GOODBYE, WOODY WOO A FALL SEMESTER LIKE NO OTHER CONVERSATION: RACISM AND FREE SPEECH

For Andrea Campbell '04,

it's personal

PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

SEPTEMBER 2020 PAW.PRINCETON.EDU

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An editorially independent magazine by alumni for alumni since 1900

PRESIDENT'S PAGE

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FROM THE EDITOR

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A Conversation

Three professors have a candid discussion about a university's role in supporting both free inquiry and social justice. *Moderted by Mark F. Bernstein '83* The Political Is Personal36Andrea Campbell '04 is a rising political star,
her life in politics informed by a personal story
infused with great tragedy and enduring hope.
By Lydialyle Gibson

Comm In the I Republ Blashed friend is school, Chris Haugh, left, and Jordan

Blashek '09

Common Ground

In the latest PAWcast, Republican Jordan Blashek '09 and his friend from Yale law school, Democrat Chris Haugh, discuss road trips they took to better understand each others' different political perspectives.

Challenging Biases

Helen Lee Bouygues '95 breaks down ways parents can teach their children critical thinking.

Wilson Decommission

Gregg Lange '70 contemplates the complexity of Woodrow Wilson 1879.



Masking Up Two engaged alumni are bringing masks to the U.S. in memory of Jessica Li '18's father.

Hard Decisions About an Uncertain Fall

ver the first weekend in August, I worked non-stop to draft a syllabus for an in-person course on free speech. I was excited about offering it to students in the Class of 2024. I volunteered to do the course with first-year international students in mind, knowing they needed an inperson class to satisfy recently issued immigration restrictions.

Just five days later, I had not only abandoned that project but also announced, with tremendous sadness and regret, that Princeton's fall semester for undergraduate students would be entirely online. That unhappy reversal will linger among the poignant memories of a summer unprecedented in Princeton's history.

The COVID-19 pandemic confronts educators with an unrelenting stream of painful and unsatisfactory choices. On the one hand, personal engagement is important to teaching and learning. On the other hand, personal proximity enables the transmission of the COVID infection. That dilemma permeates nearly every imaginable aspect of college life, from classrooms, dining halls, and dormitories to gyms, theaters, and laboratories. We began this summer mindful of the pandemic's persistent

threat but determined to bring undergraduates back to campus if we could do so in a way that was consistent with public health guidance and state regulations. In early July, Princeton released a plan for the upcoming year: we would try to bring back freshmen and juniors in the fall, and sophomores and seniors in the spring.

Though we would have preferred to invite back all undergraduate students, we needed capacity to quarantine and isolate students if outbreaks occurred. Moreover, public health principles and New Jersey regulations restricted occupancy of dormitories, Social distancing guide: Please stay one tiger (at least six feet) apart from other people. 1' 2' 3' 4' 5' 6'

dining halls, classrooms, and libraries in ways that made it impossible to accommodate the full undergraduate student body.

Under the circumstances, we regarded our plan as aggressive but prudent. We believed that it gave us the capacity to respond to the waves of infection that Princeton's scientists told us were likely to occur during the fall.

We warned people from the outset, however, that we might have to reassess our plans if conditions deteriorated. And they did. The COVID case count in the United States was rising when we announced our plan and it climbed dramatically through most of July. Moreover, when other colleges or schools had brought back students for summer sessions or athletic training camps, COVID cases quickly arose.

New Jersey managed to keep infection rates low, but it did so only by pausing its statewide reopening plan. The state also tightened some regulations, such as those limiting the size of indoor gatherings. By the time early August was upon us, it was clear that public health principles and state regulations would almost certainly compel us to impose tighter behavior controls on students than we had anticipated. Those restrictions turn colleges into very confining institutions. Nearly all the spaces on campus count as "public," leaving students with much less freedom than most of us have at home. In your own house, you can wander into the kitchen, grab a cup of coffee, and join others in the family room. Not so in a dormitory amidst a surging pandemic: masks become compulsory outside your bedroom, and common spaces are heavily regulated or closed entirely.

Some undergraduates had stayed on campus in the spring because they could not return home. Many found the conditions difficult and dreary. Some even said they could not understand why anybody would want to be on campus under such constraints if they had another option.

In-person classes would feel anything but intimate. Small seminars would have to meet in huge lecture halls so that students would have six feet of separation from every classmate. Everybody would wear masks at all times.

Finally, because New Jersey has been more successful than most states at controlling viral spread, it imposed strict quarantine requirements for people coming from most other

> states. Even if we had inperson classes in the fall, many students would have to wait two weeks before attending one.

Confronted with these facts, we reluctantly concluded that we could not provide a genuinely meaningful on-campus experience for our undergraduate students that was consistent with public health guidance and state regulations. We might keep our students and community healthy, but only by imposing unpleasant limitations that many would find disheartening or depressing.

Perhaps other institutions will demonstrate ways to

bring back many students for a satisfying on-campus experience even while COVID infection rates in the United States remain unacceptably high. If so, we will learn from their example. Alas, over the past eight months those who have been pessimistic about COVID's impact on our nation have proven correct far more often than the optimists, and the cost of lax behavior or hasty reopening can be measured in lives lost.

We will in any event continue to press forward, seeking ways to bring undergraduate students back for experiences that are both meaningful and safe. Testing will improve in the months to come. We may learn more about how best to limit transmission. And I am confident that the faculty, staff, administration, and alumni of this University will continue to do everything we can to support Princeton's students in these extraordinary and difficult times.

squite

PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

An editorially independent magazine by alumni for alumni since 1900

September 2020 Volume 121, Number 1

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YOUR VIEWS • WILSON RENAMINGS • FREE SPEECH

Inbox

CONFRONTING RACISM

I was gratified to see President Eisgruber's June 22 Message to the Princeton Community regarding antiracism initiatives, including his call to "seize this tragic and searing moment in American history to ask how we can more effectively fight racism." I support such a task wholeheartedly, but I ask, what took so long?

Princeton students, faculty, staff, and alumni have long confronted the University on critical cases of institutional racism, from the issue of divestment in South Africa years ago to, more recently, the tainted legacy of Woodrow Wilson and Princeton's complicity in slavery. Princeton officials, President Eisgruber included, have too often been slow to respond to those challenges in a positive manner, but now, in the midst of an inescapable national crisis, Princeton's president calls upon everyone to be "relentless in our efforts to eliminate the scourge of racism and strive for equality and justice." In fact, many people at Princeton have been doing that for years.

I point to the Princeton & Slavery Project: From its beginnings as a small student seminar led by Professor Martha Sandweiss, in 2013, the project now provides a model for engaged scholarship and service, with around 1,000 pages of evidence and analysis on its website, slavery.princeton.edu. I would urge everyone in the Princeton community to explore the Princeton & Slavery site and begin to come to terms with the University's emergence

WE'D LIKE TO HEAR FROM YOU

Email: paw@princeton.edu Mail: PAW, 194 Nassau Street, Suite 38, Princeton, NJ 08542 PAW Online: Comment on a story at paw.princeton.edu Phone: 609-258-4885 Fax: 609-258-2247 from deep roots of racism. Only by acknowledging where we came from can we determine where we need to go. **Gregory Nobles '70** *Northport, Mich.*

ADMISSION AND DIVERSITY

In response to the letter on admission data (Inbox, June/July 2020), the comment that "Dean Richardson ['93] and her admissions staff apparently didn't get [Martin Luther King Jr.'s] message" implies a belief that the Class of 2024 was admitted primarily on "the color of their skin," not "the content of their character." I question the underlying premise: Does evidence exist that the selection process adhered to less rigorous standards than the usual ones upheld by the Office of Admission? (Spoiler alert: No.)

What, then, elicited the admission comments this year, particularly, and not, say, last year when Jill Dolan was the acting dean of admission? The press releases for the classes of 2023 and 2024 were quite similar. Evidently, the University's commitment to diversity has been explicit and well-documented for a while now.

We'll never know if similar sentiments would have been expressed had Dean Dolan, who is white, delivered the exact same results this year. We know only that the letter appeared during the tenure of Dean Richardson, who is African American. While it surprised me to see a fellow alum rebuke a highly qualified dean for executing Princeton's *continues on page 7*

Letters should not exceed 250 words and may be edited for length, accuracy, clarity, and civility. Due to space limitations, we are unable to publish all letters received in the print magazine. Letters, articles, photos, and comments submitted to PAW may be published in print, electronic, or other forms.

Inbox

READERS RESPOND TO THE JUNE DECISION TO REMOVE WOODROW WILSON'S NAME FROM THE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND A RESIDENTIAL COLLEGE. Submit comments and read more responses at paw.princeton.edu.

The decision of the Princeton Board of Trustees to remove Woodrow Wilson's name from the school after many decades is an unfortunate instance of the board failing to exhibit some backbone in order to placate short-term passions on the campus. A better model for the board is the response of Lord Chris Patten, the chancellor of Oxford, when confronted by Black Rhodes scholars pressing for the removal of Rhodes' statue on the grounds that Rhodes was a racist. The chancellor rejected the request saying, "Our history is not a blank page on which we can write our own version of what it should have been according to contemporary views. If we remove the Rhodes statue on the premise he wasn't perfect, where would we stop?"

There is a substantial record of Wilson's contribution to our country's domestic reforms and international peace, certainly enough to justify earlier boards naming the school after him. This board has now indulged itself in retroactive judgment-making to satisfy current fashion. I reject this form of revisionism — it will change nothing but surely disturbs the many Wilson School graduates like myself who have for years been proud of the association with Wilson and have no intention of modifying our CVs to placate current whim. **Paul Firstenberg '55**

Greenwich, Conn.

Hearing of the decision to remove Wilson's name from the Wilson School, I looked again at the 2015-16 review of the issue. I noted that background information was sought from nine experts, six white and three African American scholars. What struck me was the difference between the views of the African American academicians, whose position I thought should be prioritized, and the views of the white academicians. The three African American scholars all pointed out how Wilson's racism was malignant and excessive, even for the era. Five of the six white scholars, in one way or another, took a position similar to that of Professor Kendrick

Clements: "Against a full understanding of Wilson's racism (however that is defined), Princeton needs to weigh the whole of his public career" I would paraphrase that as, "We ought to keep the name on the School; his heinous racism doesn't matter that much because his accomplishments outweigh it."

Sadly, Princeton, by retaining Wilson's name in 2016, sided with that view. The University should have seen then, but fortunately recognizes now, how painful it would be for African American students to study at a school named for a person who, whatever his achievements, treated people like themselves as less than human and substantially injured them by his actions, such as taking the lead in kicking people of color out of federal jobs. White people like myself who are undergraduate alumni of the school were forced to be complicit in that stand.

James W. Anderson '70 Chicago, III.

I want to cast my vote in support of the renaming of Wilson College and the School of Public and International Affairs. I have long felt the arguments for it were justified. As I get older, I less and less believe in the "great man" myth anyway. I think "greatness" is generally thrust upon most leaders, and so many truly great human beings go unrecognized. When I was young, I was motivated by and needed heroes. But more and more it felt like a kind of dependency. Now I believe we should all be our own heroes and have the courage to continually question and refine our thinking and above all, tune in to our hearts. Randy Nichols '73 *81 Montrose, Calif.

Renaming the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and Wilson College was, I think, a mistake. Wilson was a great man who made great contributions to Princeton, New Jersey, the nation, and the world. His views and actions on race were deplorable, and for these he is justly criticized. But so were those of Jefferson. This fault does not negate their virtues and achievements, and for these they are properly honored. Lemoine Skinner III '66 San Francisco, Calif.

The great university that Princeton is today was initiated by Woodrow Wilson. Our administration and trustees owe him that respect. He was also an esteemed president of the United States, pushing for what would now be the United Nations. Woodrow Wilson's name has enhanced the reputation of Princeton.

As a saying in the Bible about punishing a sinner says, "Let he without sin throw the first stone." Wilson may have had a sin, but who among our leaders are without similar sins?

Do we really now think that Harvard's Kennedy School will strike the Kennedy name because of John Kennedy's serial sexual exploits? Or that Stanford will change its name because of Leland Stanford's intercontinental railroads' abuse of Chinese immigrant workers? I doubt it.

"[O]ur leaders have instantly swung in the wind of the most recent social trend."

— Larry Leighton '56

Instead of thoughtful, intelligent analysis becoming of a great university, our leaders have instantly swung in the wind of the most recent social trend. I am simultaneously outraged and saddened. This decision will distinctly harm the University. I am embarrassed for our administration and trustees. Larry Leighton '56 New York, N.Y.

In light of the soul-searching our great nation is currently conducting, we as Princetonians should be proud to be leaders of this debate. Critical examination is a hallmark of our education, so it is worthwhile to judge the character of each person whose likeness is represented in bronze on our hallowed campus, including Woodrow Wilson himself. We must accept that life changes, institutions change, and

historical judgment changes.

It is a supreme honor to find an eternal home on Princeton's campus, not to be obtained by dint of power alone, be it political or financial. If a Nobel winner is deemed unworthy of a place on our campus map, surely the ethics of internet commerce tycoons and cosmetic magnates deserve to be similarly vetted.

"We must accept that life changes, institutions change, and historical judgment changes."

— Benjamin Lehrer '03

If we examine Woodrow Wilson's (flawed) efforts to embody Princeton in the service of the nation, then surely we must hold a higher threshold for those whose sole merit is the accumulation and donation of wealth, occasionally ill-begotten. Worthy donors have a right to be recognized for their outstanding gifts, but you have to earn perpetuity.

Donors should expect the same sort of scrutiny that all applicants receive when trying to get into Princeton's freshman class. I remember composing an essay on ethics for my Princeton application. If we must compete our hardest as 17-year-olds to merit a seat at precept, surely we must invest a lifetime of rectitude to earn a portrait in that same precept room, one that may hang for decades ... or not.

Benjamin Lehrer '03 Los Angeles, Calif.

Earlier this year, I was gifted a copy of *The Best of PAW*, a hardcover book published in 2000. J.I. Merritt '66, its editor, along with his selection committee, did a splendid job in "compiling articles on the history, culture, and traditions of Princeton University."

As one alumnus (among many, I would think) who does not approve of the recent decision to de-Wilsonize the School of Public and International Affairs, I submit what is printed on page 223, from a May 9, 1947, article on the naming of the school:

"... Top priority has been assigned by Princeton University's Third

Century Fund Committee to the financial objective of an enlarged and strengthened School of Public and International Affairs, which will be named as a lasting memorial to President Woodrow Wilson. ..."

A "lasting memorial" should be lasting! Princeton trustees should take note!

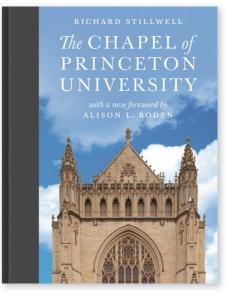
It worries me that the current taking away/destroying/removing past memorials could be enlarged to removing more memorial statues and plaques, names on sports trophies, buildings, et al. of men/women who later in life displease some citizens for some reason having nothing to do with his/her name being engraved on the physical item. **David Nimick '46** *Sewickley, Pa.*

Were he still alive, your esteemed alumnus, my father, former U.S. Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach '43, would have noted the decision to remove the name "Woodrow Wilson" from the Princeton School for Public and International Affairs with a combination of recognition of the importance of the gesture, and concern that symbolic gestures by whites are never enough to fulfill the democratic standard to which he held himself, and all whites, in the ongoing struggle for racial equality and justice for all.

He believed it was the civic responsibility of whites to use our white privilege to redress the long sin of slavery, and make Black Lives Matter. Democracy demanded nothing less from us. A practical realist, he also believed that the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act would only work long term if whites tirelessly enforced them. Recent horrific events have proved his pragmatic realism tragically correct.

The son of an educator, he would have hoped that those same horrific events would inspire Princeton to take the curriculum changes and commitment to authentic racial (and gender) equity in faculty and students, already underway, deeper and further, till the work of healing this nation, and earning the right to call ourselves a democracy, is, finally, done. **Mimi Stokes '76 Princeton Junction, N.J.**

Inbox



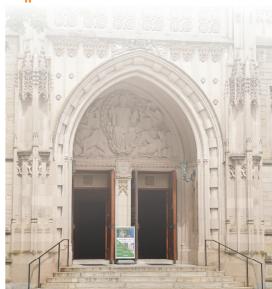
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Inbox

continued from page 3

established recruiting strategy, something about the invocation of Dr. King in a pointed tone bothered me more. I'm confident that Dean Richardson and her team understand the letter and spirit of "I have a dream" perfectly. Thank you, Dean Richardson, for all your efforts, and your team's, to manifest Princeton's mission in the world's service. And to every member of the Class of 2024, congratulations and welcome! You are right where you belong. **Christina A. Harcar '90**

Bronx, N.Y.

SPEECH AT PRINCETON

As a recent alum, I have become worried about the tenor of conversations that are currently occurring on and off campus regarding Woodrow Wilson and the George Floyd killing. I have been on several email and social-media threads where current students and alums seem more concerned with using snark and personal attacks to make their opinions heard instead of critically debating ideas. I'm also concerned with the University's stance on free expression, as it appears to run counter to principles made clear to us students a few years ago.

