

May 2006

PRINCETON TORY

Illegal Immigration:

Our elected officials are on the fence

Also:

Seniors reflect on their experiences at Princeton

THE PRINCETON TORY

May 2006
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From the Publisher

Dear Princetonian,

In recent weeks, the illegal immigration debate has led to more bickering and political maneuvering by Republicans and Democrats than anything else. It is disheartening that our elected officials have allowed partisan conflicts to get in the way of creating a practical policy solution to the problem.

Liberals lament that affluent whites are the most outspoken advocates of strict deportation measures, when destitute illegal immigrants are crowding the prisons that the members of the upper-class don't occupy, the inferior public schools their children will never attend, and the substandard hospitals they will never have to step foot in. But the fact is, America does not simply consist of rich and poor. Lower-middle-class and middle-class families who are paying heavy taxes, sending their children to public schools, and receiving less than quality healthcare comprise a sizeable percentage of the population, and it is those families who have reason to feel slighted.

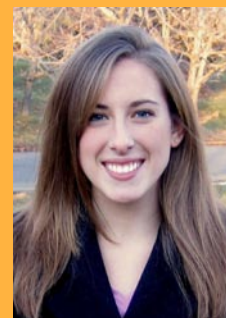
Most immigrants work multiple jobs and struggle with inferior benefits, low wages and abominable living conditions in order to pave better lives for themselves and their families... and so do millions of hard-working Americans. These working-class and inner-city families, not the wealthy elites who live in gated, well-policed communities, feel the strongest repercussions of Mexican gang violence on the border. (As Rick Morgan describes on Page 16, both Democratic and Republican politicians have gone so far as to declare states of emergency in response; this is undoubtedly a severe problem.)

It is important that we remain compassionate towards the millions of illegal immigrants living within the United States as we search for the right policy direction. Ideally, hard-working Mexican families seeking citizenship will be able to acquire it and thereby achieve stability. With citizenship come responsibility, sacrifice, and formation of a national identity; legitimized participation in the job market through a guest-worker program, therefore, is not the best solution.

Rightful assimilation into the economy and American society--which does not require abandonment of cultural identity--is an obvious advantage to the acquisition of citizenship. From a self-protective point of view, granting citizenship to more immigrants will help working-class Americans compete more fairly in the job market. From a national security standpoint, it will allow the government to more successfully monitor who is entering and leaving the country. However, to demand "rights" after unlawfully entering the United States is unreasonable. Laws must be followed; keeping track of who and what is crossing our borders is essential for the economic well-being of our country and, moreover, the filtration of narcotics, violent crime and terrorism. Al Qaeda operatives, including Andan Shukrijumah and suspected agent Mohammed Junaid Babar, have already attempted to infiltrate our country through the easily penetrable Mexican border.

In Arizona, a plan has been proposed by Representative Russell Pearce to enhance border security through means of surveillance equipment, construction of border barriers and strengthening border patrol. However efficient they may be in practice, plans such as these simply shift the burden to other states rather than confront the root of the problem. Our challenge should be to discourage further illegal immigration--which is motivated by the prospect of a better life in America--while concurrently helping those hard-working, compliant illegal immigrants currently living within our borders to achieve citizenship and, in turn, acquire that very same prospect.

Sincerely,
Juliann Vikse '08



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

THE PRINCETON TORY

May 2006

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LETTERS

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

Sirs,

Matthew Schmitz affects some heavy blowing on arts subjects for their supposed lack of discipline and rigor. I wonder what his view of dictionaries is. On page nine of your April issue, Mr. Schmitz writes: "For the novel or play similar elements of structure, or peripateia, provide the masters with a technical framework within which to compose." Perhaps in some language unknown to me the word "peripateia" is roughly synonymous with "elements of structure." But if it is classical Greek in which Mr. Schmitz takes himself to be writing, he has managed only gibberish. Several sentences later Mr. Schmitz describes a technique of poetic composition which he thinks is called "verse (sic) libre." It occurs to me that your writers should actually learn languages before trying to write in them. Similarly, I imagine that no one would mind if your editors were to develop the habit of refusing to print gross solecism.

Yours faithfully,
Dylan Byron

Editors-

I was absolutely appalled when I read Matthew Schmitz's article, "A Creative Catastrophe", in your April issue. "Catastrophe" is right – this ill-informed tirade against Princeton's Program in the Creative and Performing Arts approaches a level of ignorance which I am surprised to find exists at this university.

Many aspects of Mr. Schmitz's article are misleading or erroneous, the first being his assertion that the department's classes lack rigor. Since Mr. Schmitz seems to be basing this claim on his experience with just one course, I suggest that he go back and take a wider sampling before making such a sweeping generalization. In every class I've taken within the program, the coursework is considerable, and I've often encountered friends burning the midnight oil as they labor over a short story or scene presentation. This leads me to believe that the fault lies not with the rigor of the coursework, but with Mr. Schmitz himself. Perhaps it was not the content of the assignments, but rather Mr. Schmitz's lackadaisical approach to completing them, that caused the real problem.

Rather than take responsibility for his personal failings, he chooses to blame his negative experience on the department, and what he perceives to be the undue emphasis it places on creativity. Schmitz seems to think that the program should take a step away from this "intangible power", and teach what he calls the "basic" tenets of craft – rhyme, meter, etc. I hate to break it to him, but these "basic tenets" that he speaks of don't exist. There

are as many styles of writing as there are writers themselves. Try comparing Kerouac to Austen, Plath to Donne, and then constructing a set of rules; in the face of inspiration, even grammar and capitalization are no longer givens – just ask e.e. cummings.

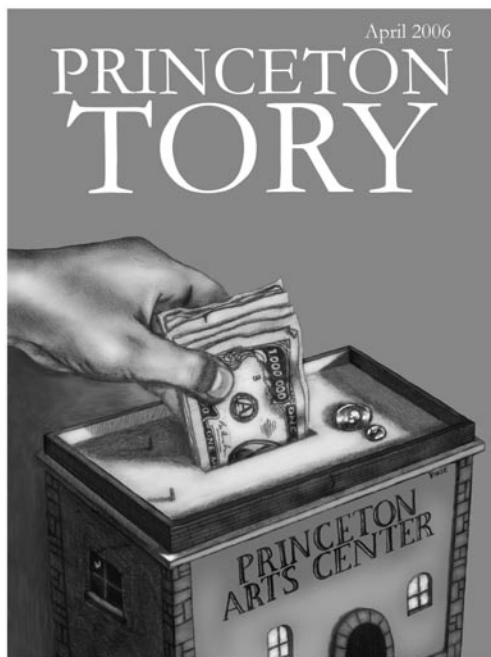
Or actually, don't, because according to Schmitz, if you use his advice, you may be violating the Honor Code. In a purely ridiculous turn, Schmitz claims that the Creative Writing department encourages plagiarism amongst students and professors alike, a practice which he says extends to the greater artistic world, pointing to the false memoirist James Frey as an example. Last I checked, Frey is not a plagiarist, he is a liar; his writing may be fiction rather than fact, but it is his own. Perhaps Mr. Schmitz would do better to point to William Shakespeare, a notorious "borrower" of literary themes who, if Mr. Schmitz had his

way, would be brought before the Honor Committee on various plagiarism charges. What Mr. Schmitz fails to understand is that borrowing takes on a different meaning in a creative context. There are only so many original plots, and they have all been explored. There are no new ideas; all a writer can do is take an existing concept and make it his own. Although plagiarism does exist in the creative world, the highly personal nature of the creative process acts as a built-in counterbalance.

