportunist. Such a polar description is painfully reminiscent of another

~ Special Promotion ~

Stamp out Bigotry!

In light of Amiri Baraka's poetry reading on Thursday, April 10, the Princeton Jewish community has decided that a response is necessary.

Mr. Baraka stated that "the worst thing the Nazis did was make their victims act like them," implying the Israeli government's current policy toward the Palestinians is comparable to the Nazi murder of 6 million Jews.

Mr. Baraka compared President Bush to Adolf Hitler and Condoleezza Rice to Eva Braun, further minimizing the Holocaust.

Mr. Baraka stated that 4,000 Israelis knew about the September 11 attacks beforehand and therefore avoided going to work in the World Trade Center. Not only is this statement factually incorrect, but it also implies that these Israelis failed to prevent thousands of American deaths.

Although we do not deny Mr. Baraka's right to voice his opinions, many of his words were deeply hurtful and insulting to us as Jews and as Americans.

We feel it is our duty to raise our voices in a resounding condemnation of such bigotry. We will not stand idly by when prejudice is encouraged here at Princeton.

We urge the Princeton community to unite on this issue and stamp out bigotry in all its forms.

Princeton Committee on Prejudice
Center for Jewish Life

Questions? Comments? Contact karenkt@princeton.edu and dtatz@princeton.edu

leader favored by the United States in the failed nation building of South Vietnam named Ngo Dinh Diem, whose failures led to his assassination. Considering the fact that the war has already occurred, though, it should be possible for Chalabi to lead Iraq so long as most of the people back him and the opposition is peaceful. Trying to unite Iraqis in order to form a democracy without a reputable ruler with whom they can identify and implicitly trust will be impossible. These people need to be brought together by a sense of regional (that is, non-ethnic) nationalism and pride for their new country.

Stability in Iraq also depends on the ability of the people to cooperate and respect each other's opinions in order to form a viable democratic government. Only a secular Shiite leader will be able to appeal to the majority while rebuilding the country. Continued civil insecurity will spell disaster – patience and order are two fundamental ingredients necessary for a New Iraq to emerge. This pacific collaboration of interests can only occur in a secure environment, the ultimate responsibility of an effective Iraqi police force. Indeed, regional precincts are currently being re-formed under the supervision of 1200 American advisers. And as the recent successes of joint patrols have demonstrated, American Marines and Iraqi policemen can work together to stop the widespread looting of the country so that a national government can eventually materialize and prevent the fragmentation of the nation. As soon as the Coalition presence disappears and a working peace remains, the people can come together and reap the delicious rewards of their liberation and achieve the paradigm that is democracy.

Fortunately, the outlook of a free Iraq is bright because of its oil wealth and functional infrastructure. The nation building effort that takes place must be fostered with both Coalition and United Nations support in delicate balance.

The brave British, Australian and American soldiers have paid the price of the Coalition's worthy commitment to achieving its goals by force. Now is the time for the UN to pick up the slack in a role that the Coalition defines.

In a recent visit to Princeton University to discuss the future of the United Nations, German ambassador to the UN Günther Pleuger conceded that the organi-

zation would be impotent (as if it weren't already) without the full participation of the United States. But he argued that the relationship is reciprocal in that both America and the world have something to gain from mutual cooperation at the global level. But the United Nations surrendered their say in postwar Iraq when the Security Council refused to immediately back Resolution 1441 with force. There is no question that the lack of Security Council resolve increased Hussein's reluctance to disarm. Ironically, the cowardly French, Russian, and German commitment to peace only forced an eventual invasion of Iraq which sealed Hussein's fall by force.

The UN cannot sit on the sidelines during this war and then claim the status of arbiter and manipulate the ensuing peace. Member nations of the Coalition have sacrificed the lives of too many young men and women. Furthermore, and as the United Nations must agree, America has occupational responsibilities like humanitarian aid and infrastructural rehabilitation that must be fulfilled before an international effort begins to interfere. Not long ago, the United Nations was proud to stand against the righteousness of Coalition resolve against Hussein. Consequently, they must now stand ashamed and alone while observing how America, Great Britain and others help the Iraqi people independently.

It is no surprise that President Bush has a powerful humanitarian agenda that adds an additional \$5 billion to the American development fund in this year's budget, while more than \$2.5 billion have been allocated to the Iraqi people alone as part of the war package that was recently approved by Congress.

Nevertheless, there must still be some cooperation at the global level in order to facilitate the mending of fences with key American allies in Europe while rebuilding Iraq. Although diplomacy among friends might not be too difficult, agreeing to a suitable role for the UN surely will be. According to the United Nations Charter

of 1945, the organization cannot act under the auspices of any nation. So, funding from the UN to aid the Coalition effort in the rebuilding of Iraq, for instance, cannot take place. But specific peacekeeping tasks, so long as they are approved by the Security Council, can occur and would prove most useful in policing Iraq in the coming weeks. But this possible role, as any other the UN takes in this theater, must be outlined clearly by the Coalition so as not to interfere with the larger nation building effort taking place.