In 2016, President Eisgruber defended the University's commitment to free speech, even going so far as to declare that Princeton "would tolerate" an event held to commemorate Osama bin Laden. He further went on to say that Princeton "would not discipline somebody for making statements of that nature" and that the remedy to speech that people find offensive was "more speech rather than ... disciplinary action." As painful as the above sounds to many, on principle President Eisgruber made it clear that free expression was a core tenet of Princeton's mission. Unfortunately, I don't see that same dedication to critical inquiry today, when certain faculty members and students are being pressured into silence for holding "controversial" views. If the free-speech principle applies to bin Laden, then surely fellow students, alums, and professors deserve to be held to the same standard. Abhiram Karuppur '19

Warren, N.J.

FROM THE EDITOR

The News and Views in PAW

Amid all the summer news about Princeton — and there was a lot of it, as you will read here — one story has special relevance for PAW. The killing of George Floyd renewed earlier calls to rename the school and residential college named for Woodrow Wilson 1879 — and this time, the calls succeeded. The campus discussion continued with letters and petitions requesting — among other things — anti-racism programming, curricular changes, and oversight of racist behaviors and research, opening a debate on how the University can promote both racial justice and academic freedom.







When it comes to campus research and speech, what's permissible, and how do we draw the line? PAW brought together three professors — Princeton's Carolyn Rouse (anthropology) and Paul Starr (sociology) and Harvard Law School's Randall Kennedy '77 — for a Zoom conversation in July to discuss the roles of the University in advocating for social justice and in fostering free inquiry. You can read an account of the candid conversation on page 30.

PAW — intended to be a forum for alumni to communicate with the University and with each other — traditionally has taken an expansive view of speech, its editors believing that readers respond to ideas they find insulting or offensive with ... better ideas. Longtime readers of PAW's letters section surely have gasped at some of the missives published in our pages over the years. Today, for example, letters opposing coeducation in the 1960s seem comical — but in their time, they weren't funny. These days it's often letters relating to race that give us pause.

"The University's fundamental commitment is to the principle that debate or deliberation may not be suppressed because the ideas put forth are thought by some or even by most members of the University community to be offensive, unwise, immoral,

or wrong-headed," says a statement adopted by the faculty in 2015. "It is for the individual members of the University community, not for the University as an institution, to make those judgments for themselves, and to act on those judgments not by seeking to suppress speech, but by openly and vigorously contesting the ideas that they oppose." President Eisgruber '83 wrote in *The Daily Princetonian* in July that "many people mistakenly treat free speech and inclusivity as competing values," but universities must remain devoted to both.

What this means in real life is difficult to define. Over the summer, PAW board members had a spirited discussion about our letters to the editor. In general, we won't print letters that we deem to be threatening, uncivil, or personal attacks, or letters that we know to be factually incorrect. Some readers think we don't apply those standards enough; others believe we use them to exclude unpopular views. In light of the national focus on racial justice, should we have new standards on what's appropriate for publication? At the end of the board discussion, we agreed that while some might want us to be more restrictive in our selection of letters, it would be hard, or impossible, to come up with rules that clarify exactly what's over the line.

We look forward to hearing your thoughts on PAW letters — and including them in a robust (and civil) collection in our pages and online.

This year, PAW will publish 11 issues: monthly from September through July. Meanwhile, we are boosting our coverage at paw.princeton.edu, so you can read Princeton news when it's current. (Subscribe to email updates at paw.princeton.edu/email.) Our commitment to print remains strong. But as I wrote in January, many alumni classes have found it difficult to fund their share of PAW's budget, and the pandemic has added to PAW's financial pressures. We believe that the new schedule will allow us to maintain and even strengthen the quality of our print magazine. — *Marilyn H. Marks *86 h'88*



YOUR ALUMNI ASSOCIATION



ALUMINARY Eric Plummer '10

President, Association of Black Princeton Alumni

Photo by Tom Grimes

hen Eric Plummer '10 interviews undergraduate candidates for Princeton, the Alumni Schools Committee volunteer gives them advice for college from his own experience: "Build what you would like to see."

Plummer will have a chance to put his advice to work again as the new president of the Association of Black Princeton Alumni.

Since Princeton, Plummer has largely led teams and developed data-driven strategies for companies including Under Armour, Capital One and Lyft. Currently, he is director of operations for Handy HQ, an internet platform to connect individuals looking for household services with independent service professionals.

Building on the energy of the 2019 Thrive conference — he was a steering committee member and ABPA vice president at the time — Plummer hopes to marshal the group's 5,500 members to keep connected online given current restrictions. His focus as ABPA president will be on meaningful community engagement that is "deeper, richer and more efficient."

His Princeton experience gives him grounds to believe in the possibilities. The New Jersey native grew up hearing stories about his uncle, Roderick Plummer '72, Princeton's first Black quarterback. He remembers, at four years old, visiting the former Third World Center on Olden Street for ABPA Reunions cookouts with his father Eric Plummer Sr. '85, who was a decathlete and javelin specialist.

Arriving on campus as a student, Plummer said, "I prioritized my interactions with other students. I knew the value of a Princeton education wasn't getting an 'A' but getting to know a wide swath of people and be able to relate to them and understand where they came from." His four years as an economics major included singing with Old NasSoul, interning at the Fields Center, and being co-president of the Black Men's Awareness Group and a Butler College residential college adviser. For these activities and many more, he was recognized with the Spirit of Princeton Award his senior year.

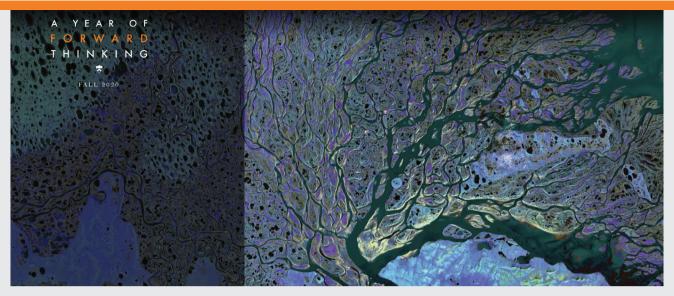
Plummer also played on the track and field team like his father. He captained the men's varsity team and earned five Ivy League championships, four NCAA qualifications and a Junior National title for shot put. His goal to throw 60 feet became a reality senior year and earned him a spot on the Tigers' all-time list.

Plummer's focus as ABPA president will be on meaningful community engagement that is "**deeper, richer and more efficient**."

Most of those accolades almost didn't happen when a herniated disc sidelined him sophomore year. "Those were four long, dreary months of recovery," he said. "But looking back, it taught me that if you can't get to your goal, you have to adapt your approach."

The lesson continues to underline how Plummer sees this specific historical moment and the way he approaches work and service.

"In this time of racial unrest, some say 'Princeton is not really home," Plummer said. "But it's up to each of us to begin the changes that we hope to see to make Princeton home for the next generation."



Dear Princetonians,

In recent weeks, we have been drawn to listen, reflect, and question. As a country and community, how do we reconcile our foundational ideals with failures of our past? As we strive for healing and justice, how do we move forward in a context of unity?

This fall, we invite the full Princeton community alumni, students, faculty, and staff — to join us in "A Year of Forward Thinking," a conversation that we hope will leverage Princeton's "in service" ethos in the context of our current global environment.

Just as our #TigersHelping social media campaign paid tribute to the compassion and courage of our alumni leading through a pandemic, we hope that this #YearofForwardThinking will lift up voices — our "forward thinkers" — who are pioneering solutions to the challenges of today. A cornerstone of this effort will be "Forward Fest," a free, online festival this October 23–24 featuring Princeton faculty, alumni, and students in dialogue about a wide range of themes, from racism and social justice to



technology, education, and the environment.

As Princetonians, we are united by our shared commitment to serve and by the impact of our collective work. What are you "thinking forward" this academic year? Please join us at forwardthinking.princeton.edu.

Yours with "one accord,"

Alexandra Day '02 Deputy Vice President for Alumni Engagement

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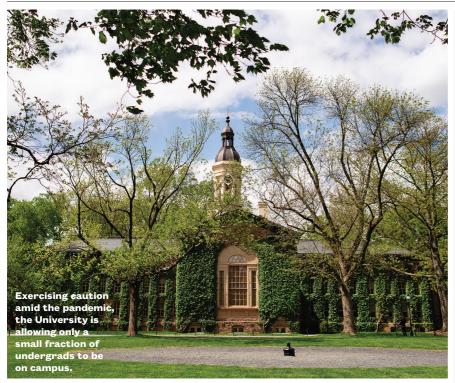
NEWS, SPORTS, AND RESEARCH WILSON DECISION > SPORTS ON HOLD > REFLECTING ON RACE

On the Campus

McCosh Walk was quiet in mid-August, a week after the University announced its plans for remote learning in the fall semester. The path was named for James McCosh, Princeton's 11th president, in 1889, 18 years before the completion of nearby McCosh Hall. Photograph by Ricardo Barros

RT MUSEUM

On the Campus / News



Remote Classes Return

As the spread of COVID-19 continues, Princeton revises plans for fall semester

s COVID-19 continued to spread across the United States in August, President Eisgruber '83 moved to all-remote fall-semester instruction, reversing an earlier plan to have freshmen and juniors on campus. The "unexpectedly high and persistent infection rates" across the country and growing restrictions in New Jersey were two main factors in the decision, Eisgruber said in an interview with PAW.

"On the one hand, I regret having had to make the choice to pull back from our plans," Eisgruber said in the interview, in mid-August, "but I'm very glad we gave ourselves the opportunity to do so, because I must say nothing I've seen in the intervening 10 days makes me think we should have moved in another direction."

Princeton was one of several universities, including Johns Hopkins and the University of Pennsylvania, that altered their fall plans in the weeks before the start of the semester. Some colleges that brought students to campus reported COVID-19 outbreaks shortly after the semester began and sent the students home.

With Princeton undergraduates learning remotely, an already-unusual semester will look very different than what students had imagined and hoped for during the summer. A May survey administered by the Undergraduate Student Government (USG) found many students were unhappy with how virtual learning went in the spring.

In the fall, some classes will be taught live while other faculty have opted to prerecord lectures. One change from the spring semester is that classes and precepts will be offered at new times (from 4:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. Eastern) to accommodate those in different time zones.

"There's been a lot of consternation and concern, and I think students are rightly grieving what they'll lose by not being able to be present on campus," said Jill Dolan, dean of the college. While virtual learning cannot replace an in-person experience, she said, faculty members are working hard to give students the best possible experience.

Many faculty members have worked with the McGraw Center for Teaching and Learning to enhance their courses for a virtual format, Dolan said. The center has developed new course-design templates and has given lessons on using tools such as video production, podcasting, and annotating videos for lectures. In the sciences, some faculty have mailed lab kits to the homes of students so they have access to needed materials.

Steven Kelts, a lecturer teaching a politics class this fall, said he created a studio at home to record lectures over the summer — taking up to eight hours a day to record one class. "I'm recording with three different camera angles to signify different things ... and I'm videoediting and then adding graphics to illustrate what I'm doing," he said. Kelts took video-editing courses in June to learn these skills.

There will be virtual workshops, meetings with residential-college advisee groups, and small-group experiences to help first-year students foster connections. Dolan said the University also hopes to connect students with alumni in their area to create community.

It's unclear whether students will be satisfied. "Students are definitely disappointed that they're not going to have the potential for an in-person experience come the fall," said Julia Garaffa '23, U-Council chair for the USG. High on the list of student



"I think students are rightly grieving what they'll lose by not being able to be present on campus." — Jill Dolan, dean of the college concerns, she said, are grading, the quality of academics, and the overall college experience.

In an Aug. 18 memo to faculty, Dolan announced that 713 students — about 13 percent of undergraduates — opted to defer or take a leave of absence, including 217 freshmen. All were approved to return to campus for the fall 2021 semester.

Allison Slater Tate '96, mother of Mason Tate '24, said she wasn't surprised by the University's decision to go allremote and had encouraged her son to take a leave of absence. "He doesn't want to wait," she said. "He feels like he wants his life to start. … His father and I are very worried that at some point he'll figure out that he's lost a year on campus and will regret it, but we can't make that decision for him."

Graduate students have returned to campus. Some 265 undergrads were approved to return as well, including members of Army ROTC, seniors who must be there to conduct thesis work, and students who need emergency housing. They are living in Spelman Halls and Whitman and Butler colleges. Tuition has been cut by 10 percent for the academic year.

Those on campus are required to follow public-health guidelines and protocols. Students from states on New Jersey's travel-advisory list must quarantine in their rooms for 14 days. Students, faculty, and staff members who are on campus for at least eight hours per week and have no COVID-19 symptoms must take a saliva test weekly. The results will be received within a few days, according to a University statement. This procedure is separate from testing for those who are showing COVID-19 symptoms.

Robin Izzo, executive director of environmental health and safety, said the University had been prepared for students to return in the fall, making physical changes such as installing plexiglass in dining areas and building walls in open office spaces.

Eisgruber said the University will continue to monitor the spread of COVID-19 and hopes to find a way to bring students back in the spring. • *By C.S.*

Policies on Sexual Misconduct Address New Federal Rules

Princeton implemented new policies on sexual misconduct to comply with new, narrower federal regulations while continuing to prohibit inappropriate conduct.

"It is important to know that all conduct of a sexual nature that previously constituted a violation of University policy will continue to constitute a violation of University policy," wrote Michele Minter, the University's vice provost for institutional equity and diversity, in a letter to the community. "However, such conduct may now be adjudicated under different grievance procedures."

The new policies are the narrower Title IX Sexual Harassment policy, to comply with the recent regulations from the Department of Education, and the related University Sexual Misconduct policy, created to address gaps. Both policies were approved by the faculty and the Council of the Princeton University Community (CPUC) in the summer.

"[A]II conduct of a sexual nature that previously constituted a violation of University policy will continue to constitute a violation of University policy."

— Michele Minter, vice provost for institutional equity and diversity The Title IX Sexual Harassment policy applies to cases that occur within the United States and within University education programs or activities. Complaints can be filed under this policy by current students, faculty, or staff members. Prohibited behavior must be "severe and pervasive" to be covered. Prohibited behaviors include quid pro quo sexual harassment, Title IX sexual harassment (sexual conduct that "effectively denies an individual

equal access to the University's education program or activity"), sexual assault, domestic violence, dating violence, stalking, and retaliation.

The University Sexual Misconduct policy applies to the same prohibited behaviors for cases that fall outside of the Title IX Sexual Harassment policy, such as incidents that take place during study abroad or at events off campus, including at the eating clubs. Sexual harassment that is "severe or pervasive," sexual exploitation, and improper conduct related to sex are also covered. In cases where both policies could apply, the Title IX Sexual Harassment policy will be used.

While the policies were created to maintain many of the University's previous Title IX guidelines, they also include noteworthy changes such as:

• Offering a predetermined amount of financial resources for students, staff, and faculty to engage attorneys.

• Proceedings will include live hearings. Under the Title IX policy there will also be live cross-examinations. Written cross-examinations will be allowed under the University Sexual Misconduct policy.

 \bullet Both policies include an optional informal resolution process. All parties and Minter have to agree to initiate the process.

• All complainants and all respondents can appeal decisions to a standing appeal panel.

 \bullet Separating the investigators and adjudicators. Previously, these roles were combined.

Speaking during the Aug. 3 CPUC meeting, Minter said she recognized that these policies are complicated but that the University will work to explain and clarify. "The University's goal is to meet its responsibilities in a manner that ensures compliance with federal law while best fulfilling our commitments to safety, well-being, and fairness," she said. \diamondsuit By C.S.



Rethinking Wilson Citing ex-president's racism, trustees

rename policy school, residential college

n late June, Princeton's trustees voted to rename the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and Wilson College, removing the name of the alumnus and former U.S. and University president whose racist actions have been the subject of a critical reevaluation in recent years. The policy school is now called the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA), while the college was rechristened First College, in recognition of its history as the first of Princeton's six residential colleges.

In a statement, the Board of Trustees said of the SPIA decision, "We have

taken this extraordinary step because we believe that Wilson's racist thinking and policies make him an inappropriate namesake for a school whose scholars, students, and alumni must be firmly committed to combatting the scourge of racism in all its forms." The trustees cited the recent killings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, and Rayshard Brooks as "tragic reminders of the ongoing need for all of us to stand against racism and for equality and justice."

The changes were recommended by President Eisgruber '83, who noted in a separate statement that "Wilson's

racism was significant and consequential even by the standards of his own time." Eisgruber acknowledged that the University's conclusions "may seem harsh to some. Wilson remade Princeton, converting it from a sleepy college into a great research university. Many of the virtues that distinguish Princeton today — including its research excellence and its preceptorial system - were in significant part the result of Wilson's leadership. ... People will differ about how to weigh Wilson's achievements and failures. Part of our responsibility as a University is to preserve Wilson's record in all of its considerable complexity."