Last, but not least, I would like to point what I found to be most personally offensive about this article: Mr. Schmitz's blatant stereotyping of the artistic student, his assumption that the "artsy" must be separate from the "preppy", that conservatism precludes creativity. This is untrue, both in theory and in practice. Those involved in the arts, both at Princeton and elsewhere, form one of the most diverse communities on earth. Black, white, gay,

straight, liberal and conservative – art doesn't dictate that you must be one and not the other, so why does he? Furthermore, despite Mr. Schmitz's assertion, creativity knows no economic bounds. Low-income students are just as likely to make meaningful artistic contributions as their wealthier counterparts. Mr. Schmitz need only look to his beloved Joyce for evidence of this, who, if Schmitz were in charge of his education, would have gone straight into ibanking, thus denying the literary world one of its greatest voices. It's true, some students may find that the Program in Creative and Performing Arts is not for them, and may have a negative experience in the meantime. This is unfortunate, but what Schmitz proposes is much, much worse – denying everyone the opportunity to succeed just because of the chance that some may fail.

Chelsea Carter



Dear Editors of the *Tory*,

I must say I was left astonished, outraged, and somewhat amused after reading your incredibly naïve article, “A Creative Catastrophe.” I am a Program 2 major in the Art and Archaeology Department, which is the option for those “artsy” students who choose to make visual arts their major through taking a variety of art and art history classes. I could not have disagree more when your article tried to argue that the arts program “drifts away from the three hallmarks of instruction at Princeton – close interaction between students and faculty, rigorous standards and original work.”

Within Princeton’s art program I have found more personal attention than in any other department at the university. All classes are limited to approximately 15 students, which is infinitely fewer than in an introductory lecture and still fewer than in most precepts. Classes are taught by the professors themselves and not graduate students who most often lack in any kind of teaching experience or ability. A few professors may be a little slow to respond to email at times but there is an underrated value of being able to spend 6 hours of quality personal time with a professor when they can answer your questions rather than a few seconds of vague email response.

Most arts classes require 6 hours of mandatory class per week, on top of which students are required to work independently in order to complete the high standards expected from an assignment. Work is expected to be imaginative and original and although there may be inspiration derived from another artist, it’s really no different than citing a source in a research paper. I also have to disagree in the lack of teaching “craft.” Professors in the arts can relate method to their students, but like most things in life, success takes a combination of hard work and practice, but also a certain degree of talent. While an advanced calculus class may teach you to process equations it does not mean you can necessarily become a great mathematician through one class.

Although I cannot speak to the intentions of the administration I would argue that Princeton does have it’s own niche in schools when it comes to their art program. Personally, I chose Princeton over New York University’s Tisch School of the Arts because, like many of us “artsy” folks, I appreciate the diversity that a liberal arts education has to offer. Princeton offers the perfect combination of structured classes that encourage original thought as well as a top-notch Ivy education for those who love the arts but do not want to be forced to create work that imitates their professor’s or spend all of their time sitting in a circle smoking pot while donning their favorite pair of birks and painting their nails black.

Moreover, the arts at Princeton has produced and harbored a wealth of students who have gone on to set high standards in the arts world outside of Princeton, a sampling of which I have listed below. It’s true, neither James Joyce nor Ezra Pound graduated from Princeton, instead we have the likes of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Poole and Fazal Sheikh. Princeton’s art program welcomes majors and beginners alike and fosters a place where students can experience a different type of learning if they are willing to try.

Sincerely,
Eleanor Oakes, ‘07

A response from the author:

I want to thank Dylan Byron for being overly charitable in proofreading my article. I too noticed that Word’s autocorrect feature sabotaged my French, but there were far more (and far less excusable) errors of punctuation and spelling in the English portion of the text. Kindly he did not mention these. He seems to be less careful with his Greek. Peripeteia is, after all, the term Aristotle uses in his Poetics to describe a sudden reversal in fortune. Along with recognition, which it often accompanies, these moments form the keys points which lend a play or novel its narrative arc. Several schools of writing strictly prescribe where and how peripeteia should be used. In short, peripeteia is an element of structure.

Chelsea Carter intuits my ‘personal failings’ which should probably be judged even more harshly since I have actually taken not one but three workshops in creative writing. She is right about Shakespeare’s borrowing, but why doesn’t find it unfair when a professor threatens to plagiarize a student’s work? I was saddened, however, to see that she mistook my descriptive comments about arts and social class for prescriptive statements. Of course every effort should be made to open the arts to all. Unfortunately, if broadening arts access on campus leads to a corresponding arts focus in admission decisions, the process will be biased against those who need that access most.

The hostility met by any writing that appears in the *Tory* seems in this case to be aggravated by a reflexive suspicion of any dissent from Princeton’s arts program. Eleanor Oakes, for example, fails to appreciate that even the best programs of instruction have room for improvement. As for Princetonians like F. Scott and Eugene O’Neill, arts instruction would have to have been very good indeed for them to catch anything from the minimal hours they spent in class.

Still, none of the respondents erred on so grand a scale as Christian Schlegel, whose overheated article in the April 20 *Nassau Weekly* rather embarrassingly missed my central thesis. Schlegel asserted that I reject free verse when I actually claim it is most strengthened by a foundation in formalism. The only reply this needs is a recommendation that he read the article’s text. I wrote in the article, “...the free-form tendencies of the masters like Pound were always understood by their originators as truly possible only to someone who was already experienced in the more conventional art of the metered, rhyming line.” This is not a new idea, but it is apparently a controversial one.

Matthew Schmitz ‘08

Did you know the *Tory*
has a website?

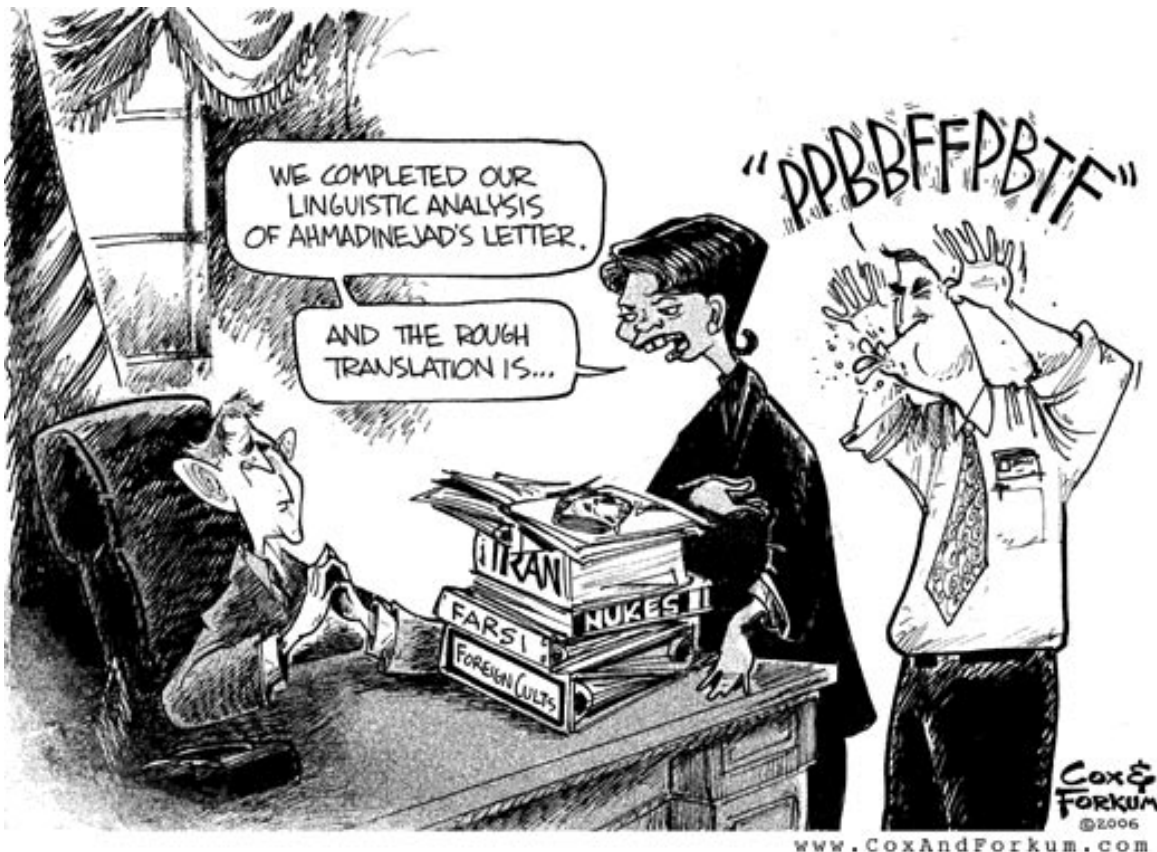
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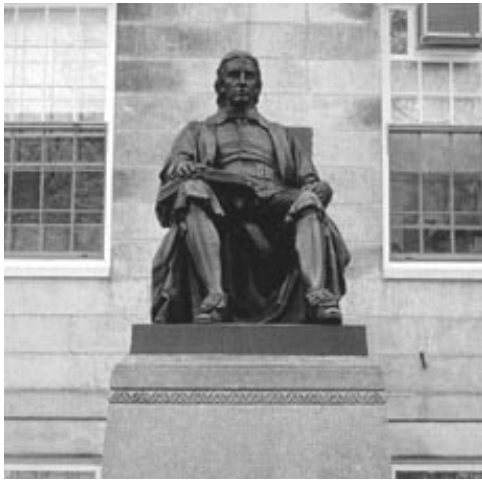
for early access to issues as well as the most
current organizational news.