Fortunately, the Iraqi public has enthusiastically welcomed Coalition forces

as soon as they were sure that the regime was actually finished. And, with the last of the Republican Guard divisions disintegrating as Saddam and his family are either dead or in hiding, it is clear that vindication for the war is at hand. The Pentagon has recruited many former weapons inspectors to help with the search for weapons of mass destruction, and it is clear that it is only a

matter of time before the secret stashes are found. Trusting Saddam when he said that the weapons were destroyed along with the evidence is not a sound course of action, and neither is forcing oneself to believe that the weapons do not exist simply because they cannot be immediately found.

In truth, it will be many years before Iraq emerges as a powerful bastion of democracy in the Middle East. But the benefits of this are great. The new country will be a bastion against the spread of anti-Americanism as the world sees the beauty of American ideals at work. The international community will witness the transformation of Iraq into a independent and prosperous nation and realize that it was the leadership and goodwill of the United States that made it possible. You heard it here first: Spring Break 2030, Baghdad.



Bradley Heller '05 is a Molecular Biology major from Long Island.

MEDITATION ON A STATUE OF A TYRANT

Pete Hegseth '03

When Saddam's statue fell in Baghdad, and I saw the jubilant Iraqis stomping on his fallen body, I could not help but grin from ear to ear. It wasn't a sly grin, nor a grin that said "I told you so", but instead it was an expression of relief and quiet satisfaction. At Princeton, like most modern universities, American patriotism and American military power are seen, in their best light, as necessary evils. They are seen as ingredients for American arrogance and foundations for a burgeoning American Empire.

But when, after two weeks of uncertainty about the fate of their tyrant, Iraqis finally knew he had lost his grip on power, they danced, and we were liberators. When the *New York Times* printed numerous pictures of embarrassed American G.I.'s being kissed by exuberant Iraqi men, once again we were liberators. So when the American military entered Baghdad, almost unopposed, and helped the Iraqi people tear down the figure of their oppressor, we were truly liberators.

"Liberators." A prime example Princeton's skewed ideological battlefield as well as a prime example of conservative ideological triumph. President Bush used the word "liberators" from the beginning, because he knew and understood the evil oppression felt by the Iraqi people. However, the word "liberators" was not used here at Princeton; instead liberals and peaceniks chided America as "oppressive invaders," "aggressors," and "murderers."

And at times, even for staunch conservatives, it was tough to keep faith in the purpose and cause in Iraq. Maybe it was the 24-hour news media—always scrutinizing and magnifying every wrinkle in the plan. Maybe it was the supposed "quagmire" that occurred three days into the war—and lasted only two days. Maybe it was that fact that innocent women and children were dying—mostly by the hand of Saddam's enforcer thugs. But in the end, none of the at-

tempted criticisms ever stuck; and the *whole* world saw, including the Arab world via al-Jazeera, the joyous Iraqi response to their liberation day.

However, while I was grinning in my room, a great many Princeton students, faculty, and administrators (along with Jacques Chirac) were quietly unhappy with the outcome. At Princeton (and in France for that matter), conservative ideas and conservative Presidents are supposed to fail because conservatives are wrong and academic liberals are right. My experience, and the Iraqi experience, has been quite the opposite.

As President Bush said in his Inaugural Address, if we "defend needed reforms from easy attacks" America, and the world, will prosper because the conservative stance will prevail. Conservative ideas have worked, do work, and will continue to work. The list is long: a strong military is absolutely essential to bringing long-term peace and stability to the world. The nuclear family is the core of any healthy society, and one mother and one father provide the best atmosphere for nurturing the next generation. Religion protects the Ameri-

can soul and should be the foundation for repairing individual and social ills. Pumping money endlessly into public schools won't work, as my roommate's thesis so succinctly proves, and school choice holds educators to account. And, as President Reagan so aptly pronounced, the American people can spend their money far better than the government can.

So when that statue came down, it did more than just put a grin on my face—it put a cap on my Princeton experience and a cap on the validity of the conservative cause. Princeton's liberal establishment can hold as many panels, colloquia, and conferences as they would like, but Princeton students must discover the truth for themselves, a truth whose repercussions humble the monuments of our time.



Pete Hegseth '03 is a Politics major from Forest Lake, Minnesota. Next year, he will be training as a 2nd Lieutenant at the U.S. Army Infantry School at Fort Benning, GA.



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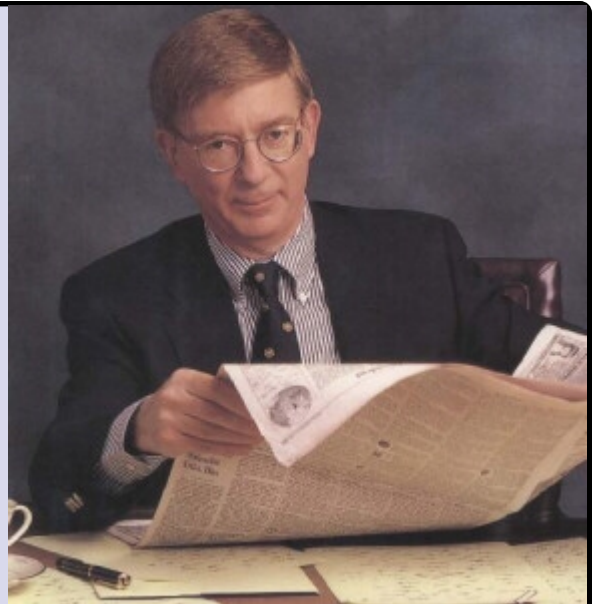
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