The University's top honor for an undergraduate alum will continue to be called the Woodrow Wilson Award. The trustees wrote that Princeton took on a legal obligation to name the prize for Wilson and to honor his "conviction that education is for 'use' and ... the high aims expressed in his memorable phrase, 'Princeton in the Nation's Service.'"

Wilson's legacy has been a matter of intense debate at Princeton since at least November 2015, when the Black Justice League, a student group, led a 33-hour sit-in at Eisgruber's office in Nassau Hall. The group's demands for racial justice included removing Wilson's name from University buildings and programs, an issue that drew national attention. Eisgruber formed the Wilson Legacy Review Committee, a 10-member trustee committee chaired by Brent Henry '69, to consider whether the University should change the ways in which it recognizes Wilson's actions at Princeton and during his time in the White House.

Hundreds of alumni shared their views with the committee, which released its final report in April 2016. While the committee said the University must be "honest and forthcoming" about its history and recognize Wilson's failings, it stopped short of recommending renaming the Wilson School or Wilson College. Princeton's trustees approved several additional actions recommended by the committee, including creating a "pipeline program" to encourage more students from underrepresented groups to pursue doctoral degrees and careers in academia; adding campus art and

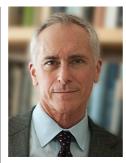
News / On the Campus

iconography that reflects Princeton's diversity; updating the University's informal motto; and installing near Robertson Hall a permanent marker that "educates the campus community and others about both the positive and negative dimensions of Wilson's legacy." The marker, created by artist Walter Hood, was installed in October 2019, drawing new protests and continuing debate over Wilson's racial views.

The issue of Wilson's name resurfaced in June, as the nation grappled with racial injustice. On June 22, a group of students and alumni of the public-affairs school petitioned the University administration for a "comprehensive transformation" of the school. Alumna and philanthropist Kwanza Jones '93 also wrote an open letter to Eisgruber and Vice President for Advancement Kevin Heaney, arguing that by not removing Wilson's name, "Princeton seems content on lauding Wilson and glorifying his actions."

Eisgruber explained how recent events influenced his change of heart in a June 27 op-ed for *The Washington Post*, writing that "Princeton is part of an America that has too often disregarded, ignored and turned a blind eye to racism, allowing the persistence of systems that discriminate against Black people."

Students were not satisfied. Janette Lu'20, a co-author of the June petition from students and alumni, said that the University statements explaining the name changes were "a complete erasure of student activism on campus." Members of the Black Justice League called for broader reforms in an essay posted on Medium: "Such symbolic gestures – absent a more substantive reckoning with lasting traditions perpetuating anti-Blackness that our full list of demands addressed - reflect the University's ongoing failure to confront deep-rooted issues that allow the racist status quo to remain intact under the guise of progress."



Q&A: BIOGRAPHER A. SCOTT BERG '71 Engaging With a Complicated Legacy

A. Scott Berg '71, a member of Princeton's Board of Trustees and the author of *Wilson*, the bestselling 2013 biography of the former University and American president, spoke to PAW about changing assessments of Woodrow Wilson and how we should view him today.

Did you agree with the decision to remove Wilson's name?

Yes. For me, the decision was complicated and correct. History keeps evolving, and so must institutions if they wish to remain vibrant and relevant. Nobody understood that better than Wilson himself, who jolted Princeton when he hired its first Jewish and Catholic faculty members and fought to rid the campus of its exclusivity by challenging the club system. It was that very crusade to diversify and democratize Princeton that captured national attention and catapulted him from academia to the White House in just two years.

Are you concerned that the focus on Wilson's racism will erase recognition of his positive achievements?

I'm concerned that it might, because time tends to shrink significant events and people to bullet points and thumbnails, and I would hate to see one of the most idealistic figures in history — and Princeton's only Nobel Peace Prize winner — reduced to a one-word epithet.

Biographers also confront "presentism" — the tendency to apply contemporary values while interpreting the past. In the case of Wilson, long ranked among our greatest presidents, increased focus on racism has demoted him in the last few decades. That particular reassessment is long overdue, though it should be examined with a wide lens. When Wilson ran for president in 1912, avowed members of the Ku Klux Klan proudly served in the Senate and "separate but equal" was the law of the land. After 13 years of research, I found Wilson to be a centrist on race matters. But today, his allowing Jim Crow back into the federal offices — which quickly permeated most of American society and remained for half a century — has become a hallmark of his administration and rendered him an extremist. Wilson's got to own that resegregation, and people of every successive era must reckon the extent to which that should define the rest of his predominantly progressive career.

How should Princetonians think about Woodrow Wilson in 2020? First of all, we should keep thinking about him — because, for better or worse, he created much of the world in which we live today, from the infrastructure of our economy to the foundation of our foreign policy. ... For me, Wilson was a great man with tragic flaws. He accomplished great things, and he inflicted great harm.

For the last few years, I've been reviewing a lot of civil-rights history through the eyes of Thurgood Marshall, my next subject, and I believe we're now witnessing a historic moment in the struggle for racial equality in this country, one of truly heightened awareness and nationwide commitment. I think our University should be part of that movement. Ironically, the grand gesture of removing Wilson's name from the school and the college becomes a bold enactment of "Princeton in the Nation's Service," the very words he delivered at the University's sesquicentennial celebration in 1896. • Interview conducted and condensed by M.F.B.

READ MORE in an expanded interview at **paw.princeton.edu**

ANTI-RACIST READING LIST

A 'Beginning Step' for Social Justice: Helping Peers With Readings on Racism



Four days after George Floyd died in police custody in Minneapolis, Lauren Johnson '21, an African American Studies (AAS) major from Maplewood, New Jersey, asked friend and fellow concentrator Ashley Hodges '21 if she wanted to collaborate on a book list as a resource for their friends and families.

The result, compiled over one weekend, was a Google sheet entitled the "Anti-Racist Reading List," outlining 73 books, articles, and essays spanning genres and topics from critical race studies to prison abolition. (Browse the list at bit.ly/anti-racist-reading.) "It went way bigger than we expected," said Hodges, who is from Fredericksburg, Virginia. Days after its first appearance on Instagram May 31, the list began spreading rapidly through the University community, becoming a resource in solidarity messages distributed by student groups, campus organizations, and Princeton deans in response to the

protests across the nation. The list, which also spread on Facebook and Twitter, reached unexpected audiences; high schoolers from as far away as London contacted Johnson and Hodges, asking to share the list with their peers.

The book list also was one inspiration for the Undergraduate Student Government's (USG) Anti-Racism Book Initiative, said Kavya Chaturvedi '21, who is the treasurer of her class. Through the initiative, the USG and the Office of the Dean of Undergraduate Students will purchase digital copies of Professor Imani Perry's *Breathe* and Professor Eddie S. Glaude Jr. *97's *Begin Again: James Baldwin's America and Its Urgent Lessons for Our Own* to distribute to interested students, in the hope that important discussions based on Black scholarship will be a process "that extends beyond the summer, and can continue on into the school year," Chaturvedi said.

The list idea was not unique — antiracist book and movie lists have gained popularity in recent months, as people seek to understand the longstanding social, political, historical, and economic foundations upon which Black lives have been targeted by violence in the United States.

While creating the resource, Johnson and Hodges asked themselves whom the list was benefitting, recognizing that some individuals — such as essential workers — might not have the time or resources to "sit back and enjoy the reading list," said Hodges. Yet she also recognized that "the act of reading is probably the beginning step for a lot of people."

Creating a reading list "is an aspect of activism, but it certainly isn't the last step," added Johnson. She advocates for requiring AAS courses for all Princeton students as a way for the University to continue a much-needed dialogue on race. "It's important to push people now," she said. � By Jimin Kang '21

IN SHORT

The 2019–20 ANNUAL GIVING

campaign raised nearly \$66.3 million, the fourth-highest total in the University's history. The 25threunion Class of 1995 led the way, raising \$12.7 million — a record for any class — followed by the 50threunion Class of 1970, which donated \$7.4 million. The Class of 1992 raised the highest total among non-majorreunion classes (\$1.5 million), while the Class of 1963 led participation, with 74.5 percent of class members contributing. Graduate alumni and parents each donated more than \$2.3 million.

Princeton suspended Annual Giving solicitations for nearly three months due to the coronavirus pandemic and related economic uncertainties. More than 31,000 undergraduate alumni made donations, a participation rate of 47.8 percent, down from 55.4 percent in 2018–19.

Seven new members joined Princeton's Board of Trustees July 1:

JACKSON A. ARTIS '20, the Class of 2020's young alumni trustee, is pursuing a master's degree in space-systems engineering at Johns Hopkins University.

PETER BRIGER JR. '86 is cochief executive officer of Fortress Investment Group in San Francisco.

JANERIA A. EASLEY *16, elected as an alumni trustee, is an assistant professor in the Department of African American Studies at Emory University.

PAUL MAEDER '75 is a founder and general partner at Highland Capital Partners.

SARAH STEIN '97 is a managing partner at Hall Capital Partners LLC. CARLA VERNÓN '92 is a former executive at General Mills and an adviser to natural-products startups.

MELISSA H. WU '99, elected as an alumni trustee, is chief executive officer of the nonprofit Education Pioneers.

Maeder and Stein will serve eightyear terms as charter trustees; the others will serve four-year terms.

Princeton School of Public and International Affairs faculty voted in July to require Master in Public Affairs (MPA) students to take at least one half-term course exploring **DIVERSITY, EQUITY, AND INCLUSION.** Graduate students supported the requirement in a demonstration at Wallace Hall in February and in a petition sent to administrators in June. According to a news release, the University has begun a larger review of the MPA core curriculum. 5

News / On the Campus

Summer of Discontent

Faculty, students issue calls to fight racism and preserve free expression

he decision to remove Woodrow Wilson's name from the Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and Wilson College was a milestone in the larger campus conversation about anti-racism and academic freedom that spanned the summer months, inspired by the killing of George Floyd and the subsequent protests for social justice. Petitions and letters from faculty, students, and alumni staked out positions on a range of issues — and in one case sparked condemnation from President Eisgruber '83.

On June 22, Eisgruber issued a public call for members of his cabinet to "identify specific actions that can be taken in their areas of responsibility to confront racism," setting an Aug. 21 deadline. Recent Princeton School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA) graduates and current undergraduate and graduate students were among the first to publicly respond, releasing a pair of petitions that called for removing Wilson's name from the school and included demands for curricular changes, greater hiring of diverse faculty, reparations for early Princeton leaders' roles in slavery, and divestment from private prisons.

Others, however, felt some demands would lead to limitations on speech and research. As a result, students from the Princeton Open Campus Coalition and alumni writing in support of the group pushed back against the SPIA petitioners, arguing for a "robust protection of free thought, speech, and academic pursuit."

The following week, a letter signed by more than 300 faculty and staff outlined a more detailed anti-racism agenda, urging the University to "take immediate concrete and material steps" to acknowledge racism in all forms and work against it. Proposed changes included anti-racism and anti-bias training for faculty and administrators; the creation of a scholarly center devoted to anti-racism; reconsidering the use



"We need the benefit of multiple voices and perspectives, and we need real engagement among them."

— President Eisgruber '83, in *The Daily Princetonian*

of standardized tests in admission; and addressing Princeton's history with slavery as part of orientation for firstyear students.

The letter also critiqued a lack of "significant demographic change" on the Princeton faculty, noting that only 4 percent of full professors are Black. It proposed rewards for departments that support faculty of color and consequences for departments that do not demonstrate progress in diversity.

One demand – for the creation of "a committee composed entirely of faculty that would oversee the investigation and discipline of racist behaviors, incidents, research, and publication" - drew criticism on social media as a potential threat to academic freedom. Jenny E. Greene, a professor of astrophysical sciences and one of the letter's co-authors, told PAW "more discussion is needed" on that point but that the proposal was sparked by experiences on campus. "We heard a lot about students encountering racism in classes and faculty encountering racism from colleagues, and I think that should be confronted," she said.

That faculty letter inspired a sharp

reply from classics professor Joshua Katz in an essay posted July 8 on Quillette.com. Katz, who is the faculty representative to PAW's board, wrote that while the letter offers "plenty" of ideas he supports, "there are dozens of proposals that, if implemented, would lead to civil war on campus and erode even further public confidence in how elite institutions of higher education operate."

Reaction came swiftly, much of it focused on one comment: Katz's description of the Black Justice League (BJL), a student group, as a "small local terrorist organization." The BJL had started the debate over Wilson when it staged a 33-hour sit-in in Eisgruber's office in 2015. Katz's characterization drew national press coverage, a rebuke from Eisgruber, and ultimately the attention of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, a group that supports civil liberties on college campuses.

Though Princeton's chief spokesman told *The Daily Princetonian* that the administration "will be looking into the matter [Katz's comment] further," Eisgruber later clarified that Katz was not under investigation and expanded on his comments in a *Prince* column, writing: "... we are in an era when many people mistakenly treat free speech and inclusivity as competing values. Universities must nevertheless remain steadfastly devoted to both free speech and inclusivity. We need the benefit of multiple voices and perspectives, and we need real engagement among them."

Six senior University officials, including the vice president for campus life and the deans of the faculty, college, and graduate school, issued a joint statement on speech and inclusivity July 28, writing that they would "continue to uphold both of these principles that are so vital to Princeton's mission."

But debates over speech and language continued: In late July, creative writing lecturer Michael Dickman was criticized for his poem in the July/August issue of *Poetry* magazine in which the narrator recalls his grandmother's use of racist language. *Poetry* apologized and removed the poem from its website; the magazine's editor resigned. \blacklozenge By B.T.

On the Campus / Sports



ATHLETICS

Benched by COVID Coaches and student-athletes head into

Coaches and student-athletes head into a fall without athletic competition

even hundred Princeton studentathletes tuned in to a July 8 webinar to hear the verdict: The Ivy League had canceled all fall intercollegiate competition because of the coronavirus pandemic.

Caroline Noonan '22, a starter the last two seasons for women's soccer, was among them.

"I kind of expected it, but hearing it was so painful," she said. "I almost couldn't find any emotion within myself to cry."

Director of Athletics Mollie Marcoux Samaan '91 quickly began assuaging fears. "We always talk about our values in everything we do, and this is no different," she said. "If our top priority is education through athletics, we still can do a lot of educating through this experience, through our coaches and through our administration and through our performance team."

The University also committed to

keeping all its varsity teams, even as Dartmouth, Brown, and Stanford made headlines for cutting several of theirs.

Princeton's coaches have stood behind the fall decision while acknowledging its impact on the athletes who make up almost 20 percent of the undergraduate student body.

"They're going to miss out on the competition and camaraderie," said women's volleyball head coach Sabrina King '01. "They're not coming to Princeton necessarily for athletics, but it's a huge part of their identity. That hyphen between student-athlete, that's a whole holistic piece of what they're doing."

"They're not coming to Princeton necessarily for athletics, but it's a huge part of their identity." — Women's volleyball head coach Sabrina King '01 On Aug. 7 came the additional change from President Eisgruber '83 not to allow first-years and juniors back in September after all. Now every class is in the same boat.

Noonan had been planning to return to campus in the fall and hoped for some small-group training. But with the latest announcement she scrambled to explore living off-campus with teammates.

"At least we would have people to be with, to go on runs with," she said. "Now, we're so isolated."

Over the summer, Princeton teams stayed in closer contact than usual. Questions emerged about enrollment, future eligibility, playing with club teams outside Princeton, and the potential for taking a leave of absence. No deadlines are in place to determine if the fall sports seasons will be postponed until the spring or canceled altogether, and winter sports that span both semesters are up in the air.

"The student-athletes are struggling," said women's swimming head coach Bret Lundgaard. "These are kids who know what they're doing, they've checked the boxes for many years of their life, and right now they don't know what to check."

Sam Ellis '21, who spent two months living in Boulder, Colorado, with several men's cross country and track and field teammates, applied for a leave of absence when school went fully remote. He wants to compete for Princeton again, but also said he benefits more from in-person learning. He has an eye on the Olympic Trials in June 2021; he broke Princeton's 29-year-old indoor mile record in February.

"I feel like I have unfinished business on the track, things I want to do in a Princeton uniform, and I know I won't be able to do that this year," he said.

Coaches said they've been focused on keeping their student-athletes engaged physically, mentally, and emotionally. Virtual meetings are helping teams stay connected, and athletes will continue to receive training plans from Princeton this fall.

Men's basketball head coach Mitch Henderson '98 was emotional when he saw some players who came to campus July 12 for a Black Lives Matter march. It was the first time he had been with

Sports / On the Campus

them in four months.

"So much of what we are, in our program and all the sports, is the camaraderie of being together and the way we make each other better by being around each other," Henderson said. "So that's a challenge. The team Zoom calls have been good. They're not as good as the real thing, but they're good."

Women's basketball head coach Carla Berube said her group's discussions this summer have ranged beyond sports to what's going on in the world, addressing racism, and talking about how best to support Black student-athletes and teammates. "It's all been very positive, and we've learned a lot more about each other," she said.