POINTS & PUNTS

Cox and
Forkum



➤ Despite the fact that Princeton received a record number of applications this year, grade deflation is costing us qualified students. As I sat in my Developmental Psychology lecture today, I overheard a prefrish asking the student sitting in front of her about the new grade deflation policy. The prospective student who had already been admitted to Princeton was clearly weighing the effects of newly tougher grading policy in making her final college choice. All of the nation's top universities offer an excellent education. When students have to pick between those institutions, any difference stands out. Grade deflation is one such difference. When several universities offer a comparable education but one offers a policy mandating drastically lower grades, that university (Princeton) should expect to lose out in the competitive process of attracting prospective students. The ultimate result, of course, is detrimental to our student body.



What would John Harvard think?

from bookstores. The *Tory* can only say that things are not that bad for Miss Viswanathan. Although it looks like this is the end of her career as a fiction writer, Miss Viswanathan can always become a professor at Harvard and join the ranks of fellow plagiarists Lawrence Tribe, Alan Dershowitz, Doris Kearns Goodwin, and Charles Ogletree. Maybe they'll even give her a research assistant.

➤ Although a significant proportion of the *Tory's* staff supports the efforts of Princeton Pro-Life, some of us have noticed an unusual degree of statistical sloppiness in the group's recent campaign during "Respect Life Week." First, there was the display on the Frist lawn that claimed to represent the supposed 347 fetuses who would have become members of the class of 2010 had they not been aborted. After numerous criticisms about the obvious statistical problems with their calculations, Princeton Pro-Life had to put up signs nearby explaining that it was merely symbolic of the loss to humanity caused by abortion and admitting that there was no way to know if any of these fetuses would actually have grown up to be Princeton students. Also, the groups plastered campus with posters citing the fact that women who have had abortions have a higher suicide rate than women on average. Not only was the asterisk following this statistic not accompanied by any source at the bottom of the poster, but this statistic is also seriously flawed. Numerous third variables probably account for why women who come to the point of aborting a child also have an abnormally high rate of suicide. The appropriate statistic would have been a comparison of the suicide rates of women who had abortions versus

women who had unwanted pregnancies but still decided to take the baby to term. Even this statistic, though, could be negated by the presence of other variables which were responsible for the decision both to abort and to commit suicide. In both cases, Princeton Pro-Life seemed to be making a good faith effort to support a cause they clearly see as just. The use of inaccurate statistics, however, significantly detracted from the force of their campaign.

➤ April 10th, 2006, was a sad day for basic economics. After several weeks of violent protests during which literally millions of French citizens took to the streets, the government capitulated and withdrew proposed reforms to relax France's rigid labor laws. What were these outrageous changes that aroused the self-righteous indignation of the French youth? The most radical would have simply allowed employers to fire underperforming workers under the age of 26 during their first 2 years of employment. Under the current rules, companies have to go to court to fire anyone who holds a long-term job. Such practices have paralyzed the French economy because with no ability to fire incompetent workers, companies are extremely reluctant to hire new ones. The result is double-digit unemployment figures and millions of French youths who can not find anything better than short-term, menial labor jobs. And yet, French youths, led by the ever-enlightened students at the Sorbonne, the bastion of out-dated socialist learning, still rallied in favor of preserving the illusion of job stability provided by a paternalistic welfare state. Can't they see that not only has the system failed to provide jobs, but, even worse, that the system itself is causing unemployment?

➤ David Cameron, the new leader of the Conservative Party, has started riding a bicycle to work as part of his "Vote Blue, Go Green" initiative. This is nothing but a publicity stunt: the British press has discovered that Mr. Cameron's shoes and papers are chauffeured to his office every morning... in a £48,000 fuel-efficient and low-emissions car.

➤ The *Tory* is dismayed, but not surprised, by recent rancor of congressional Democrats towards American oil companies. Surely ExxonMobil's record profits this year must be part of a vast conspiracy between these companies and their lackeys, Bush and Cheney. Or could it be the obvious result of companies selling a highly inelastic good at a time when a global surge in demand is met by tight supply? While Exxon's profits are certainly large, as cable news anchors love to point out at every opportunity, in terms of profits per share or profits over earnings, it is no more profitable than many other large U.S. companies because of the risky and capital-intensive nature of the oil industry.



ExxonMobil, a great American company, not an "evil multinational"

Furthermore, these profitable times allow the oil industry to survive the periods when oil prices are low and current sales cannot pay for the massive long-term investments the companies make. Of course, this does not mean congressional Republicans have been particularly impressive on the issue either. Calls to simply mail \$100 checks to all households (enough for two tanks of gas at best) is a purely political ploy that will not help in any meaningful way. Further, their attempts to alleviate the problem with oil tax decreases will not only do little to solve the short-term problem, but, indeed, will exacerbate the long-term issue that Americans use too much oil and must be pushed towards other sources of energy.

➤ In the current immigration debate, it's frustrating to see liberal academics, who earn far more than low-income workers could ever dream of earning, completely disregard the effects of mass immigration of low-skilled workers on the wages for people at the bottom of the U.S. wage structure. Unemployment amongst lower-skilled African Americans is near 50% in many inner cities, and yet the



Princeton Professor Paul Krugman is finally on to something...

U.S. continues to import millions of low-skilled Mexican immigrants to work for \$4 an hour and no healthcare benefits. A leading liberal commentator, Princeton Professor Paul Krugman, finds himself alone among liberals when he points out the effect of mass illegal immigration on people at the bottom of the American economic ladder. Citing a Harvard study, Krugman writes that "U.S. high school dropouts would earn as much as 8 percent more if it weren't for Mexican immigration.