Women's volleyball players have held virtual game nights and discussed career development with alumnae. Men's basketball has been growing its community service initiatives, connecting with the Trenton Boys and Girls Club and looking into book drives. And men's soccer organized a mentoring program that matched alumni with players.

"We're focusing on the positives," said men's soccer head coach Jim Barlow '91. "It has given us all time to reflect on what's important and think about the things we're lucky to have. From that standpoint, maybe it'll bring the team closer together in the long run." ΦBy Justin Feil

> Long before they were **Princeton teammates**

NHL. an accident between

to the ground in a game of

"He says I pushed

him. I don't know, I just

It's been an ongoing joke

RYAN KUFFNER '19 and MAX VERONNEAU '19 landed one of them in the hospital. They were 9, and Veronneau pushed Kuffner

headed toward the

touch football.

ever since.

HOCKEY FRIENDS REUNITE TO TRAIN



think he's a little weak on his feet," said Veronneau.

"It was always a running thing, knowing that was the kid who broke my arm," laughed Kuffner.

They're now best friends who have 26 NHL games played between them and currently play in the minor American Hockey League for NHL farm teams.

They've been working out in Kuffner's backyard in Ottawa every morning throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, pushing each other to get faster and stronger with hopes of earning their way back into the major league full time.

"When you have someone there to go even further and you want to beat them in everything, it's always going to push the threshold of how much I can do," said Kuffner. "I want him to know that I'm working harder than him."

Veronneau and Kuffner grew up in the same Ottawa neighborhood and proved themselves in a second-tier junior league. Princeton hockey coach Ron Fogarty said it was their character that really made an impression: "As people, they were tremendous individuals that we could trust on and off the ice."

They led the Tigers in scoring as linemates all four years of their NCAA careers. "I think school really helped me out in a way because it was so challenging," said Veronneau. "Learning how to work through adversity and everything, I think that really helped out my hockey game, too."

Calling themselves "late bloomers," they believe they have what it takes to make it into the top flight permanently: the same work ethic they learned at Princeton. • By Daniel Rainbird

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A Time to Reflect, And a Time to Change

his spring, as the nation erupted in protests over systemic racism, Princeton professor Eddie S. Glaude Jr. *97 felt that the country "was at a crossroads," he says. "We have an opportunity to make a choice to be different as a nation, to allow a new America to come into being. But we have faced other moments of reckoning."



His new book, Begin Again: James Baldwin's America and Its Urgent Lessons for Our Own (Random House), explores the transformation of one of the most prominent

writers of the 20th century during another moment of reckoning, when the civil rights movement of the 1960s was met with the murders of Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X. Glaude's book — a mix of history, memoir, and analysis of our current moment — examines how Baldwin's political writing can provide hope and guidance in today's world.

Glaude, who is the chair of the Department of African American Studies, spoke to PAW about the ways America's identity is distorted by prejudice and how a push for change in the United States has so often been followed by retrenchment.

How did this moment make you reflect on the relevance of Baldwin's work today?

When I saw that knee on George Floyd's neck, I saw the smugness on the face of the officer and the complete disregard for the human being under his knee, it threw me back to Jimmy Baldwin; and a line came to mind from an interview he did with [civil rights leader] Ben Chavis in 1979 or '80, when Baldwin said, "What we are dealing with really is that for Black people in this country, there is no legal code at all. We're still governed, if that is the word I want, by the slave code."

Is it troubling for you that his insights are still relevant?

When it comes to race, we're always tinkering around the edges. Baldwin said the true "horror is that America changes all the time, without ever changing at all." My son is experiencing this. I experienced this. My father experienced it.

You write that another of Baldwin's observations remains true: Our country reinforces false ideas about American identity.

Baldwin talked about categorizing ourselves — in terms of color, in terms of whiteness, in terms of being heterosexual — as a trap. He tried to disrupt the categories that get in the way of seeing the humanity of the person in front of us.

We are a profoundly racist society, and we hide behind our innocence to keep us from confronting that fact. It's not just simply the loud racists. It's not just simply Donald Trump. It's easy to scapegoat Trump and make him exceptional, but we're making choices day in and day out to reproduce the kind of society that makes Trump possible. We need to tell ourselves a different story of who we are, to put aside this notion of a city on a hill. We have to finally confront the ugliness of who we are.

You compare Trump's election following Barack Obama's with the period that began with the civil rights movement and ended with Ronald Reagan's election: A push for change was followed by a pull to preserve the status quo. Why has that happened repeatedly in American history?

In the moments when the country seems to be on the precipice of change, we have doubled down on the ugliness of whiteness. We've had previous moments of moral reckoning. The first was the American Revolution. Black folks who fought in the Revolution drew on the principles of the Revolution as a way of arguing for their own freedom, but the nation doubled down on the idea

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that whiteness mattered more than freedom and liberty. What do we get after Reconstruction? We get Jim Crow laws and convict leasing [the practice of leasing out inmates to do dangerous manual labor for private companies].

Coming out of the nonviolent demonstrations of the '60s, we saw "tough on crime" and "the war on drugs," which led to an aggressive form of policing and the militarization of police. For 40 years, we have been living in that frame.

How do you see the eruption of protest now?

It's accumulated grief and suffering. An explosion of anger in a moment is never simply about that moment. It's always a part of an accumulated experience of disregard and accumulated suffering. The tinderbox that is America only needed a spark, and there it was. The other dimension, which is really important, is the ongoing grassroots organizing in the country. Black Lives Matter went underground after the election of Trump, but it has still been organizing. Other justice-reinvestment movements, groups for gun control, are all organizing. It's not just spontaneous. The civic work is going on, and we are seeing it made manifest in this protest.

Do you feel any optimism that we may be headed for real change?

I'm never optimistic. I'm too much of a pragmatist. But I'm hopeful. We see a movement, but there's no guarantee of the outcome.

I hear different voices: One voice prefers civility over justice, the disruption of protest unnerves, and they are clamoring for quiet. Then you have folks who are clamoring for reform, but they want to tinker around the edges - reform with a mind to keeping the status quo. Then you have the voices of fundamental transformation. They understand white supremacy continues to distort and disfigure democracy. That cacophony is all being heard at this moment, and there's no guarantee we've broken through. No guarantee that matters will fundamentally change. Only that we must continue to fight for a more just world. • Interview conducted and condensed by Jennifer Altmann

TIGER ETHICS



As we all grapple with ethical challenges presented by COVID-19, Laurance S. Rockefeller Professor of Philosophy and Human Values Elizabeth Harman has agreed to answer readers' questions on pandemic ethics — send yours to Tiger Ethics at paw@ princeton.edu or PAW, 194 Nassau St., Suite 38, Princeton, NJ, 08542. We'll post selected questions and responses at paw.princeton.edu.

I was deeply disturbed by the killing of George Floyd, and I feel strongly about the need to reform our police system and end police brutality. But I know that I also have a responsibility to prevent the spread of COVID-19, and to encourage others to do the same. If I protest racial injustice, can I still tell others not to protest something that they care about? — member of the Class of 2012

Some people felt whiplash as public outcry over mask-resisters' protests transitioned quickly to widespread public support of Black Lives Matter protests in the wake of the murder of George Floyd. Why

"Protesting severe injustice is worth doing; there is compelling moral reason to do it."

is one kind of protest decried as socially irresponsible, while the other kind of protest is lauded as the right thing to do now?

It would be nice to have content-neutral moral principles for protest such as, "If there's an issue that matters to you, then

you can protest during the pandemic," or, "No matter how much an issue matters to you, the pandemic is not the time to protest." But in this case, no such content-neutral principles are true.

When we see the mask-resisters' protests, it matters that they are demanding the right to spread a deadly disease. It matters that there is no such right. Their cause is morally bankrupt.

When we see the Black Lives Matter protests, it matters that their cause is just and urgent. It matters that our country is in a crisis of over-policing Black communities and police violence toward Black people. Someone might ask, "Why now? We are in a pandemic, which is an immediate, urgent crisis. Yes, police violence toward Black people is also a crisis, but it's a longstanding crisis; why deal with it now?" There are two answers to this question. First, the moral crisis we face is serious enough that it is imperative to speak about it through protest to address it. The fact that we should have been protesting sooner and more often is no excuse to fail to protest now; it is no reason to think that we should not protest now. Second, it is not an accident that this is happening during the pandemic. The pandemic has hit communities of color harder than white communities in the United States. The pandemic has exacerbated and highlighted existing racial inequalities.

All of this should be said even if the Black Lives Matter protests were a dangerous source of COVID spread. Protesting severe injustice is worth doing; there is compelling moral reason to do it. But in fact, my understanding is that the protesters have largely worn masks, and the Black Lives Matter protests have not led to the disease spikes that were feared. \blacklozenge

On the Campus / Research



FACULTY BOOK: SEAN WILENTZ

Paranoid Politics

More than 50 years ago, a historian warned against Americans' distrust of facts



Columbia University history professor Richard Hofstadter (1916–1970) is the subject of a series published by the Library of America and edited by Sean Wilentz, Princeton's

George Henry Davis 1886 Professor of American History. *Richard Hofstadter: Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, The Paranoid Style in American Politics, Uncollected Essays* 1956–1965 was released in April. Wilentz spoke with PAW about Hofstadter and why he is still worth reading today.

Who was Hofstadter, and why publish a collection of his writings?

Richard Hofstadter was perhaps the greatest American historian of the mid-20th century, who twice won the Pulitzer Prize. Accordingly, he was an extraordinarily powerful stylist. I had felt for some time that the Library of America, which exists to celebrate the best of American writing, underrepresented historians, especially modern historians. History, after all, is a literary art.

Hofstadter was a liberal, but he was skeptical even of the liberalism that he found most attractive. His book *The American Political Tradition*, which came out in 1948, is very caustic; he wrote that American democracy was based less in fraternity than in cupidity, which is a wonderful phrase. He debunked the traditional liberal views of Jefferson and Lincoln and what they stood for, but without ever saying that the men themselves were not honorable or valuable. He admired the liberalism of the New Deal while also examining its shortcomings.

Three volumes of Hofstadter's writings will be published, but works from the middle of his career were published first. Why?

Because it includes perhaps his two most famous works, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963) and *The Paranoid Style* (1965). Those are highly relevant to 2020. There's no question that Donald Trump is the culmination of a lot of things Hofstadter was writing about more than 50 years ago.

Should we be concerned about anti-intellectualism today? Hofstadter was very concerned about the destruction of institutional and intellectual authority in American society, which goes hand in hand with a growing attack on the very idea of objectivity.

Unfortunately, those of us in higher education have ourselves to blame for some of it. When we elide and even attack the concept of objective truth, we attack something that has liberated humanity from political tyranny as well as rank superstition. Internet libertarians may applaud that there are no longer social or cultural gatekeepers, but gatekeepers are what a civilization needs - creditable people who can distinguish between fact and fiction. The public can't always do that on its own, and there are plenty of demagogues, hustlers, and fanatics on both political extremes who are eager to fill the void.

Can universities still fill their traditional role as intellectual gatekeepers?

Universities themselves are now a battleground, but also a kind of matrix. You see it, for example, in the growing assumption that racial categories and racial identities so ineluctably define who we are, individually and collectively, that the very idea of a universal human experience is a racist cover for white privilege. That's not what we're about as a nation, at least not in aspiration, and it's not what we fought for back in the '60s or are fighting for now. Unfortunately, a lot of that ideology, what Barbara and Karen Fields call "racecraft," has come out of the universities. I would love for some widely respected university leader to make an eloquent plea for objectivity, enlightenment, and universalism, both scientific and humanistic. It would cause trouble, sure, and be misrepresented and misunderstood, but what the hell is leadership for? • Interview conducted and condensed by M.F.B.

READ a longer version of Wilentz's Q&A at **paw.princeton.edu**

Research / On the Campus

Life As We Know It A poem by Esther Schor



Esther Schor, a poet and professor of English at Princeton, was to read a new poem she wrote for Princeton students at the Phi Beta Kappa induction ceremony on Class Day. The poem emerged from the COVID-19 pandemic — and when that pandemic led to the ceremony's

cancellation, Schor shared her poem with PAW. In addition to writing poetry, Schor is the author of *Bridge of Words: Esperanto and the Dream of a Universal Language* and *Emma Lazarus*, a biography that won the 2006 National Jewish Book Award.

In the rush before lockdown, spring came early: tulips by leap day, dogwoods' coy pink flash. Days grow longer, lives

not so much. Hand me my phone? *Intubated my colleague today*, *a young, healthy ER doc like me* (swipe)

a lonely Pope raises a crucifix saved from the Plague, bare highways in Wuhan, gondolas lashed to the pier. I'm half in love with the Chief of Surgery at Seattle Presbyterian: *Load the sled, feed Balto and mush on.*

What else can we do? A glass or two of wine on the deck, our worry blurs. Today, a letter from my mother in 1979,

home from Oncology. (Clean out your attic, the dead begin to type.) *Still brimful of tenderness and appreciation for your visit,* my thoughts are constantly in England, I just feel home is a larger place. Even elephants close ranks around

the weak and defenseless. Thirty years July she's gone, forty since she licked this aerogram: How vast can you make

your home? Under the interstate, camped at the border, locked in the max, who will you call your own?

Give up your mask, take off the gloves, breathe for those who are short of breath. Feed dogs and elephants

first, pray for nurses or ask a praying friend. Lay in supplies cradles and shovels, a bag of clean clothes. PS, she writes: Don't sell your writing short though it does need editing, advice I'm passing on.

Life as we know it: The world's a marble half awake, half asleep. Clouds trundle past the moon, geese

doze in the reeds. A plash of oars *not us, not now* those cries in the night from across the lake

make shudder the same sad stars. I'd like to think Whoever's bingewatching this season knows

love makes or breaks a show. Put out your hand and hold the remote close as you can, we may be here some time.

A MEDICAL WINDFALL: INEXPENSIVE VENTILATORS



Traditional ventilators depend on precisely manufactured mechanical components, often sourced from all over the world, making them difficult to build as rapidly as the COVID-19 pandemic requires. So physics professor CRISTIAN GALBIATI,

with help from others, began the process to design a ventilator in early March that was approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration May 1. The ventilator, called the Mechanical Ventilator Milano (MVM), uses simple, easy-to-source parts, controlled by a computer chip, to guide oxygen into the lungs in precisely the way COVID patients need. While a modern ventilator can do many things, the MVM is designed to do one thing well: treat COVID patients, from the first life-saving intubation to the days-to-weeks-long process of safely weaning a COVID patient off breathing support — a process Galbiati likens to "learning how to walk again." The streamlined design reduces costs dramatically — where a traditional ventilator can cost tens of thousands of dollars to produce, the MVM's parts

cost only a few thousand dollars.

Galbiati, who did most of the work for this project from Milan, Italy, leads a physics experiment called DarkSide-20k, a detector of dark-matter particles bouncing off argon atoms. Such detectors and ancillary

systems must be built to exacting specifications, so Galbiati already had access to "the best talent available" for designing gas-handling systems.

The team worked day and night to design and test the systems for managing airflow through the machine. Largescale manufacture of the MVM began in Italy in early May, and is also underway in Canada, whose government was set to receive 10,000 units in mid-August. \Leftrightarrow By Bennett McIntosh '16



s graduates, teachers and staff members of Princeton University, a community that counts the author of the First Amendment among its members, we are proud to stand in solidarity with journalist and alumna Maria Ressa '86.

In the Philippines, her home country, President Rodrigo Duterte has labeled Maria a criminal. We see her as the opposite: an exemplar of the right of free speech that Princetonian James Madison, Class of 1771, wrote into the U.S. Constitution.

For the past four years, Maria has fearlessly withstood a campaign of online and legal harassment blatantly aimed at intimidating journalists and stifling any criticism of the government's authority.

Her groundbreaking journalism has called the world's attention to the role that powerful members of the Duterte government have played in this campaign — and to the role U.S. companies have played in enabling the most depraved kinds of slander to proliferate on their social media platforms.

The phoniness of the charges against Maria are underscored by the absurd number of them: In 2018, she and the innovative news outlet she founded, Rappler, were hit with 11 separate legal complaints. Last year, Maria had to post bail eight times in order to stay out of jail. At the same time the Philippine government shut another news outlet, the country's largest broadcast network.

Authoritarians throughout the ages routinely attack the press as the enemy, a strategy calculated to avoid accountability and undermine democracy. Our Princeton education instilled in us an understanding that a government is only accountable to its people when journalists are free to report on its activities without retaliation. That is why we denounce these politically motivated charges against Maria and her colleagues.

Maria is a Filipina and an American citizen. She is standing up for the most American of values: The right to speak truth to power.

Presidents throughout the history of this country have used their leverage against authoritarian governments that violate the rights of U.S. citizens abroad; the current administration should do the same. To do otherwise would only diminish America's role as a leader of the democratic world.

We appreciate the strong statement of support for Maria from the Congressional Freedom of the Press Caucus, a group that Vice President Mike Pence co-founded when he was a member of the House of Representatives. We urge congressional appropriators to reexamine the hundreds of millions of dollars the Philippines receives each year in U.S. military aid. Why should U.S. taxpayers underwrite a government that is so egregiously violating our values?