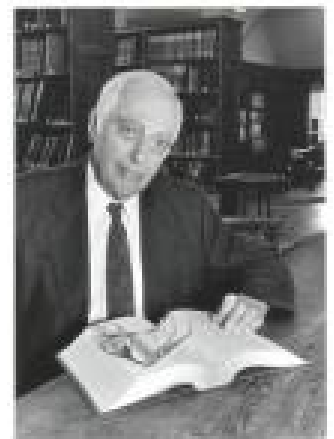
That's why it's intellectually dishonest to say, as President Bush does, that immigrants 'do jobs that Americans will not do.' The willingness of Americans to do a job depends on how much that job pays—and the reason some jobs pay too little to attract native-born Americans is competition from poorly paid immigrants." It is a situation in which all workers—both native-born and immigrants—lose out.

➤ The key to getting a grip on illegal immigration is going after the employers who hire illegal immigrants: a series of high-profile arrests (CEOs of companies that hire thousands of illegals, for instance) could offer a disincentive for companies to continue to violate U.S. Immigration law. Before hiring anyone, businesses must make sure the potential employee is a legal immigrant or a citizen. This is relatively simple: employers can do so today simply by entering the social security number of the applicant into a database run by the Department of Homeland Security. Only a fraction of employers use this service at the moment, however. Employers who refuse to use the service (or those who use it and hire illegal workers anyway) should face substantial punishment. While most businesses play by the rules, law-abiding businesses sometimes have a hard time competing against those businesses that do use cheap illegal labor. It's disappointing to note that in 2004, just four businesses were fined for hiring illegal immigrants.

it exceeded his stated budget limitations. Despite this act of fiscal prudence (assuming he follows through on his threat), one cannot ignore that on federal spending, the Bush Administration has a deplorable record: adjusted for inflation, federal non-defense spending rose 34% between 1999 and 2005. Between 2001 and 2005, Federal education spending rose 61%, international affairs spending (non-military) rose 74%, health research and regulation spending rose 57%, and science research spending rose 40%. Bush's current threat to veto a bill because there is some pork in it is too little, too late. In his last years in office, Bush should focus on controlling spending, including entitlement spending. This will require substantial political leadership. The candidates running for the Presidential nomination from both parties should remember that expanding government for short-term political gain will not lead to lasting approval on the part of the American public.

➤ From the May 2nd, 2006 issue of the *Prince*: "Immigrants' suffering is generally unrecognized and underappreciated by the American public, [Prof. Fernandez-Kelly] added. "Immigrants are critical to the well-functioning of certain industries. We joke about their ethnicities, we wear funny hats, we organize parades, but we are all Americans," Fernandez-Kelly said. Kelly's comments certainly have merit; throughout the debate over illegal immigration, we must be sure to take a humanistic approach to dealing with the individuals in question. As for immigrants being "critical" to certain industries, illegal immigrants do make up just 5% of the labor force. As Robert Samuelson points out in the March 22 issue of the *Post*, "In no major occupation are they a majority. They're 36 percent of insulation workers, 28 percent of drywall installers and 20 percent of cooks." These percentages may be high, but we must recognize that—regardless of what policies we choose to institute—the economy would not grind to a halt if illegal immigration was significantly slowed.

➤ Finally, the *Tory* would like to wish Bernard Lewis a very happy 90th birthday. Professor Lewis, the Cleveland Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Emeritus, first came to Princeton in 1974. Over the course of his 60-year career, he established himself as one of the most astute and prescient scholars of the Middle East. A decade before the September 11 terrorist attacks, Professor Lewis predicted that a major conflict between Islam and the West was about to occur. Bernard Lewis is one of the most consequential professors to grace Princeton's campus in the past century, and we wish him all the best.



Happy birthday, dear Bernie, happy birthday to you...

-- Compiled by the Editors

President Bush recently threatened to veto a Senate Bill because

CAN WE CALL THIS PROGRESS?

A REFLECTION ON FOUR YEARS OF PRINCETON POLITICS

Duncan Sahner '06

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But in the three years since "Ricanstruc-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

“THE RELIGION AND POLITICS OF LIFE AND DEATH”

A DOCUMENTARY BY ANDREW PERLMUTTER

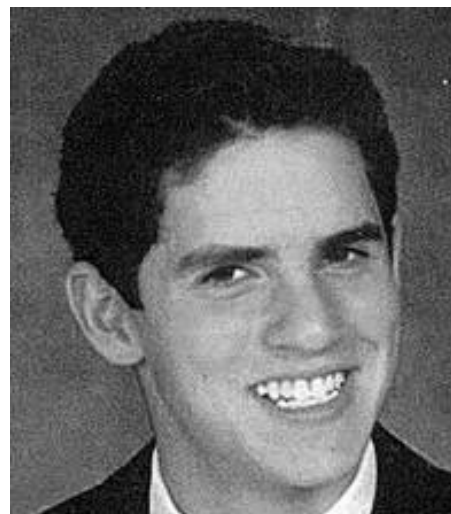
Leon Furchtgott '09

Despite the preeminence of such issues as Iraq and the War on Terror in national politics, the divide between conservatives and liberals at Princeton is more closely linked to social issues than to foreign affairs. Professor Robert George, the renowned natural lawyer and Constitutional scholar, has replaced Bernard Lewis, the controversial historian of the Middle East, as the most prominent conservative on campus, and most interest in George surrounds his views on social issues such as marriage and sexuality. And aside from such organizations as the College Republicans, the principal voices of conservative thought on campus are organizations that specifically address similar social issues such as the Anscombe Society and Princeton Pro-Life. Conversely, among the liberal elements of Princeton's political community, the most prominent figures are socially engaged professors like Peter Singer and Cornel West, and organizations such as the LGBT Center. Foreign policy-centered organizations, by contrast, maintain a far lower profile. I had the chance to screen a new senior thesis

debate at Princeton.

Perlmutter, a member of the Department of Religion, conducted hundred of hours of interviews with top faculty and students on bioethics questions, with a particular focus on the debates surrounding abortion and embryonic stem cell research. Perlmutter's film has a number of flaws, and in particular lacks substantive conclusions. While Perlmutter does his best to presents all of the sides of the bioethics debate, he leaves all of the important analysis to the viewer. The film does not present any new ideas regarding bioethics, nor does it offer a new assessment of the debate. Rather, the film seems to praise a relatively vacuous idea of “dialogue” without attempting to either reconcile pro-life and pro-choice points of view, or come down on one side or another. The approach is strictly antiseptic – no narration, no judgment, and no analysis. Instead, the emphasis is on the learning experience, or *paideia* – one of interviewee Cornel West's favorite catchphrases.

While more concrete judgments in favor of one side or another would have been constructive, the lack of any overriding statement also means that the documentary focuses on exposing a diverse



Andrew Perlmutter '06

array of opinions. Several professors, including Shirley Tilghman and Lee Silver, come off as rather narrow minded, preferring to see social conservatives as a group of religious ideologues who do not understand the various biological foundations of the topics on which they comment. Shirley Tilghman accuses lawmakers who have reservations about stem cell research of being “science-phobic” or of having “never taken the time to understand the fundamental science behind some of these public policy decisions.”