Our government must use its influence to convince the Duterte government to drop all charges against Maria and her journalist colleague Rey Santos, and against Rappler.

Last year, some of us who had been student journalists at Princeton and who taught journalism there signed a statement of support for Maria. The group signing this letter include many who have no connection to journalism. All of us know that the rights Maria is fighting for are not just the rights of journalists. Freedom of speech is a human right; each of us recognizes we must join Maria in this battle.

Princeton taught us the importance of intellectual freedom and "the service of humanity."

Maria Ressa is the embodiment of those values. We recommit ourselves to them in standing with her.

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Joe Stephens, Faculty

Kelly B. Battles '89



The University, Social Justice, and Free Inquiry A Conversation

> Moderated by Mark F. Bernstein '83

his has been a summer of manifestos. Amid protests and demonstrations across the country, numerous public statements have been issued, both within the Princeton community and outside of it. Many have called for structural changes to fight racism. Others have raised concerns about perceived efforts to silence

or "cancel" those who depart from orthodoxy on controversial questions. Collectively, these letters and statements raise fundamental questions concerning social justice and free inquiry that get at the heart of any university's mission.

PAW invited three members of the Princeton community, each with a different background, discipline, and perspective, to discuss these questions on July 24. Their conversation, which was conducted on Zoom, was moderated by PAW's senior writer, Mark F. Bernstein '83.



Professor CAROLYN M. ROUSE

is a cultural anthropologist and chair of the Department of Anthropology.

The author of three books, she is especially interested in how race is understood and categorized within the domains of religion, medicine, development, and education.



PAUL STARR

is a professor of sociology and the Stuart Professor of Communications and Public Affairs in the School of Public

and International Affairs. His latest book, Entrenchment: Wealth, Power, and the Constitution of Democratic Societies, was published last year.



RANDALL L. KENNEDY '77,

the Michael R. Klein Professor at Harvard Law School and a former Princeton

trustee, has written six books relating to racial issues, including *Race, Crime, and the Law,* which won the 1998 Robert F. Kennedy Book Award.

Mark F. Bernstein '83: In a column for *The Daily Princetonian* on July 20, President Eisgruber '83 wrote, "We are in an era when many people mistakenly treat free speech and inclusivity as competing values." Are they competing values?

Paul Starr: There are points where those values come into conflict. As a society, we have a "thick-skin" legal culture that requires us to brush off offensive things that other people say, with a few specific exceptions, like "fighting words." In the public arena, we have to live with what other people say, even if they say insulting things. But the University is a bit different. There we have requirements for civility and mutual respect, and those do put limits on offensive speech. Especially in the classroom, we as teachers have an obligation to create an atmosphere that is inviting to all the students.

Carolyn M. Rouse: There are limits in the classroom. We could relitigate whether the Earth is round or whether Blacks are a different species than whites, but that is a huge waste of time, from my perspective. I hope, by the way, that during the Trump era people understand what it feels like to have your time wasted by having to disprove things that have already been disproven.

When I first came to Princeton 20 years ago, there were very openly racist students who would say publicly, for example, that we know all Black people are drug users. Of course, that is a false statement. But do I allow a student to bring an opinion like that into a classroom conversation? Do I, again, have to keep relitigating things that we already know?

When people say, "Is there some sort of conflict between free speech and inclusivity?" oftentimes what they're really saying is, "We want to relitigate old racist, sexist, classist arguments," and I just think that that is not my job to debunk those arguments over and over again. I think that they should come to the class being aware that there is a whole history of literature that has been written about these questions. If they want to present a counterargument, do the reading first.

That said, in the classroom, I sometimes assign students to take a particular side in an argument on a controversial subject. Some students have been very mad at me for doing that, but they can learn a lot by having to debate on a side they disagree with. I intentionally create these classroom debates because students often censor each other. As faculty members, we're desperate for somebody to say something interesting and challenging to get the conversation going.

I'm not trying to shut down debate, but oftentimes when people demand free speech and inclusivity, it's code for, "Can we let vile opinions be subjects for discussion in a classroom?" From my perspective, the answer to that is no.

Randall L. Kennedy '77: On the other hand, I've seen episodes in which people have wanted to advance a hypothesis and other people have said that the hypothesis is racist and should not even be discussed. Suppose a student said, "There is more violent criminality in most Black neighborhoods than in most white neighborhoods of comparable socioeconomic indices." Now, is that something to talk about or is that something where you should say, "We're not going to discuss that because the question has been decided"?

Rouse: We absolutely should be allowed to talk about that, but let's look at your hypothetical. If a student made a statement like that in one of my classes, I would respond with a series of questions: Who do you do define as Black? What do you define as a neighborhood and a community? And how do you define violence? Those things are all open for discussion. There is a fairly short list of arguments that I think we are past debating. Maybe the Earth really is flat, and we might take that question up again, but there's a lot of data out there showing that the Earth is round. So, if you want me to let you reargue that, it's going to take a while to convince me.

Kennedy: In my experience as a law professor, I have not had a topic come up in which I felt that the proposition was so clear, and the student's opinion so far out of bounds, that I didn't want to waste time dealing with it. What happens more often, to the extent that it happens at all, is that you're talking in class, you don't want to take up too much time, so you condense your point, you argue in shorthand, and maybe your point comes out in an odd way. People start to roll their eyes; they'll want to shut it down. And then I have to say, "Wait, let's discuss this."

I'm not going to debate whether two plus two equals 10, but if something is pertinent to the subject, let's talk about it. I find lately that there is a lot of fear in the air, and that is what prompts this desire to shut things down, to avoid grappling with delicate subjects. Let's not be afraid.

Starr: It seems to me that one of our jobs as teachers is to decide which old questions are worth relitigating for their educational value. We are still arguing about the role slavery played in framing our Constitution. That has significance for our whole constitutional tradition, and it's still an argument worth having. We're still having it. Just look at the open letter on racism [read it at bit.ly/July-faculty-letter] that was circulated recently within the University community. The opening line asserts, "Anti-Blackness is foundational to America." So let's have some of these basic arguments. Wrestling with these sorts of foundational questions is part of what I would hope students get from a college education.

Rouse: I am notorious among some students because I tried to explain why my colleague once used the n-word in class. [In February 2018, Professor Lawrence Rosen, now emeritus, was criticized for using the racial epithet in a class on hate speech. He subsequently *canceled the course.]* I know Larry very well. He hired me. And I accept completely that he used that word solely for pedagogical purposes and not to insult anyone. But I yelled at him for 45 minutes after that lecture, because I was frustrated that he couldn't hear the students who were telling him, "This word hurts so much. Can't you just say 'the n-word' as opposed to the actual word?" Students have to be open to being challenged in the classroom, but I do think we have to be sensitive to the fact that all four of us are privileged. Some ideas that might seem abstract to us might be very real to our students.

For example, in 2002 Peter Singer [Ira W. Decamp Professor of Bioethics in the University Center for Human Values] invited disabilities-rights lawyer Harriet McBryde Johnson to debate whether parents who have infants with severe disabilities should be allowed to euthanize them. [In his book Practical Ethics, Singer argued that parents, in consultation with doctors, should have the right to euthanize severely disabled infants.] Johnson, who herself was severely disabled, had to sit and listen to Singer debate with students whether society should value her life equal to infants born without disabilities. We have to be able to have open discussions but not also lose sight of the fact that our abstract, intellectual arguments may have real-life consequences for people.

Kennedy: People should be courteous. People should be sensitive. At the end of the day, though, what should Peter Singer have done — not say what he said? Was he supposed to avoid propounding his position and propounding it with force? I mean, presumably if he believed it, he probably wanted to persuade people that he was correct.

Rouse: I know what I would do. As anthropologists, we turn around and recognize, "Oh, my God, there's a real person here, and this person has real feelings and beliefs, and she's really smart. Let me ask her what she thinks about this." I hope I would have the humility to recognize that my argument might be wrong. As an anthropologist, I would never ignore the person in the room in order to promote some kind of abstract theory.

In Larry Rosen's case, I understand why he said what he said. As a pedagogical tool, using the n-word in class was brilliant. I mean, it really works at a very visceral level. It teaches people that language can be as powerful as a physical punch, and that's an important lesson. When I said, "Be sensitive," I meant that when you talk about these things, you don't always treat them with pure abstraction. You acknowledge that this is something that can affect people, and you don't just ignore the person with a disability in the room. I feel very comfortable separating my emotions from my theory. That is a skill we have all cultivated over time in our academic training. But for young students who may be new to the academy, I think we just have to be aware that it may come across as very alienating.

Bernstein: Professor Starr and Professor Kennedy, you both signed the so-called *Harper's* letter, titled, "A Letter on Justice and Open Debate," which was released July 7. Can you explain why you both signed it? Professor Rouse, were you asked to sign it?

Rouse: Can you first summarize the *Harper's* letter? There have been so many things going around, I've lost track of all the letters.

Kennedy: The *Harper's* letter basically said that Trumpism and authoritarianism on the right is, of course, terrible, and we should be vigilant against restrictions on thought and speech when they come from that end of the political scale. At the same time, though, there are forces within the Progressive camp that, because of defensiveness, because of wanting to be real woke, have also tried to shut down speech and thought. The letter argues that, as writers and intellectuals, we should be on guard against censoriousness by the left as well as by the right. I think that sums it up.

Starr: When I signed the letter, I thought, "These arguments are so anodyne that really — how could anybody get very excited about them?" But I signed it anyway because I think there is a certain censoriousness in public debate, on the left as well as the right side of the political spectrum.

Bernstein: Many people criticized the *Harper's* letter or refused to sign it. Former Labor Secretary Robert Reich said he didn't sign because he didn't "want to run the risk of suggesting even indirectly that people of color or women were wrongheaded or being overly sensitive." Does he have a point?

Kennedy: No. There are people of color and women who are wrongheaded and overly sensitive. I know a bunch of them. So, I mean, again, the statements that this letter affirms are just so true. It asserts that people should be able to say what they believe without punishment. Is that controversial?

Rouse: I try not to sign anything. What is signing a letter or petition going to accomplish?

Bernstein: In an open letter dated July 4, more than 350 Princeton faculty members, students, and alumni called on the University to increase diversity in hiring and decision-making and to take specific actions to fight racism. One request was that the University "[c]onstitute a committee composed entirely of faculty that would oversee the investigation and discipline of racist behaviors, incidents, research, and publication on the part of the faculty, following a protocol for grievance and appeal to be spelled out in the Rules and Procedures of the Faculty." Are there any areas of research or publication that you think the University should declare off-limits?

Rouse: No. This goes back to institutions and institutional culture. In my department, in any department, you say to the faculty, "OK, you know the field, you've done the work. You know our history. You know our rules and procedures. You get tenure." Now you can't put external political limits on what people can work on or think or write. That's academic freedom, and there's a really good reason for academic freedom. The problem with proposals like the one in that letter is that people sometimes think that history is on their side. That's when they want to shut down the other side, only to find that history is not on their side, after all. And now people who disagree with you are trying to shut you down. It becomes a power struggle. So, no, I could not sign that letter.

Starr: I wasn't asked to sign the letter, but that is the provision in it that brought me up short. I thought there were many other good things in that letter, but we as a society have flourished because of academic freedom. I don't see the grounds for constituting a faculty committee to investigate allegedly racist research and publications of other faculty. I wonder what examples the drafters had in mind. Such a committee could certainly have a chilling effect on junior faculty who might be working on something that somebody else would interpret as being racist, though I'm not sure exactly what that might be.

Kennedy: Well, I'm not a member of the great Princeton faculty, so I wasn't asked to sign the letter. But I have read the letter, and I think there are a variety of things about it that I find just way off

base. People say all the time, "We want candid conversation. Let's really get down to brass tacks and talk." And then when people get down to brass tacks, the response becomes, "Oh, you can't say that," and people are told to hold their tongues or they silence themselves. Until recently, until the last maybe two or three years, I thought that people were going overboard about attacks on free inquiry coming from the left. I thought that people were really making too much out of episodes like this. I don't any longer. I think that there is a real problem, and I think that that letter, with that paragraph that you just alluded to, is an example of a reason why people should be very concerned about some of the intellectual tendencies that are abroad.

Bernstein: Would it be useful, though, to define terms such as "racism" so that people know what is off-limits?

Starr: No.

Rouse: I wouldn't do that. I think the students are already controlling each other's speech, even more so than the faculty. I am a trustee of a camp. It's very progressive. *Very* progressive. There was a moment a few years ago when the camp counselors were claiming that all sorts of things should be condemned as "cultural appropriation." They didn't really know what the term meant, or anything about cultural diffusion. Instead they were claiming a kind of cultural purity. It became toxic.

In my own department, we're not running around screaming about our diversity, but we just happen to be finding really fabulous scholars who just happen to be diverse. Those efforts are always ongoing, though. We should always be examining what we do and how we do it. This is a moment when people should think about, "What's the curriculum I'm using? What authors am I using? What are my theories based on?" But you should allow individual faculty members to figure that out for themselves.

Kennedy: I want people to be free. I don't want people to be *made* to be free.

Bernstein: There have been proposals made at Princeton, and I imagine at



Would it be useful, though, to define terms such as "racism" so that people know what is off-limits?



Does a university have an obligation on particular social, moral, or political questions to instruct students *what* to think as well as *how* to think? Harvard as well, to require that all students, faculty, administration, take a class on anti-racism. Is that a good idea?

Starr: The School of Public and International Affairs just approved a requirement of that kind for students in the MPA program, with a slate of different courses being available to satisfy it. There is ongoing work on a distinct course to cover this, rather than making it more of a distribution requirement. But I think, frankly, these issues about race should be coming up in many different courses, and creating a specialized course may not be the best way to do this.

Kennedy: I would have a lot of questions. First, what is the purpose of the course? If there is a pedagogical purpose — that is to say, if the academic authorities believe that people who attend the institution should know certain things and a course of this sort will expose them to that subject - then maybe such a course is OK. But I am skeptical. I worry that the impetus behind the demand for such a course sounds like training rather than education. I worry that the demand is a manifestation of status politics whereby a particular camp within the university is flexing its muscle by insisting that its tenets be accepted as unquestionable knowledge. For me the question is whether this initiative will encourage open-ended inquiry or mere indoctrination. If the message is, "You're going to learn this, this, and this, and we're going to tell you what racism is and if you want to pass the course, you had better regurgitate what I'm saying," then no, I'm not down with it.

Rouse: The other day, I was asked to participate in an anti-racism training session for third-year residents at Montefiore Hospital in New York. "Anti-racism" was a new terminology for me, and I had to do some research on what it means. I was quite horrified by what I read. Some of the materials I read propound, among other things, that African Americans have a different sense of time than white people, that we respond more to oral presentations than to the written word. I mean — wow. That just reproduces stereotypes. Almost as bad, it identifies all Black people as being the same. Because we all go to the same Black-people meeting every week right, Randy? On Wednesday nights?

Kennedy: Yes. I think I've seen you there. (Group laughter)

Rouse: You hear a lot now about "white fragility." [Robin DiAngelo's book White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism has been on The New York Times bestseller list *since it was published in 2018.*] That term is a wonderful provocation, but when I read about her anti-racism workshops, they came across as formulaic. As my colleague Laurence Ralph put it, anthropologists don't essentialize the categories of race, which is why we are interested in anti-racialization, or how the categories are created in the first place, rather than anti-racism. So I told these medical residents, "I want to be clear that I'm not an 'anti-racism' advocate, but my discipline is deeply anti-racist, because we believe in this thing called cultural relativism, meaning we don't judge other people's values against our own."

Many of these anti-racist interventions do nothing to eliminate or reduce racial health disparities because the way we talk about race in the world of casual conversation is not the same way race is experienced by actual people. In casual conversation we say, "Black culture," but a Black person from Flint, Michigan, is going to have very different health outcomes due to different environmental exposures and cultural practices than somebody like me, who grew up in San Diego, California. This is why you have to be careful with anti-racism training, because it can simply make people feel good that they're using language in the right way. But that language does not map onto experience, which makes it unscientific and therefore unhelpful for health policy.

Bernstein: There was a story in *The New York Times* several weeks ago reporting that high school students around the county are combing through their classmates' or teachers' social-media accounts and calling out things that might be considered offensive. How should Princeton handle such a thing if it were to arise here?

Rouse: I think we need to teach forgiveness. I was shut down in a conversation recently because I used the word "forgiveness." Other faculty jumped on me because of it. Still, the practice of forgiveness is really important, and so is the practice of listening. My daughter is 15, so she's already hooked into all these people who are being outed and shamed and canceled. Social media is part of this, and it's a sad moment, but I think it's beyond Princeton.

Starr: Some of these events have been instructive for people, though. A good example is the recent incident in Central Park that involved an African American birdwatcher being accused of being a criminal by a white woman simply because he asked her to keep her dog on a leash. She was widely criticized when video of the encounter was posted on social media, and rightly so, but the man himself was very forgiving of her afterward. So there is sometimes real value in these episodes in changing the culture. On the other hand, you can have people prying into other people's tweets or photos from five or 10 years ago, when they were teenagers and so forth, and they could well have learned something over the years. Punishing them for that now just seems so excessive and inappropriate.