But from the interviews conducted at Princeton, this does not seem to be the case. The scientific issues themselves are mostly straightforward. As Shirley Tilghman rather dispassionately put it, the issue is simply about the moral rights of a small ball of cells that arise from a fertilized egg that, if unimpeded, will develop into a fetus and be born as a child. Everybody who was interviewed and, I would guess, the vast majority of Americans — understand this fundamental biology. Instead, as Perlmutter's documentary shows, they disagree instead

While more concrete judgments in favor of one side or another would have been constructive, the lack of any overriding statement also means that the documentary focuses on exposing a diverse array of opinions.

documentary by Andrew Perlmutter '06, entitled, “The Religion and Politics of Life and Death,” which plunges into the heart of this social divide by analyzing the bioethics

array of opinions. Several trends in the bioethics debate between conservatives and liberals transpire. One important issue highlighted in the film, for example, is the relationship between conservatives

on questions of morality: the status of the embryo or the fetus, the rights of individuals, and the importance of science. Different views on morality, not different levels of scientific understanding, are at the heart of the debate. In what language, then, should the bioethics debate be held? Many of the liberal and pro-choice voices in the film advocate a dialogue that is completely devoid of religion. Professor Steven Macedo, the director of the University Center for Human Values, argued that to assert that abortion is a sin is an inadequate public policy position. Peter Singer agreed, adding that we ought to try to advance arguments that do not appeal to any specific religious beliefs that we know other people do not accept. This is a mischaracterization of the religious arguments on issues of bioethics. Certainly, some students from the Princeton Evangelical Fellowship and Manna Christian Fellowship spoke in the documentary about "divine revelation" and about the souls of fetuses, but for the most part the values that the religious voices advanced were not specific to any particular religious confession, but drew on the same language of secular values as the non-religious side of the debate: the protection of the weakest, the sanctity of human life, and the dignity of women. Professor Robert George, for example, a practicing Catholic, spoke in terms of rationalism and natural law and hardly mentioned Christianity in his interview. Religious arguments regarding the beginning of life, far from being irrational statements of faith, held their own against secularist arguments.

Neither were the religious arguments of those interviewed theological rationalizations of predetermined positions. Although molecular biologist Lee Silver slammed religious groups for "spread[ing] confusion and impos[ing] their belief system on a general population," his statement seemed to contradict the relative confusion voiced by several more liberal religious individuals in the documentary over issues of abortion and stem cell research. Reverend Thomas Breidenthal, the Dean of Religious Life and an Episcopalian, admitted to struggling with the issue of stem cell research. Reverend David Kim, the director of the evangelical fellowship Manna, saw in certain cases a level of complexity that requires one to go against the normative teaching in Scripture and attributes this to the fallen-ness of this world. Rabbi Julie

Roth, director of the Center for Jewish Life, attempted to show how Judaism must carefully balance the sanctity of the life of the fetus and considerations for the health of the mother. In contrast to the deliberative religious figures, Peter Singer, the secularist par excellence, was cavalier in equating the right to life of a fetus to that of a chicken.

Andrew Perlmutter has done Princeton a great service with "The Religion and Politics of Life and Death." The film does not offer any answers to the questions that it poses, and in some senses, instills a lack of confidence in the opinions of our University's leaders. Ultimately, though, it seems to conclude that the issues it brings up are complex and that people of good will

may disagree for perfectly rational reasons. Some of the interviewees would do well to keep that lesson in mind. P



Leon Furchtgott grew up in the Washington, D.C. area. A freshman residing in Forbes College, he hopes to major in Physics.

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A SURPRISE VICTORY

THE STUDENT BILL OF RIGHTS AND COALITION POLITICS

Will Scharf '08

I must confess that I am more than slightly surprised. As an officer of College Republicans (CR's), I posted flyers and went door-to-door for the Student Bill of Rights. I sat in on the strategy sessions, and received the frantic list-serve messages. I logged on to the USG website, and like a good Princeton student citizen cast my vote. In short, I did everything in my power to ensure that the Student Bill of Rights would pass, but I

of conservatism on campus under attack. I was going to write about the failure of the Student Bill of Rights to gain a majority of student votes, and then tie that failure into the broader theme of conservative marginalization at Princeton. Then in *The Daily Princetonian*, sandwiched somewhere between articles decrying the "Orange Bubble" syndrome and Pro-Life sign displays, with some gratuitously unnecessary Asheesh Siddique editorials thrown in for good measure, was the announcement that we had won. 51.8% was hardly a decisive

College Republicans and other elements of the vast Right Wing Conspiracy on campus have long been known for their ability to muster decent numbers when required, CR's has an e-mail list only a third as large as College Democrats', and the "progressive bloc" commands a well-oiled political machine, able to promulgate a party line in any number of publications and attract local and national press attention in a manner that makes the CR's look like the bush leagues. If this vote had been a pure contest of organizational ability, the Student Bill of Rights would have been decisively defeated.

I should note at this point that while my comments thus far have been largely rooted in fact, I now move almost entirely into the realm of conjecture. Although I believe my theoretical musings are largely consistent with the known facts in this case, I am unable to factually substantiate much of what I am about to propose.

The minority that voted against the Student Bill of Rights was likely composed of the politically active left-leaning segment of the campus political culture. These are people who had probably read *The Daily Princetonian* editorials, who had kept up with the issue, and had heard the party line as disseminated by College Democrats and *The Progressive Nation*.

The majority that voted in the affirma-

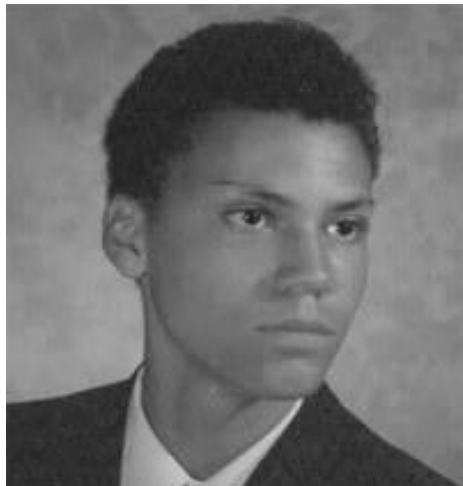
Voting against something like the Student Bill of Rights requires the voter to be vested in the debate surrounding the issue. It requires not just passive assent, but rather active dissent.

never in my wildest dreams thought that it might actually garner a majority. With such left field success, I would strongly recommend flying pork futures as a short-term investment.

When I first sat down to write this article, I planned on continuing with my theme

mandate from the student body, but it was a mandate nonetheless, and it blew the bottom out of my roughly drafted article. Back to the drawing board was alas my fate.

Why did the Student Bill of Rights pass? Clearly, party-line politics does not appear to have determined the outcome of the contest. The Student Bill of Rights was both identified with, and identifiable as



Alex Maugeri '07 led the campaign for the Student Bill of Rights

The Student Bill of Rights passed because a rather large body of voting students saw nothing wrong with it, and had not heard any convincing reason to vote against it.

an initiative of, the College Republicans. Princeton's campus, by all recent measures, is overwhelmingly liberal – card-carrying Democrats are perhaps twice as numerous as their self-identified comrades from across the aisle. Cohesive mobilization efforts organized by conservative groups cannot explain away the victory either – while

on the other hand, seems to have been a hybrid of the politically active right (smaller than the left it should be noted), and relative political neutrals who were not vested in the fight as the aforementioned groups.

The psychology of the vote is worth at least some analysis. To vote in the negative on a referendum issue such as the Bill of

Rights requires a familiarity with the referendum initiative itself, relevant contextual information, and perhaps a knowledge of its institutional sponsor (CR's). Voting "No" was not the default position in this instance. If a student sees something labeled "Student Bill of Rights", which on further examination looks reasonable, he will probably vote for it. Voting against something like the Student Bill of Rights requires the voter to be vested in the debate surrounding the issue. It requires not just passive assent, but rather active dissent.

The Student Bill of Rights passed not because College Republicans mobilized a majority of voting students on campus. The Student Bill of Rights passed because a rather large body of voting students saw nothing wrong with it, and had not heard any convincing reason to vote against it. While I think the College Republicans' publicity campaign and voter mobilization drive was indeed successful, it couldn't have been successful enough to account for the 51.8%. A solid portion of the positive vote came from politically inactives – students with no partisan stake in the game who recognized a reasonable proposal and voted

of respect and admiration) would never fly with the political moderates here at Princeton. Credit goes to College Republican president Alex Maugeri for treading a path of reasonable moderation on this issue and others.

under the right circumstances.