Bernstein: As a final question: Does a university have an obligation on particular social, moral, or political questions to instruct students *what* to think as well as *how* to think?

Starr: I think the university has an obligation to create a free environment, where the decisions about the curriculum belong to the faculty collectively, and through the departments. That collegial process, along with academic freedom for individual members of faculty, will produce a result that, in a very broad sense, fits those objectives. But I don't believe it's the job of the university to decide specifically what students are to think.

Kennedy: The university does take positions on certain issues, though. It

believes in truth. It condemns plagiarism and cheating. It believes that people should be educated regardless of gender or race. Those are still controversial ideas in some places, but I'm OK with minimalist positions of that sort. After that, I would say to the university, be quiet and then, as Paul says, just make sure there are nice laboratories, a good library, up-to-date classrooms, a well-paid faculty and staff, and then let education proceed. No, I don't think the university should be drawing up a list of 10 items everyone has to believe, because the Princeton community is large and diverse, and people have different opinions.

Rouse: What about DACA or immigration? What about that?

Kennedy: I think that's OK. University officials should address forthrightly policies that directly affect the university's educational mission. I've been very happy with the positions taken by the leader of my university, as well as the leader of Princeton, on DACA.

Rouse: What about birth control for women in the health clinic? What about LGBTQ services?

Kennedy: I hope that the university attends to the full array of needs that people have in terms of managing health, sex, and identity. The university unavoidably takes a position on these matters by what it permits or prohibits on its premises. My sense is that the university adopts a properly latitudinarian stance, recognizing that views will differ, sometimes radically so.

Rouse: My only point is that Princeton has a culture, and it's OK for institutions to own their culture. Liberty University has its own culture. I think that Princeton shouldn't shy away from what it wants to be — the values it articulates in its mission statement. And that mission statement changes all the time. I think that, if we take away anything that's powerful and important about this moment, it's that we should always be clear that Princeton's current educational mission and deployment of resources didn't just happen. There is choice and power behind everything, from not scheduling classes at 4:30 p.m. to affinity-club spaces to how disciplines and departments are organized. So we should be open to hearing people challenge those choices and that power, without attacking each other.

Starr: There are cases where the University has a guardianship responsibility, speaking out on behalf of its students, and those fall in a somewhat different area from other public policy issues.

Kennedy: Let's take this back to some of the other letters that have come out this summer. One of your colleagues published a letter in which he used very incendiary language [see page 17; classics professor Joshua Katz referred to a former student group, the Black Justice League, as a "terrorist organization"], and your president condemned that language publicly. On the one hand, you say that there's a difference between disciplining someone for what they say or write and simply calling someone out. Well, sometimes that line gets very fuzzy. Just suppose I call somebody out, and I say, "I abhor what you said, and by the way, I abhor it so much that I urge people to ostracize you." Is that simply me expressing my views, or have I now edged into an inappropriate censoriousness? Often it's pretty clear what censorship is, but sometimes, it isn't.

Starr: If Professor Katz had not made that very specific statement about the student group, then I don't think the president should have gotten involved. I think this was an issue of endangerment. To say that these students have participated in a terrorist organization would possibly have put them at risk. And really, it needed to be answered. So, I think this is a very special case.

Bernstein: Thank you. This has been a very provocative and informative discussion.

Kennedy: It's been nice seeing everyone. Stay safe.

Rouse: We'll wait for the hate mail after it's published. (Group laughter) �

The Political Is Personal Andrea Campbell's story of change, grief, and hope

By Lydialyle Gibson

ndrea Campbell '04 had been thinking about the words for a long time, but in the end, they just spilled out. On May 25, George Floyd was killed by police in Minneapolis, and on June 3, the Boston City Council met for the first time in two weeks, all 13 members — including

Campbell — dialing in to a video chat from their houses across the city, the same thing they'd been doing since mid-March, when COVID-19 closed City Hall for four months. For weeks, they had scrambled to keep pace with the unfolding pandemic and its attendant crises: In meeting after meeting, they called for rent moratoriums, online-accessible food stamps, emergency health-care coverage, and better access to remote learning for low-income students suddenly going to school at home.

But on this afternoon, a new sense of fracture and grief hung over the proceedings. Protestors had been in the streets for days in Boston and in other cities, and some of the demonstrations had turned violent. There were growing calls for sweeping reforms, for defunding police departments altogether, for dismantling various forms of structural racism. The council meeting started with a pastor's blessing, and he spoke of God's love and compassion but also of anguish and rage and reckoning. Among their other business, council members filed an order to discuss how to prevent hate crimes and discrimination and offered a resolution condemning police brutality, racial profiling, and "the use of excessive and militarized force."

And then, with about 30 minutes left in the three-hour meeting, Campbell, sitting at home in front of a blue and white curtain, began to speak. "Right now," she said, "we

have an opportunity, not only in this city, but in this country, to start asking tough questions. We are focusing on the wrong ones. We're focusing on: Why are they so angry? Why are they looting? Why are they yelling at police? Those questions are important, absolutely. But if we are all committed not to be back here again, we have to ask: Why would a man press his knee on another human being's neck while he cried out for his mother, while he cried out several times for help?"

She paused for a moment. "Folks of color, we know the answer," she said. "It's race and racism. It's at the foundation of this country." Turning to her white colleagues and constituents, naming them as allies, she asked for empathy and introspection about the pain African Americans were feeling, and a commitment "to do the tough work" of making change. She talked about root causes of injustice and the ways that racial inequality shows up not only in policing, but also in housing, education, health care, the food system, "you name it." She told them, "We have a chance to do some meaningful things. And, frankly, things that needed to be done a long time ago."

Lately, the world has been catching up to Andrea Campbell. The day after the meeting, she told reporters she would "absolutely" reallocate \$60 million from the Boston Police Department's overtime budget to community organizations, and she released an action plan calling for a number of changes in the public-safety department, including diversity in hiring, a civilian review board to investigate misconduct, a ban on chokeholds, and an end to military tactics and weapons. "We've been doing this work for a long time," she says 12 days after the council meeting, when asked about the catalyst of Floyd's death. "What's different is that the folks who are leading the system — white folks, white men — are now starting to hear it and understand."



Roxbury& Dorchester& Mattapan& Hyde Park.

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Boston Council member Andrea Campbell '04, wearing a shirt proclaiming the communities she represents, walks by a transit station in the Dorchester section. ampbell arrived in City Hall in January 2016 after unseating a 32-year incumbent. Two years later, she was voted council president, becoming the first African American woman to serve in that role. More than once, her name has been floated for mayor. She represents the city's fourth district, an area taken up primarily by the neighborhoods of Dorchester and Mattapan, which began shifting in the 1960s from white working class to mostly African American and Caribbean. During the city's school-desegregation busing crisis in the 1970s, Dorchester and Mattapan, two of the neighborhoods affected most, became flashpoints for violence. Today both are racially diverse and relatively high in poverty. They are also heavily policed.

From the beginning, Campbell had criminal-justice reform on her agenda. In part, that has to do with her family. At that early-June city council meeting, Campbell's voice shook when she spoke about her sons, then-2-year-old Alexander and 5-month-old Aiden. "Both Black boys," she emphasized, whose skin color, she knows, puts them in greater danger, because some people perceive them as threatening. "I look at my boys, and I want them to have more opportunity than I did," she said, "and for other folks to value their lives just as much as I do."

Campbell's personal story is also her political story; surviving the one propelled her into the other. Her story has chapters of great loss: of two parents, of two brothers — a twin who died while in police custody, a big brother charged with a serious crime. A loss of family dreams.

She was raised in Roxbury, often called the heart of Boston's Black community, and the South End, a racially diverse but economically stratified neighborhood where Victorian rowhouses stand alongside public-housing projects. Campbell was 8 months old when her mother was killed in a car accident while traveling to visit Campbell's father in prison. He ended up serving eight years on firearms charges, and so Campbell and her brothers — her twin, Andre, and older sibling, Alvin — spent their early childhood with a collection of foster parents and extended family, including a grandmother who struggled with alcoholism and an aunt and uncle who became parental figures for Campbell. When her father came home from prison, she and her brothers went to live with him.

He was often angry — at what he'd been through, at what he'd lost, at the racial prejudice he believed had robbed him of a better life. "My father was extremely intelligent," Campbell says. As a high-school senior, he told her, he was accepted to Princeton — and would have been among the first Black undergraduates there, coming to campus in 1951. But he didn't enroll. Campbell remembers him deflecting questions about it later in life: "What am I going to do down there with all those white people?' That's literally what he would say." She recently learned that there was more to the story: When he was 17, her father was arrested for the first time. And although several friends and relatives showed up at the hearing as character witnesses and to plead for leniency, the judge said no. "I think that sort of cemented where my father was going," Campbell says.

He tried to push his children in a different direction. "He was really good at not just talking about inequities in theory," Campbell says, "but sharing the lived experiences. Even when we were really young, he didn't shy away from showing that frustration." Being born and raised in Boston, a city he loved, was a source of enormous pride, she says — and yet: "A Black man growing up here, born in 1933 — how hard that must have been. At that time, the color of your skin was always made explicit. Not sometimes — always." Campbell was 19 and at Princeton when her father died, from a sudden illness. "I talked to him that morning, and he literally passed that evening," she says. "It shook my world."

School was a refuge. It had been that way since she was a child. Education was part of what saved her, Campbell believes. The "product of busing," she attended five public schools in Boston, and at first, she and Andre were kept together. But as they grew older, they were assigned to different classes — "because we're twins and we should find our own identity." Then Campbell caught what she describes as almost a lucky break: A teacher noticed her and the school put her in an advanced class. "And suddenly, I'm on a trajectory that would bring me to Boston Latin School," an elite public school, the oldest in the country, with competitive admissions. "And without Boston Latin School, I don't get to Princeton University. That's how my path is laid out."

"What she went through, you know, that was eye-opening to me," says Michael Contompasis, a former superintendent of Boston Public Schools who was Campbell's high school principal. "Just the grit and determination. And the work. She always put in the work."

"Growing up the way she did absolutely proved her fortitude," says attorney Brent Henry '69, a former Princeton trustee. A few years ago, he and Campbell were introduced by a mutual acquaintance and became friends. "She has a story that a lot of politicians talk about but don't live," Henry says.

Thinking back now on why Andre wasn't tracked into advanced classes too, she believes partly it was genderbased: "Andre was acting out, and probably because of things happening in our home, but, you know, we both acted out." Campbell recalls being sent to the principal's office or told to sit at the back of the classroom. Andre, by contrast, was more often suspended or expelled. While her brother was attending schools with fewer resources and weaker academics, Campbell says, "I'm in schools where you can get job opportunities, where there's programming that was free for us girls." As a Girl Scout, she went camping in New Hampshire. Sports programs allowed her to visit colleges out of state. "I was just exposed to a world that Andre didn't have."

Campbell arrived at Princeton as a prospective math major. "I had a wonderful experience," she says. "I was kind of a nerd, and I put my head down to do the work." But when her father died during her sophomore year, something shifted. She began studying sociology instead — looking for answers, maybe, about the place she'd come from — and, somewhat unexpectedly, Judaic studies. She had taken a course on

"I look at my two boys, and I want them to have more opportunity than I did."



Andre's death transformed Campbell.

Throughout her tumultuous childhood, he had been her closest companion, her other half.

Campbell with her twin brother, Andre, around 1999. Andre died of an illness while in jail, awaiting trial.

American Jewish history, drawn to it partly by the stories her father had told about growing up in neighborhoods that had once been Jewish. "And then I just kept taking Judaic studies classes," she says. "Often I was not only the only woman and Black woman in the class, but also the only Christian." She wrote her junior paper and senior thesis on Black and Jewish relations in urban settings and worked at the Center for Jewish Life.

After Princeton, Campbell went to law school at UCLA and then returned to the East Coast, working first at a Roxbury nonprofit specializing in education law and offering free legal services and later in New York. In 2012 she returned to Boston for good, to be with her boyfriend — now husband — Matthew Scheier, and to be closer to Andre, who needed her. "But in the midst of my returning, he passed away."

ndre's death transformed Campbell. Throughout her tumultuous childhood, he had been her closest companion, her other half. What was he like? Her face brightens. "Andre was smarter than me — I always tell people that," she says. "He was hilarious, always joking, laughing. And very compassionate and empathetic. He was a feeler, even as a kid. If someone's suffering, he was like, 'Let me make my way over there.'" Even when Andre started having his own troubles, cycling in and out of prison, she says, "he always found time to call a loved one who was sick."

He was a pretrial detainee when he died, at 29. The details of what happened are still not clear to Campbell. Andre had been behind bars for two years, awaiting trial. He had an autoimmune illness called scleroderma that can affect the skin, blood vessels, muscles, and other organs; before his arrest, Campbell says, the condition was being treated and under control. But during those two years, different lawyers came and went, and court dates were changed, "and all the while, he was deteriorating," she says. "He had a high cash bail that I could not afford to pay. So, he was sort of in the system, in and out of hospital settings, not receiving adequate treatment." He developed sores on his feet, he lost weight, he was often in pain; at one point he went into cardiac arrest. When prison officials called to tell her, Campbell went to his bedside, and with two armed guards in the room, she held his hand and prayed with him. "I said, 'It's not your time yet.'" But a year later, Andre died.

Going through his personal items afterward, Campbell came across a grievance form he'd filled out, asking for medical care. "Clearly, from his description, you can tell he was in distress and in need of help immediately," she says. But the form had been returned to him with instructions to fill out a different document instead. "This was the response," she says. "It was almost like he was guilty and being mistreated even before the legal system found him guilty."

She was a Princeton graduate, a lawyer, a woman with skills and connections — and yet, she had been unable to help her brother. "I sat in a space of anger," she recalled in a podcast. She prayed. After the fog of grief began to clear, Campbell found herself with a question that continues to fuel her work: "How do twins born and raised in the same city have such different life outcomes?" Even all these years later, the gulf between her own life and Andre's startles her. "That's my purpose now," she says: finding ways to close the gap.

Andre's death would not be the final tragedy in Campbell's family. Early this year, her older brother, Alvin, was arrested and charged with raping a woman after posing as a rideshare driver — and in July he was charged with sexual assault against seven other women as well. If convicted, he could be sentenced to life in prison. He has pleaded not guilty. "It's been truly painful, to say the least, and shocking and disheartening," Campbell said after the initial charges. "I have gone deep in prayer — for the victim and my brother — to respond. But, frankly, it has expanded my purpose, to do the work of interrupting cycles."

She no longer blames individual people for injustices, she has said — instead, she looks at systems and the inequities



"I don't want [my sons] to live in fear, or to have to change how they show up in the world or be inauthentic because folks think they are threatening or lesser-than."

Campbell walks in the Dorchester Day Parade with her son Alexander during her re-election campaign in 2019.

found in them. The education system. The criminal-justice system. Campbell knows the world of Princeton — its groomed grounds and historic halls and its network of friends and strangers willing to help a young person deemed smart and special. And she knows the world in which her brothers lived, as well, where detainees are viewed as "almost not human." They're sons and daughters, too.

It's no surprise, then, that Campbell has spent much of her career thinking about how to break the cycles that have trapped so many: "cycles of criminalization, cycles of poverty, cycles of trauma, cycles of abuse, cycles of mediocrity — all these cycles that show up in my family and community, and in every community, frankly, not just communities of color."

In her first year on the city council, she visited every school in her district. What she saw again and again, she says, were teachers and school administrators who felt powerless to deliver the resources - rigorous instruction, good facilities, educational supports, extracurricular opportunities - that their students needed. They weren't always sure of what help they could count on from city officials. In 2019 Campbell released a 16-page plan designed to give local schools more control over curriculum and programming and to hold the central office accountable for student outcomes. She has also pushed to make selective-admissions public schools, like Boston Latin, more equitable and diverse. "The whole thing for me is, what are people's needs, and how do we strengthen public institutions to meet those needs?" she says. "Right now, Boston Public Schools are not serving the needs of students of color, or poor families, or special-needs students, or English-language learners. And when public institutions are not serving people's needs, where do they go?"

Her plan for public-safety reform is also focused around people's needs, she says, and imagines a police force not abolished, but scaled back: more service requests — and more money — directed toward community-based organizations, and more accountability for citizen complaints against law enforcement. The civilian review board she proposes to investigate misconduct would be independent of the police department, have the power to issue subpoenas, and regularly publish data about complaints, stops, arrests, and use of force. Police would be removed from schools, and tear gas and rubber bullets would be among the military weapons banned.

"I think it is critically important, the fact we're talking about police-brutality cases," she says, "but it is also absolutely essential that we recognize that race and racism play a role in every system in this country — marginalizing, oppressing, or even killing residents. It's important that we have plans in place in education, health care, banking ... all the other systems that no one's really talking about."