While more referenda are not currently in the College Republican pipeline to my knowledge, that does not mean that steps cannot be taken to further develop this coalition of center-right and indifferent students

Conservative groups need to learn to speak the language of political moderation, and more importantly general rationality and reasonableness.

Finally, the success of the Student Bill of Rights reveals that *The Daily Princetonian* is largely irrelevant as an organ of policy promotion. I have long suspected that few care about the endorsements of the Prince editorial page which show up every election cycle. The triumph of the Student Bill of Rights referendum confirms my belief, demonstrating that the Prince does not carry sway with anyone beyond the reach of campus political organizations. In other words, people not on the College Democrats' mailing list did not and will not treat a Prince endorsement with awed reverence, and those

on campus. Conservative groups need to learn to speak the language of political moderation, and more importantly general rationality and reasonableness. We can expose the Moonbat wackiness of Princeton's left if we position ourselves as commonsensical types not so concerned with sensationalist politics as we are with basic issues of student concern on campus.

In closing, I would just like to remind readers that with this issue of the *Tory*, we bid farewell to a noble generation of Princeton conservatives. While few of us perhaps will miss Jurgen Reinhoudt's famed 10,000 word dissertations on European economics – I say this in jest, I personally find the failure of the welfare state fascinating -- the graduation of the class of 2006 will certainly leave a void in the ranks of what could broadly be termed the Vast Right Wing Conspiracy at Princeton. Stand-out guys like Ira Leeds and Mike Frago helped me find my way at this school, and they most assuredly will be missed.

And that's my last word, although I have deferentially ceded "the last word" to Ira and Powell.

P

The success of the Student Bill of Rights reveals that The Daily Princetonian is largely irrelevant as an organ of policy promotion.

affirmatively.

There are a number of lessons to be drawn from this whole experience. First and foremost, conservative initiatives can succeed on this liberal campus if they are reasonable and acceptable to apolitical students. While conservatives will never constitute a majority in USG elections, conservatives and unaligned students can, in a coalition, form a voting majority over the objections of campus liberals.

Second, political moderation is both useful and necessary. Had the College Republican effort been more closely tied to David Horowitz's Students for Academic Freedom – a fringe right group that attempts to shove more harshly worded student bills of rights down the collective throat of various university administrators around the country – it probably would have failed. The kind of radical politics represented by men like Horowitz (for whom I have a good deal

already on the College Dems mailing list are more likely to listen to their president Julia Brower than Anna Huang (the Prince's Executive Editor for Opinion – whose anonymity to a majority of you proves my point) anyway. While the Prince may command at least some respect with its endorsements of candidates, on politically a-personal issues, the Prince probably wields less influence than the *Tory*.

Conclusions like these are great, but only if applied to a coherent plan for the future. What the Student Bill of Rights experience teaches is that there is a market on this campus for reasonable reform proposals initiated by conservative groups. Is Nassau Hall ever going to cut funding to the LGBTQ center – or any number of other Alphabet Soup-inspired offices – and give it all to Robbie George? Not in a million years. But will reasonable students vote for reasonable proposals, even if they're coming from the mouths of College Republicans? Perhaps,



Will Scharf '08 is a history major originally from New York. An officer at Charter Club, Will is also involved in a number of conservative political and Jewish religious groups on campus.

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR REPUBLICANS

Rick Morgan '09

"It is time for Americans to lift their voices now—in pride for our immigrant past and in pride for our immigrant future. We stand for the future.... Well, I'm here today to say that we will support you, too. We will never give up. We will never give in. Hasta la Victoria! Si se puede!"

So stated Massachusetts Senator Ted Kennedy at an illegal immigration rally in Washington D.C. on April 10, 2006. While Kennedy's political pandering is certainly not surprising, it is clear that the controversy over illegal immigration has moved to the forefront of political debate in the United States.

Following the introduction of a hard-line immigration enforcement bill in the

terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act" is that in addition to calling for toughened border control, it also makes being in this country illegally a felony, punishable by deportation. Furthermore, it outlaws providing assistance to illegal immigrants. This assistance includes employment and charitable services.

In a rare success, the Democrats have politically outmaneuvered the Republicans with regard to immigration. Although the unions and the multiculturalist liberals are at odds over precisely what to do, the Democratic Party decided to put the GOP on the defensive by voting to put the felony provision in the House bill, and then promptly abandoning it, leaving Republicans with a measure they were not sure they even wanted. This resulted in Republican infight-

from Spain, which had conquered it from the Aztecs, who had seized it from small, local tribes...ad infinitum).

The concerns of the overwhelming majority of Americans who are in favor of stricter, border enforcement undoubtedly have merit. A Fox News Poll from May 3 cites 91% of Americans who believe the issue is "very serious," and about two thirds want to see a military presence on the border to stop the illegal influx.

The deportation of these aliens poses several difficulties. The most obvious concern surrounds the questionable morality of forcibly exiling 12 million people from this country. There is also the risk of serious economic consequences by suddenly removing these people from the labor pool. After all, with an unemployment rate of less than

Many are worried about the depression of wages; the burden on local schools, hospitals, and services; and the influx of foreign criminals. These fears have not been calmed by the near-treasonous claims by some Latinos that parts of the US rightfully belong to them, since the land was originally owned by Mexico

five percent, we are hardly awash in excess labor. It is possible that supply shortages and price increases of certain goods would

House of Representatives by James Sensenbrenner (R—Wisconsin), hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens and their supporters walked out of schools, jobs, and homes to protest. Shortly thereafter, a national debate ensued, dominated by extremists on both sides, leaving the majority of Americans without a voice in Washington and the Republican Party split and on the defensive. In the run up to a mid-term election that already promises to be difficult for conservatives, immigration does not have to be a losing issue for the GOP. By recognizing the views of not only their base, but of the majority of Americans, and by implementing common sense proposals, Republicans can score a major legislative victory while further protecting America's national security.

The most controversial aspect of Sensenbrenner's "Border Protection, Anti-

ing, leaving much of the conservative base disillusioned with a political establishment that seems to have become increasingly out of touch with its wishes.

It is reasonable to understand why immigration elicits such a visceral reaction from so many people in America. The country's estimated 12 million illegal immigrants and their families are fearful of being deported if the bill passes. At the other end of the spectrum, American citizens feel threatened by the chaotic and uncontrolled waves of immigration into this country. Many are worried about the depression of wages; the burden on local schools, hospitals, and services; and the influx of foreign criminals. These fears have not been calmed by the near-treasonous claims by some Latinos that parts of the US rightfully belong to them, since the land was originally owned by Mexico (which, in reality, had taken it

follow soon after the deportation of illegal immigrants. The true magnitude of these scenarios, however, is debatable, and many would contend that it would affect primarily wealthy business owners and agricultural tycoons. Finally, narrowly speaking, it makes little sense for the GOP to antagonize Hispanics in an election year that already does not look favorable to the party.

However, none of these concerns justify the arguments being touted by the so-called "open borders" lobby. This alliance, comprised of multiculturalist elites on the left and business elites on the right has essentially controlled the immigration debate in this country for the last few years, and is partly responsible for provoking the populist reaction embodied by people such as Sensenbrenner and the "Minutemen" volunteer border agents. This lobby has been described as elitist, and rightly so. Not

only do they comprise a very small minority of Americans, but they are endowed with a sense of entitlement. The liberals feel that they are entitled to cheap votes. Conservative businessmen feel that they are entitled to cheap, and often times illegal, labor in order to avoid paying minimum wage, social security tax, or any semblance of benefits to the impoverished laborers who trek across the Rio Grande.

In a sense, one may feel sympathy with the people who take great risk to immigrate here in search of a better future for themselves and their children. The United States, however, is a sovereign nation, and a nation of laws. The laws must be enforced, and for a good reason. While the open borders lobby projects a semi-heroic aura around illegal immigrants, most of whom are hard-working and law-abiding (not including the fact that they are here illegally), we must recognize the grim reality. Criminals, violent gangs, and drug dealers have used our liberal immigration policy to engage in their operations here. Violent gang-like groups such as MS-13 have populated the regions close to the border and have infiltrated even into the heartland of America. The situation has become so dire that Governors Bill Richardson (D—New Mexico) and Janet Napolitano (D—Arizona) declared a state of emergency along their respective borders with Mexico in 2005 in response to escalating violence. Additionally, since illegal aliens are not citizens, they do not pay taxes, and frequently become financial burdens on the health and education systems of this country. Interestingly enough, they also comprise a disproportionately large percentage of those in America's prison system. It is unjust that actual Americans should be forced to suffer a deterioration of the health care and education systems and increased crime just for the benefit of the open borders lobby and the millions of foreigners who feel that they are above the law and do not have to follow standard immigration procedures.

There is a clear problem, but unfortunately, Congress refuses to propose a clear solution. Amnesty, which was enacted in 1986 under President Ronald Reagan, is again being touted by some, although they don't refer to it by that name. Granted, amnesty would partly ease the taxpayer burden by transforming illegals into tax-paying citizens, but it would only serve to encourage more illegal immigration, meaning that we would again be facing this very same issue a few years down the road. There is also President George W. Bush's

guest worker program, which would allow laborers to work here for a certain period of time, and then require them to return home and re-apply for citizenship. This proposal is incredibly complex, and would require the creation of a huge bureaucratic support system, and like most things cooked up in Washington D.C. these days, would probably be inefficient. On the opposite side of the ideological divide, some Congressmen and many citizens have been advocating tough fines and penalties for those businesses which hire illegal immigrants.

Fining employers is certainly a good idea in theory, but is sadly politically impractical. It would be very difficult to

might have the added benefit of persuading Hispanics to not encourage more illegal immigration into this country. On a similar note, in order to convince Mexico to cooperate with our efforts, we could establish a formula for taxing remittances (payments sent by workers here in the US back to their families abroad) sent to Mexico. Since payments from Mexican expatriates make up the largest source of foreign currency entering Mexico, this could be quite effective and serve as another revenue generator. The formula would work in such a manner that the higher the number of illegal aliens who enter the US, the higher the tax we would impose on remittances. Finally, a more unique

Excessive and uncontrolled immigration is a problem, but we would be morally remiss if we deported 12 million people, and would suffer political and financial consequences if we were to punish businesses for hiring these aliens.

convince President Bush and a majority of Congressmen from either party to implement a law directly hostile to so many American businesses, particularly powerful associations such as the sugar, citrus, construction, and developer lobbies in the swing state of Florida. All of these businesses depend on illegal labor, and their influence and money are indispensable for conducting a political campaign in the Sunshine State.

The most logical route for Congress now would be one of sensible compromise. Excessive and uncontrolled immigration is a problem, but we would be morally remiss if we deported 12 million people, and would suffer political and financial consequences if we were to punish businesses for hiring these aliens. Therefore, the GOP should split the immigration issue into two parts. The first would deal with border security. Given that we live in the 21st century, it should not be all that difficult to prevent unarmed, non-hostile Mexicans from crossing the border illegally. Congress should address this by essentially sealing the border. This is an issue that few, even on the left, would dare to oppose for fear of being soft on crime and terrorism. A further benefit is that Republicans would be acting in accordance with the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

The second prong involves attaching an addendum to the border enforcement law stipulating that if illegal immigration drops off to sufficiently low levels, then Congress would implement a program to legalize those aliens already here. This provision

strategy was proposed by Kinky Friedman, a candidate for governor of Texas. His plan is to simply "hire" a Mexican general to patrol his side of the border, and we would deduct a certain amount from his "paycheck" each time we caught an illegal immigrant crossing the border. Essentially, we could have the Mexican military take care of the problem for us.

There is no reason why the issue of immigration has to be a political mud pit for Republicans. While it can certainly be stated that the GOP is divided on the issue, the same can be said of the Democrats. By separating the individual components of the immigration debate, Republicans can pass a meaningful border security package, providing them with a much-needed legislative accomplishment, and postpone the more thorny issues of amnesty and citizenship until after the election. By that time, if Congress actually does its job, we can offer citizenship to those immigrants living here, without having to fear yet another crush of humanity uncontrollably pouring across our borders. P



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SLOUCHING TOWARDS ORDINARY

THE DEATH OF REAL PRINCETON TRADITION

Powell Fraser '06, Ira Leeds '06

On the shores of the Crimean Peninsula in rural Ukraine, the small town of Kazantip is flooded every year with tens of thousands of college-aged Europeans as part of an annual summer music festival dedicated to forgetting the economic and political troubles of the day and remembering how fun it is to simply enjoy oneself. By contrast, while Ukraine was under Soviet control, all public festivals and musical performances were conceived and organized by Soviet officials. The Kazantip music festival began shortly after the fall of the Soviet Union specifically to depoliticize music and art, demonstrating that culture and entertainment need not be part of an institutional message of control.

The Board of Trustees and the University administration have failed repeatedly to heed the message that is now abundantly clear among the youth of the former Soviet Union: the politicization and bureaucratization of student traditions is both stifling and harmful. Furthermore, the motion on campus has been retrograde. While Ukrainian youth have flourished in the rubble of totalitarianism, the University has aimed to take central control of a culture that was developed independently of Nassau Hall. Even Woodrow Wilson recognized that student tradition at Princeton seemed to have a life of its own, often centered on Prospect Avenue, as he launched his own unsuccessful *kulturkampf* against the clubs during his tenure as University President.

We, the authors of this essay, would like to acknowledge that we have had a spectacular time at Princeton. Our experience has oscillated between stimulation and intoxication and has always ended with enlightenment. But we cannot shake the

feeling that not all is well on Princeton's campus. For the last four years, the *Tory* has published a number of pieces that have poked and prodded campus life in order to attempt to steer the University away from many of its ill-conceived projects. What we have realized in the intervening time period, however, is that the true difficulty of mobilizing opposition against University "reforms" lies in the concession that few actions by the administration have ever merited a forthright and immediate response. There has been no occasion to declare, as George H. W. Bush once said, "This aggression will not stand." That is to say, Nassau Hall's attack on tradition has been a slow process, difficult to perceive during a semester or a single year, but over the course of our four years, has made itself painfully obvious. Princeton's long history of sacred tradition is not ending with a bang, but a whimper.

Regardless of what the University

in a slow, lurching degradation of campus culture. We are losing those things that make Princeton unique and, more importantly, that make a Princeton education intrinsically more valuable than that at another institution.

The quintessential example of this loss of tradition is embodied by every disgruntled young alumnus's favorite rallying cry: the Nude Olympics. Few would argue that there was something so valuable about such a display of naked undergraduates as to preserve this tradition regardless of any costs to life and limb. While we appreciate public nudity as much as the next sex-deprived undergraduate, the authors of this paper would further argue that the loss of the Nude Olympics in and of itself has not irrevocably changed the Princeton experience.