It's part of a larger lesson she's learning about politics, and community, and the potential for breaking cycles. "What I've come to know is that the political arena touches everything. I don't think that our residents always understand that. ... I've been telling them that's why this political game matters so much. It touches every piece of their life."

And every piece of hers, too. When Campbell talks about the neighborhoods she represents and her aspirations for the people living there, the conversation often winds back to her two sons and their futures. It is a fraught time to be the mother of Black boys. She explains how she hopes her sons would have a "different experience growing up in America. I don't want them to live in fear, or to have to change how they show up in the world or be inauthentic because folks think they are threatening or lesser-than."

In an essay published not long after George Floyd's killing, Campbell wrote of forcing herself "to feel every emotion that surfaces": anger, frustration, fear, "debilitating sadness."

And hope, she adds later: "I don't have the luxury of not forging ahead." ${}^{\diamondsuit}$

Lydialyle Gibson is a Boston-based freelancer and associate editor of Harvard Magazine.

INTO THE WOODS: Xluhui Lim '05, left, had never lived anywhere but Singapore before coming to Princeton, but since late 2019, she and wife Jenna Hartom have resided in Hartom's family cabin, built around 1910, in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Lim, who telecommutes to her consulting job in New York, says she's getting used to the more than 200 inches of winter snowfall and using a woodstove for heat. "Oddly, I really enjoyed shoveling snow," says Lim. "A lot of people love the U.P. for the summer's, but I actually think I like the winter better!"

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READ MORE about Lim's adventures in the north woods at paw.princeton.edu

TOYOTA

JOURNEY HERE: VAL MIFTAKHOV *03

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MARÍA PERALES SÁNCHEZ '18

BEYOND THE 'DREAMER'

María Perales Sánchez '18 spends her days advocating for better protections for migrant workers in the United States. As a communications coordinator at the nonprofit Centro de los Derechos del Migrante (CDM) in Baltimore, she is constantly meeting with migrant workers, talking to reporters about ways the pandemic is affecting such workers, and communicating with state lawmakers. "We ensure migrant workers know about their rights, and that their voices are central and present in policy discussions that directly affect them," Perales Sánchez says.

Until last June, she had been doing that work without knowing her own fate in the United States. Perales Sánchez, who moved from Mexico to Houston at age 8, is a recipient of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), the federal program that affords legal protections, including protection from deportation, to people who were brought to the U.S. as children. Along with some 700,000 other recipients, her future was thrown into upheaval when the Trump administration announced in September 2017 that it would end the program.

In response, Perales Sánchez, along



with Microsoft, joined the University's lawsuit contesting the move. Alongside President Eisgruber '83 and Microsoft president Brad Smith '81, she attended oral arguments at the Supreme Court in November. "Hearing the justices discuss an issue so theoretically that affected us so realistically was an out-of-body experience that I don't even know how to convey," she says.

In early June, she returned to Houston, from Baltimore, to be with family "in preparation for the worst." Then on June 18, the ruling came down: The Trump administration had failed to provide appropriate justification to dismantle DACA. When she saw the news, Perales Sánchez remembers, "I started screaming ... it was a scream of shock because I was nowhere prepared for a positive decision."

The decision brought "some form of ease" to Perales Sánchez and her family.

She has been able to move forward with things like refinancing the family home

— the kind of mundane yet economically impactful matters that many take for granted, but which had been delayed for years.

However, Perales Sánchez is still concerned about other ways the Trump administration is trying to roll back DACA, such as by shortening the program's renewal time frame from two years to one (increasing applicants' paperwork and fees) and denying new applications. But "at least now, if they do take it away again, they have to take more accountability on why," she says.

While grateful for all the opportunities she has had — she's just been named the first recipient of a new CDM fellowship, and after completing it next year, plans to attend law school — Perales Sánchez says America still needs a long-term solution for undocumented people, "something that includes our parents and those that don't fit the 'Dreamer' narrative." After all, her father, who has no legal status in the U.S., never had access to education beyond a gradeschool level, yet she credits him and her late mother with instilling in her the qualities that propelled her to Princeton and to the Supreme Court.

"We need a permanent solution that is based in humanity and values before I and undocumented folk like myself can ever feel at ease," she says. Φ By Eveline Chao '02



Three Books On Race and White Supremacy

PAW asked **DWIGHT A. MCBRIDE '90,** who became president of The New

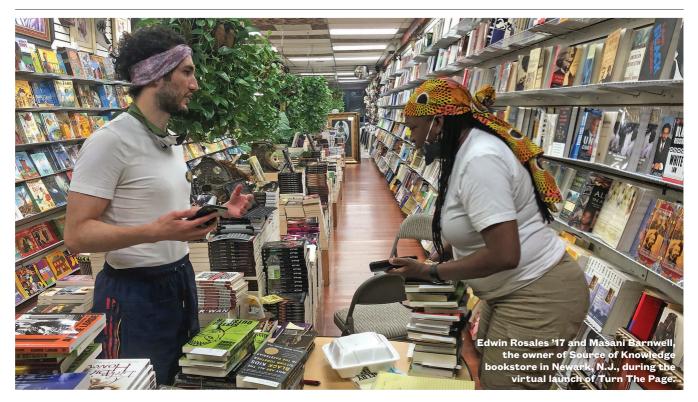
School in April, to recommend three books that help explain the moment we're in. McBride was provost and executive vice president for academic affairs at Emory University. A leading scholar of race and literary studies, McBride has published award-winning books, essays, and articles that examine connections between race theory, Black studies, and identity politics.

The Fire Next Time, by James Baldwin Hands down, this book is one of the most important treatments of the deleterious effects of race and white supremacy in the U.S. ever written. Upon a recent re-reading it remains as relevant today as it was when Baldwin first published it in 1963.

Begin Again: James Baldwin's America and Its Urgent Lessons for Our Own, by Eddie S. Glaude Jr. *97 Glaude's book speaks powerfully to the moment we are living through in our nation. It is fundamentally a meditation on how James Baldwin worked his way back to hope from his own moment of despair about white supremacy and its (quite literal) deadly effects (i.e., the murders of Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Medgar Evers). At one level the book functions as a selfhelp book — in the very best possible way — written just for what we are going through right now. It gives us permission to feel the despair of our moment, while urging us back to hope so that we may, in Baldwin's words, "begin again."

The Alchemy of Race and Rights: Diary of a Law Professor, by Patricia J. Williams For those who imagine that education or wealth protect Black people from the effects of racism and white supremacy, I recommend Williams' book — one of my favorite works of criticism. Through a compelling mix of legal analysis, critical race theory, and personal anecdote, Williams gives us a glimpse into the effects of race in our professional, political, and personal lives. \blacklozenge

PRINCETONIANS



EDWIN ROSALES '17 AND ABIGAIL JEAN-BAPTISTE '18

BUY THE BOOKS

A new collective seeks to educate while also funding Black authors and booksellers

Watching the nationwide protests after the death of George Floyd, Edwin Rosales '17 wondered what to do to support the emerging movement. In particular, Rosales – who was an aspiring playwright in the first year of graduate studies at the Yale School of Drama at that time - wondered how the growing trend of people buying "antiracist" literature could be used to help Black communities more directly. Then, Rosales had an epiphany.

"I was thinking, what can I do? What can I do with my access to these privilege networks? ... All my friends who love literature, what can we do?" Rosales started gauging the interest of friends about whether they would commit to buying a work of Black literature from a Black-owned bookstore every month. "And there was a lot of excitement for the idea," Rosales says.

Thus began Turn The Page: A Movement to Lift Up Black-Owned Bookstores (TTP), a collective Rosales

co-leads with three others - Abigail Jean-Baptiste '18, Tyler Cruz, and Malia West. The group has partnered with Source of Knowledge, a Black-owned bookstore in Newark, New Jersey, to ensure that the burgeoning interest in anti-racist



"While I think Turn The Page has national importance ... our philosophy is to go slow, never forgetting the communities we're partnering with." - Abigail Jean-Baptiste '18

literature during the protests over the summer also empowers the communities that most directly feel the impact of systemic racism. The goal is to get people to "decolonize their bookshelves," as Rosales says, both in the literature people read and the ways they buy books.

Working with the owners of Source of Knowledge, TTP curates collections of books by Black authors that illuminate the Black diasporic experience in ways that can help readers better understand the racial reckoning happening across the nation. Those lists offer a variety of genres, from history to poetry, from an anthology of criminal-justice essays edited by Angela Davis to prize-winning dramas by Branden Jacobs-Jenkins '06. Readers can then order books from the collection directly from Source of Knowledge by phone or email.

Rosales says buying from Blackowned bookstores and reading Black authors helps create an economic shift. "You move the capital from one community to another one. Amazon specifically was doing very well during the pandemic, but a lot of small businesses, such as Source of Knowledge, were struggling and were facing economic barriers," Rosales says.

The partnership with TTP has been

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a boon for Source of Knowledge. After three decades in business, the bookstore almost had to close earlier this year when the shutdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic decimated its in-store sales. Since June 2020, the collaboration with TTP has generated \$25,000 in revenue with more than 1,300 books shipped to readers in 34 states.

"We were at no sales," says Masani Barnwell, co-owner of Source of Knowledge. "They really helped to open up a new market of people — that's really going to help us survive. We all need to help each other, and it's beautiful that's [TTP's] mission."

TTP is evaluating the ways that it can grow as both a collective and a partnership with Source of Knowledge. The group has raised \$3,000 to support a literacy initiative for the Newark community called Read and Feed, which will invite children from the Newark region to hear local authors read from their works. During the readings, the kids will receive a complimentary hot meal and two or three free books.

In August, the collective launched its website (www.turnthepagemovement. org). Since June, the group's collections of recommended readings and purchasing instructions primarily have been promoted via the group's Facebook page and Instagram account (@turnthepagemovement). As the collective considers ways to expand its influence and audience, the group's leaders are determined to keep it a grassroots movement.

"I see Turn The Page as a way to bridge people's access to and connections with Black literature, so that we can all re-imagine a future of racial justice and Black liberation," says Jean-Baptiste. "While I think Turn The Page has a national importance and has endless potential for growth, our philosophy is to go slow, never forgetting the communities we are partnering with."

"We call it a movement because this is a daily commitment," Rosales says. "Every single day, you need to be figuring out how to be an ally to the Black community and how to involve Black liberation work in your everyday lives." *By Kenneth Terrell '93*

THE SKY'S THE LIMIT



Val Miftakhov *03, Physics

Val Miftakhov *03 was born in the USSR, and though he was a gifted physics student at the Moscow Institute for Physics and Technology, the Soviet collapse meant there were few professional opportunities. So Miftakhov arrived at Princeton in 1997 as a graduate physics student, a journey that took him to Silicon Valley in time for the tech boom, which led him to his current endeavor. "We are going to decarbonize aviation," says Miftakhov of his new venture, ZeroAvia, which had its first test flights last year.

- Miftakhov arrived on campus in 1997 and stayed for a year before moving to California to conduct research by helping to lead Princeton's part in a high-energy physics experiment based at the Stanford Linear Accelerator. In keeping with the zeitgeist, he spent the second half of his graduate years balancing schoolwork with running a dot-com startup.
- After the dot-com bust, Miftakhov worked in marketing and sales for six years at McKinsey, advising companies' marketing decisions using streams of data.
- ▶ Next, he oversaw product incubation at Google for six years. But in 2013, he began creating the first open-source electric-vehicle charging station called JuiceBox, which helps manage the power load on a grid as more and more electric cars start plugging in. He sold that company in 2017 and has since shifted to airplanes.
- Miftakhov, who is also a pilot, has devised a zero-carbon-emitting, hydrogen-fueled electric powertrain that can run flights up to 500 miles. "We are going to fly a commuter aircraft, and then go up in size and distance," he says. Within a decade, he hopes to build a craft with 50 to 100 seats. He sees his planes reinvigorating small regional airports, making travel to precise destinations cheaper and cleaner. Miftakhov is one of five aviation CEOs on U.K. Prime Minister Boris Johnson's Jet Zero Council, which aims to develop the world's first zero-emissions jet.

Lessons learned: "Trust in yourself, take risks, and focus on visible results." • By C.C.

A ZeroAvia prototype

The Journey Here is a new feature appearing occasionally. To nominate someone with an interesting career path, please email paw@princeton.edu.

CLASS NOTES

Online Class Notes are password protected. To access, alumni must use their TigerNet ID and password. Click here to log in: http://paw.princeton.edu/ class-notes



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MEMORIALS

PAW posts a list of recent alumni deaths at paw.princeton.edu. Go to Reader Services on PAW's home page and click on the link "Recent Alumni Deaths." The list is updated with each new issue.

THE CLASS OF 1945

Robert J. Butzen '45

Bird was born in Milwaukee and attended Marquette High School. At Princeton he was in Cannon Club and played freshman tennis. He continued to play collegiate tennis for Cornell when his enlistment in the Navy moved him there. In the war he was an anti-aircraft control officer. After the war he returned to graduate from Princeton in chemical engineering.

He followed in his father's footsteps selling for Mass Mutual Insurance Co. Later he started Casper Kitchens, designing residential kitchens, and after that he became an institutional broker at Smith Barney. He had a great sense of humor, was hard to beat at gin rummy, and was an avid golfer with eight holes-in-one.

Bird died June 6, 2019. His wife, Frede, predeceased him. Bird is survived by children Marty, R. Chris and his wife, Joey, Robin and her husband, Tim, Holly and her husbnd, Bill, Stephen and his wife, Jane, David and his wife, Karen, and Marynell and her husband, Dave; grandchildren Benjamin, Timothy, Margaux, Christopher, Jennifer, Brian, David, Kim, Laura, Daniel, Ashley, R.J., Holly, Abby, Sheila, Luke, and Grace; and great-grandchildren Holden, Winnie, Sullivan, Caroline, James, David, and Henry.

Donald J. Young '45

Don was born in Pittsburgh, Pa. He attended Andover Academy. At Princeton he wrestled, was in championship intramural tennis, the Literary Club, and the International Relations Club, and was vice president of Quadrangle Club.

During World War II Don was a mortar squad leader, sergeant, Army, 106th Division. He saw combat in England, France, and Germany and was taken prisoner at the Battle of the Bulge, surviving a serious shrapnel wound, the loss of a lung, and frostbite. He received the Purple Heart award and was a Veteran of Foreign Wars.

Don graduated *summa cum laude* from Princeton with a degree in English and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He earned a master's degree from Harvard. He married Viviane Armelle in 1956 and taught English at Williams College, The Webb School in Claremont, Calif., and Cabrillo College in Aptos, Calif.

His novels include *December* 1941, *First* 24 *Hours of War in the Pacific, The Battle of Bataan, Final Hours in the Pacific,* and *The Lion's Share.* He also published *Ascending Star and Other Stories,* numerous poems, and several plays, which he produced at a local theater.

Don was well known for his quick wit and sweet and generous personality.

Don died Oct. 22, 2017. He is survived by his wife of 60 years, Viviane; children Mamiche, Jeffrey, and Michael; grandchildren Patricia, Silvia, and Paul; and brother Peter.

THE CLASS OF 1948



Irwin Hugo Seligman '48 Born in Manhattan, Irwin was raised in the Bronx by his mother, Minnie, and his bachelor uncle Samuel Schwed. A sailor during World War II

assigned to the Mediterranean North African war zones, Irwin was recruited to attend the officer-training program with full scholarship at Princeton.

Irwin met the love of his life, Wakako, in Japan. He was an officer on a minesweeper during the Korean War. Hugo and Wakako married in Yokohama, Japan, Feb. 14, 1951.

Irwin enjoyed more than 25 years of great Naval service. He served active duty in three wars: World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. He received 11 medals and citations and loved being in the Navy and "seeing the world." After Irwin retired as a lieutenant commander in 1968, he earned two master's degrees and a teaching credential, and taught for many years as a beloved middle school teacher.

Irwin and Wakako traveled extensively throughout the United States, Europe, Canada, and Japan. He assisted his wife's Japanese poetry and flower-arranging organizations. He was a loyal, loving husband, a responsible father of three, and a generous grandfather of five.

Irwin died Feb. 25, 2019, in San Diego, Calif., at 96. In an early journal he wrote of Princeton

University, "Of the school, its professors and its curriculum or its standards ... for this I am eternally grateful for whatever lifted my soul another plateau with a Princeton education."

THE CLASS OF 1952



Warren Bruce III '52 *53 Warren was an accomplished physical chemist and Naval officer who graduated from John Burroughs (St. Louis) High School and came to Princeton to

study chemical engineering. He joined Terrace, the St. Louis Club, the Flying Club, and the American Institute of Chemical Engineers. He roomed with Biddle Worthington.

After graduation, with election to Phi Beta Kappa, he stayed on to earn a master's degree in 1953 and was a Monsanto Fellow. That same year he finished Officer Candidate School and began flying as a Navy flight officer on the USS *Intrepid*. He stayed in the Reserves until 1980, when he retired with the rank of captain.

In 1962 Warren earned a Ph.D. at the University of New Mexico, Los Alamos, and then began work at DuPont, moving into a variety of senior positions until 1992, when he took up service as a consultant to Chemtex International for two years in China, India, and Eastern Europe.