The problem, however, becomes evident when one evaluates the macro-level pattern of "reform" at Princeton that has defined

The authors find it very troubling that the University seems determined to obtain a monopoly on fun and tradition even when it is collectively agreed among students that they fail at both.

administration and Trustees might wish, it would be nearly impossible for students to wake up one day and find that the Eating Clubs had disappeared. Similarly, teaching quality and prestige could never deteriorate at such a rate that the next issue of *U.S. News and World Report* might suddenly rank Princeton "average" among its Ivy League peers. Rather than causing immediate change, Nassau Hall's deprivation and institutionalization of a multitude of campus traditions in the last decade has resulted

the last decade. Public, semi-random events such as the Nude Olympics and Newman's Day have been replaced by institutionalized displays of fun like the FristFest, FluFest, any number of big-tent ethnic celebrations, and pizza-rich study breaks where panels lambaste the alcoholic culture of Prospect Avenue. Sure, undergrads flock to these events for the free t-shirts and food, but are these events really the foundation of any enduring tradition?

The authors find it very troubling that

the University seems determined to obtain a monopoly on fun and tradition even when it is collectively agreed among students that they fail at both. The last vestige of independent tradition on campus, the Eating Clubs, have now come under attack as Dean Malkiel has made it abundantly clear that the University intends the four-year residential college system to usurp rather than to supplement the Street. Does the administration legitimately believe they are better at giving students memorable and enjoyable extracurricular Princeton experiences? We suspect it is really a matter of jealousy. Given the significant number of administration officials involved in these decisions, it would be near impossible to believe that so many highly-educated individuals have deluded themselves into thinking that forty year-olds know how to give college-aged individuals a good time. Instead, the more logical conclusion is that under institutional double-speak and false pretenses, the University's administrators and Trustees lament that some of the most memorable of Princeton experiences are specifically not the result of University-sponsored actions. Hence FristFest and other attempts to fabricate substitutes for student-

conceived, student-run activities.

Because of the University's failure to accept *laissez-faire* fun, growing evidence points to a concerted effort to wipe out all those things that make our university unique. We must ask, therefore, when did Princeton become such a sterile and institutional place? What will be the next tradition to be neutered by Nassau Hall?

Those readers who have attended Reunions may better understand this concern since today's undergraduate may be almost entirely unaware of how tradition-rich the school used to be. In speaking with older alumni, both of the authors have been regaled with tantalizing stories of how students used to steal the clapper atop Nassau Hall (which now rings via a loudspeaker recording) or how Cane Spree used to be an unregulated free-for-all.

What are the traditions that current Princeton students will be telling their children about? Outside of the classroom, what inspiring experiences can we collectively call our own at Princeton?

While addressing the decline of Princeton in such an ethereal – even Platonic – manner may appear ineffective and unre-

fined, the authors chose this line of argument because no single campus issue addressed in the *Tory* or elsewhere can encapsulate what is at stake if we as Princetonians make the wrong decisions in what we choose to “reform.” The results of reform could radically change what a “quintessentially Princeton” experience really looks like. Any particular misstep, however, made by the administration or the Board of Trustees today may not be evident until years later, if ever at all.

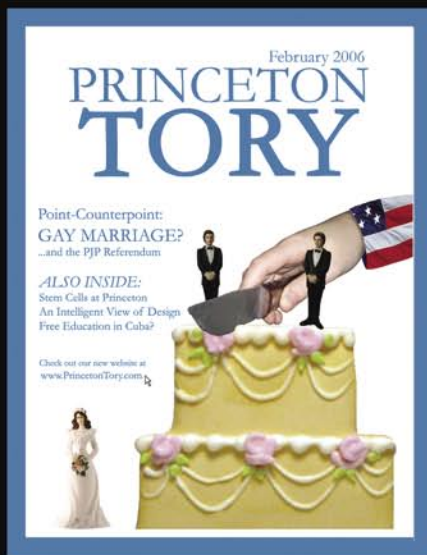
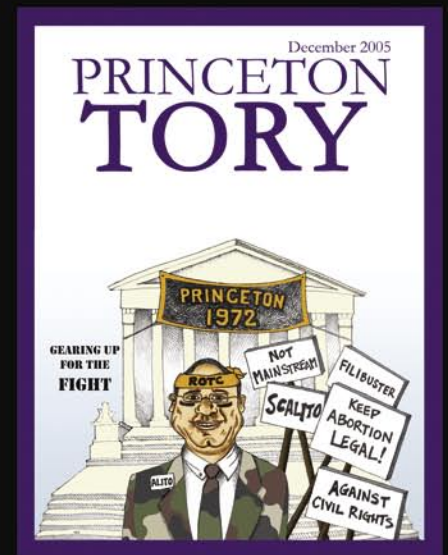
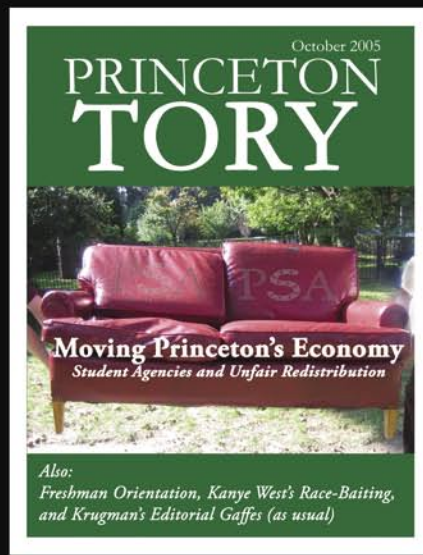
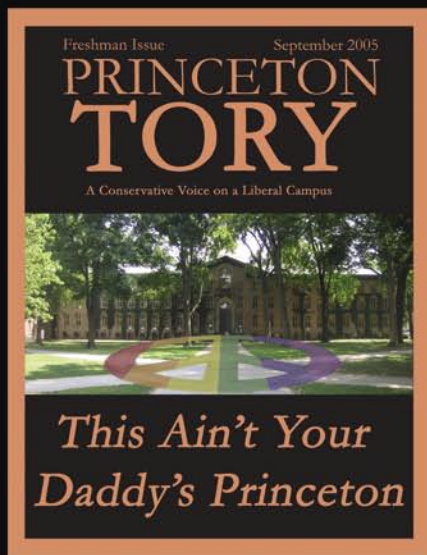
We have loved our time at Princeton, and out of that love for our soon-to-be alma mater we choose to raise these admittedly nebulous questions. As the long arm of administration reform reaches into every aspect of social life on campus, we fear the unintended consequences just as much as the stated objectives. At the base of our concerns lies a specific fear: that we are witnessing the twilight of Princeton's greatness. We hope to find in thirty years that the unique and wonderful Princeton experience is as strong as ever. For now, we strongly question whether the University is headed in the right direction. P

Powell Fraser '06 and Ira Leeds '06



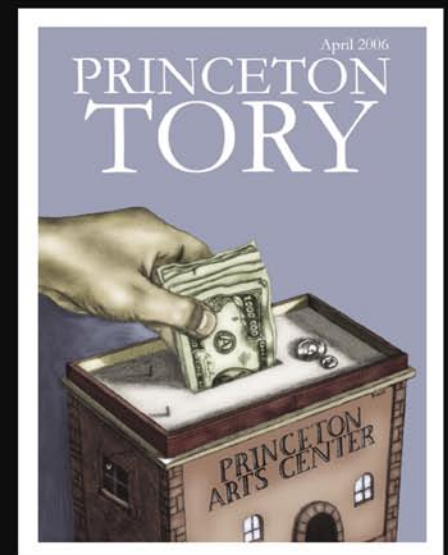
This being the last issue of the 2005-2006 school year, we would like to give special thanks to Ira Leeds, our Publisher Emeritus, for all he contributed to the Tory during his two-year tenure as Publisher.

***To our graduating seniors:
Best of luck!***



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