In retirement, living in Oriental, N.C., Warren pursued local politics, flight instruction, and sailing. His first wife, Karel Punch, died in 1980. Warren died Jan. 21, 2020, leaving his second wife, Kathy Marie Bruce, and children Warren IV, Cynthia, Thomas, David, Lisa, and Michelle. The class sends its best wishes to them with much respect for Warren's extraordinary professional accomplishment and honorable service to our country.



John K.M. Hayes '52

John was born in China, where his father John D., who was a member in the Class of 1910, and mother were Presbyterian missionaries. All

of them were interned by the Japanese in the Philippines for three years and were then part of a Japanese/American prisoner exchange. John later graduated from the Sidwell Friends School and came to Princeton to major in English and join Court. He was on the 150-pound crew and roomed with Norman Gilbert.

John spent four years as a Navy electronics technician, then earned a master's degree from Boston University in history in 1961 and a master's degree from Harvard in Asian Studies in 1963. He pursued work as a teacher of computer programming at Exeter and from 1971 until 1990 was chief programmer for the Perini Corp.

Upon retiring John took up a personal interest in auto-insurance reform and was elected a member of the Belmont (Mass.) Town

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Democratic Committee. For fun he and his wife, Jocelyn, went to their cottage on Mount Desert Island.

John died Nov. 5, 2019. The class sends Jocelyn its condolences and our appreciation of John's Naval service to our country.



John R. Michaels '52 Ramsey came to us from Skaneateles (N Y) High S

Skaneateles (N.Y.) High School. At Princeton he majored in history and joined Prospect, the Princeton Evangelical

Fellowship, Baptist Students of Princeton, Whig-Clio, and the Republican Club. He roomed with Sam Rochester.

He went on to study at Grace Theological Seminary and then earned a Th.D. degree from Harvard. His first job was at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary as professor of New Testament until 1984, when he became professor of religious studies at Southwest Missouri State University until 1995.

Ramsey was an accomplished teacher and scholar, publishing seven books — one of them a study of the work of his favorite writer, Flannery O'Connor, and others New Testament studies.

Ramsey died Jan. 18, 2020; his wife, Betty died earlier. To Ramsey's children, Carolyn, Linda, David, and Ken, the class offers its sympathies on the loss of our brother, their distinguished father.



Robert E. Van Meter '52

Bob graduated from Exeter and at Princeton majored in economics. He was a member of Cannon and roomed with Dave Dimmock, Don Jack,

and Dick Ellwood.

After graduation he joined the Navy and served until 1954 as a lieutenant. He was awarded the National Defense Service Medal. He then commenced his long career with Liberty Mutual Insurance Co., being awarded in 1969 membership in the company's Sales Hall of Fame. In 1985 he retired and turned to continuing his lifelong enjoyment of modelairplane flying.

Bob's wife, Barbara, died in 2000. Bob died Jan. 13, 2020. He is survived by children Linda, Robert R., and Kenneth, to whom we send the class's condolences and our respect for their father's service to our country.



Joshua J. Ward '52

Josh came to Princeton to study basic engineering after graduating from the Pingry School. He joined Terrace, worked in the Triangle stage

crew, and belonged to the Flying Club and to the Republican Club. His roommate was Bob Louden. After Army service he earned a law degree at Fordham Law School in 1958. He was patent and trademark counsel to GAF Corp. from 1973 to 1993 and continued as a consultant to the firm until 2000.

Josh died Nov. 26, 2019, in Chatham, N.J. He is survived by wife Edith and children Porter and Bailey. To them the class offers sympathies, with respect for Josh's Army service.

THE CLASS OF 1953



Richard Hamilton Rea '53 Richard was born in Mount Lebanon, Pa., and came to Princeton from Mount Lebanon High School. At Princeton he was a member of Campus Club,

majored in history, and wrote his thesis on "The Administration of Naval Logistics."

After graduation Richard served three years in the Navy, stationed primarily on aircraft carriers and destroyers in the Mediterranean and attaining the rank of lieutenant junior grade. He then went to Harvard Law School to acquire legal credentials and embarked on a long legal career, first with a law firm in Harrisburg, Pa., and then with DuPont, serving as general counsel for its Remington Arms division and leading DuPont's Europe and Africa legal operations while stationed in Geneva, Switzerland.

He was a longtime resident of West Chester, Pa., and Vero Beach, Fla., but died in Media, Pa., May 3, 2020. He is survived by his former wife, two children, and four grandchildren.



Henry Fayette Sill '53 Henry was born in Detroit, Mich., and came to Princeton from Jackson High School in Jackson, Mich., with every intention of becoming a doctor.

He majored in biology and wrote his thesis on "Antigens of the Red Cell Membrane." After two years of medical school, however, Henry spent a year as a pubic school teacher and then transferred to the University of Arizona Law School in Tucson, where he earned a law degree in 1961.

Settling in Arizona, Henry began the private practice of law in Tucson, but served also as a prosecuting attorney and as a city and county judge. He was active in several churches, serving as an organist and choir director.

Henry died April 28, 2020, in Scottsdale, Ariz. He is survived by his wife of 62 years, Maxine; one daughter; two sons; and seven grandchildren.

Sidney Augustus Staunton '53

Sidney was born Nov. 28, 1930, in Charleston, W.Va.

He attended the Lawrenceville School before entering Princeton. He joined Cottage



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Club and served as president of the club in his senior year. After graduating he served two years in the Army and attained the rank of second lieutenant. After leaving the service

Sidney began a Wall Street career with First National City Bank and then joined the investment firm of Laird & Co., eventually becoming president of the firm. He loved tennis and squash, but even more he loved his vegetable gardens, staking tomatoes and building trellises for his beans.

Sidney died April 5, 2020, in Charleston, W.Va. He is survived by his wife Azee, five children, and 12 grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1954



Murray Stevens '54 The son of Nathaniel Stevens, a member in the Class of 1923, Murray prepared at Millbrook School, where he participated in hockey, track, and Glee

Club. At Princeton he majored in mechanical engineering and was a member of Key and Seal Club. He married Sally K. Keogh while an undergraduate.

Murray was a Congregationalist and a member of the Republican Party. He lived in Wayzata, Minn., in his early years and later in Lafayette, Calif. At the time of his death, he resided in a memory-care unit of a retirement community in Arizona.

Murray is survived by his sons, Murray Jr., Thomas, Eric, Scott, and Mark; brothers Nathaniel Jr. and Charles; and sister, Sally.

THE CLASS OF 1955



Lester L. Colbert Jr. '55 Lester died Oct. 10, 2019 in New York City, where he had lived since 1992, when he left a pioneering career in Silicon Valley. He was 85.

He was born Feb. 6, 1934, in Detroit and before Princeton was valedictorian at Birmingham (Mich.) High School. At Princeton he joined Cottage Club, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and graduated *magna cum laude* in history. He roomed with Ernie Ruehl, Bill Aikens, and Sid Harris. After Princeton he served two years as a naval officer and earned an MBA at Harvard Business School.

In 1970 he joined Xidex Corp. in Sunnyvale, Calif. As CEO of the struggling maker of microfilm, he built it into a Fortune 500 company with more than 7,000 global employees.

After the sale of Xidex, Lester traveled and read extensively and served on a range of corporate and nonprofit boards, including the Smithsonian National Museum of American History and The Alger Funds. In 1992 Lester married Linda Wooldridge and moved to New York. They shared a full life together until Parkinson's disease took its toll on Linda, and she died five months after his passing.

Lester's many friends tell of his wit, charm and brilliant mind along with a huge heart and deep loyalty. His is survived by his brother, Nicholas Colbert, of Houston.



Thomas F. Evans '55

Tom died Feb. 15, 2020, at Cordia Senior Living in Traverse City, Mich. Tom was born in Indianapolis, came to us from Shortridge High

School, and was an Eagle Scout.

At Princeton Tom joined Tower Club and was a coxswain on the crew. He had never rowed before he joined a group of beginners who worked their way up to the varsity. Oral Miller remembers Tom as an exceedingly friendly crewmate who was also one of Oral's readers.

After graduating as a history major Tom served with Army Counterintelligence. In 1957 he married Jane Parsons and became an investment banker, first in Indianapolis and then at Princeton Bank and Trust. They raised their family in Princeton, Tom serving as class treasurer from 1975 to 1980 and Jane becoming an honorary class member. In 1998 they retired to Leland, a picturesque village on the northern reaches of Lake Michigan.

In May 2018 Tom and Jane moved to Cordia. Jane passed away unexpectedly, leaving a huge void in Tom's life.

Tom is survived by daughters Julie Rogers and Amy Rullo, and grandchildren Malcolm Rogers, Joshua Rogers, and Jessica Rullo. His many friends remember Tom as "gentle and easygoing."



Thomas L. Pritchard '55 Tom died April 14, 2020, of cardiac complications at age 86. Since 1973 he and his wife, Mary Laura, had lived in Ridgefield, Conn.

Tom was born Jan. 16, 1934, in Evanston, Ill., the son of Norman Pritchard. Before Princeton he graduated from New Trier High School in Winnetka, Ill.

At Princeton Tom joined Elm Club and majored in history. His senior-year roommates were Paul Firstenberg and Ronald Sherman. He was manager of varsity football and active in IAA sports, the Princeton Bowling League, and *The Daily Princetonian*.

Tom's career encompassed 34 years in marketing with IBM. He was a Life Master bridge player and loved golf. Tom served on the board of the Ridgefield Community Center, as chairman of the Parking Authority, and was a member of the Ridgefield Men's Club. He and Mary Laura were inveterate travelers, chalking up trips to Ireland, England, Greece, Turkey, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Morocco. Also, for 25 years they enjoyed a second home on Cape Cod.

Tom is survived by Mary Laura, son James, daughter Kathryn Berger, grandson Collin Berger '14, and granddaughter Miranda. He was predeceased by son Tommy.



Barry R. Schenk '55 Barry died April 30, 2020, at his home in Scotch Plains, N.J., where he had lived for more than 60 years. He was 86 years old.

Barry practiced internal medicine in Plainfield, N.J., where he was born and graduated from high school. He spent summers at a cabin on Lake Megunticook in Camden, Maine, where he established close and enduring friendships.

At Princeton Barry majored in modern languages, joined Dial Lodge, and in senior year roomed with George Gering. After Princeton he graduated from NYU College of Medicine and served as a physician in the Air Force in Vietnam.

Passionate about opera, he was a seasonticket holder to the New York Metropolitan Opera for many years. He was also an avid bridge player and a gourmet cook who vastly enjoyed entertaining family and friends.

Barry was also dedicated to the eight boxer dogs he owned and loved, one at a time, for many years. He was so fond of them that he cooked them chicken dinners and asked that their names be included in his memorial: Ramsey, Rhett, Bacchus, Abby, Becky, Bonnie, Hansen, and Barney.

He was predeceased by his parents, Joseph and Rebecca, and is survived by his sister, Tama Singer; nieces Jana and Pamela; and nephew Brad.

THE CLASS OF 1956



John R. Cobau '56 Jack died April 1, 2020, like too many others succumbing

to COVID-19, in Grosse Pointe, Mich. He grew up in New Castle,

Pa., where he attended New Castle High School. He attended Kenyon College before transferring to Princeton and earning a degree in history. At Princeton and after, Jack lived the life of a true intellectual, reading voraciously and engaging in lively debates on the issues of the day in book clubs and discussion groups.

After Princeton he attended Harvard Law School, graduating in 1960. At Harvard he met Arlene (Smith '59), and they began a partnership that only grew stronger over 60

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years of marriage and uncountable fiercely contested bridge matches.

After a stint practicing law in Cincinnati, Jack and Arlene moved to Grosse Pointe, just outside Detroit. Jack practiced with a firm in Detroit before setting up his own practice in Grosse Pointe, wisely counseling hundreds of individuals and small businesses through their legal issues. Jack enjoyed tennis and was a lifelong Rotarian, serving several times as president of his local chapter.

Jack is survived by Arlene; sons William '83, Jay, Tom, and John '89; 10 grandchildren; and brother William.



Charles W. Coward Jr. '56

Chuck died April 19, 2020, in Cherry Hill, N.J.

He was born in Camden, N.J., grew up in Riverton, N.J., and graduated from

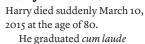
Moorestown Friends School. At Princeton he majored in mechanical engineering and was a member of Cannon Club. Upon graduation, Chuck entered the U.S. Coast Guard through the critical skills program and had active service for three months.

Chuck worked for Allegheny Ludlum Steel in the late 1950s and left to join Coward-Eastman Co. in Gloucester, N.J., to work with his father. While at Coward-Eastman, he started Waddell Engineering. While running Waddell Engineering, he became an ASHRAE Fellow and a Professional Engineer.

He enjoyed traveling the world with his wife, Elaine, playing soccer at the Moorestown Field Club, coaching and refereeing local soccer games, and sailing or swimming in Avalon, N.J.

Chuck was predeceased by Elaine, his son William Mark Coward, and stepson Nicholas R. Musulin Jr. Chuck is survived by his son Charles W. III; his stepson Rade Musulin and his wife, Bronwyn; stepson Chris Musulin and his wife, Pamela; and Lynne, his late stepson's wife. He is also survived by Mark's son, Weston, as well as his stepsons' children: Julie, Kristen, Nicholas, Quinn, Bailey, Rachel, and Simon; and one great-grandchild.

Harry Hoffner '56



from Princeton and earned a master's of theology from

Dallas Theological Seminary in 1960. He also earned a master's degree and a Ph.D. in ancient Near East languages from Brandeis University.

Harry, who retired in 2000, was the John A. Wilson professor emeritus of Hittitology at the University of Chicago. The director of the Oriental Institute said that Harry was one of the leading figures in the study of the Hittite language. He co-founded the Chicago

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Hittite Dictionary in 1976. As editor, he laid the foundation for the most important research tool for scholars studying the world's oldest written Indo-European language. In addition to the dictionary, Harry authored several books on the Hittite language and culture.

In retirement, Harry made wintertime visits to South Carolina, where he enjoyed walks and bike rides on the beach. A Bible-believing Christian, Harry taught Bible-study classes and was a member of the choir at College Church in Wheaton, Ill., for two decades.

Harry is survived by his wife of 57 years, Winifred; their three children, David, Karen, and Lee; and grandchildren Samantha and Maija.

THE CLASS OF 1957



Whit was a man of many parts and as many accomplishments: a renowned medical researcher in pulmonology, a trustee of the Chicago Lyric Opera, and a

Whitney W. Addington '57

passionate fan of the Chicago Cubs.

Growing up in Chicago, Whit attended Deerfield Academy, earned a Princeton degree in English, and got a medical degree from Northwestern University.

After a master's in public health degree and work in public health service, Whit returned to Chicago as head of pulmonology at Cook County Hospital, later taking professorships at the medical schools of the University of Chicago and Northwestern. He created important programs to combat cystic fibrosis and TB and served as president of the Chicago Board of Health.

The recipient of numerous medical awards and author of more than 100 papers on pulmonary diseases, he served as president of the American College of Physicians and worked with the World Health Organization in Africa to eradicate malaria.

At Princeton, he ate at Colonial, for which he played hockey, was master of the toast for the Tuesday Night Euripides Club, and roomed in Lockhart with Keith Ballard, Peter Pettus, Stokley Towles, and Kim Townsend.

Described as "ebullient and deeply considerate of others," Whit died peacefully Feb. 10, 2020, at his Chicago home. He is survived by his wife of 62 years, Ada; four daughters; and 11 grandchildren.



Jasper R. Daube '57

Jasper was one of several science giants in the Class of 1957. Jasper's specialty was the study, practice, and teaching of electro-diagnostic medicine,

which involves recording bodily electrical activity to treat brain, muscular and other deficiencies. Jasper spent his entire career at the Mayo Clinic, where he created a nowrenowned neurology department.

Jasper was born in Germany, the son of a Minnesota baker who, Jasper once said, expected him to become a truck driver. At Princeton he ran the dashes in varsity track. His senior-year roommates were Don Creighton, Jack Goodman, Dick McCready, and Murray Peyton.

Jasper's principal passion was passing on to other physician researchers his vision for his specialty. "His impact on others was formidable," a colleague said at his funeral. "Grandpa taught me a love for thinking," a grandson added. His minister called him strong-willed and compassionate.

At Mayo, Jasper was revered. He was asked to accept 43 visiting professorships, many abroad, and did. Another colleague said that whenever Jasper spoke, a large room had to be found. "Everyone wanted to hear him."

Jasper retired nine years ago due, ironically, to oncoming Alzheimer's. He died April 18, 2020, at the Mayo Hospital of an infection. His widow, Cynthia, said she expected him to live another decade. Jasper is survived by Cynthia, whom he married in 1960; two children; and six grandchildren.

Jonathan W. Murphy '57

"No member of the Class of 1957 will ever be alone if he doesn't want to be," Jon concluded his essay for the 50th-reunion yearbook. For the 20th reunion he created the mantra, "We are family," and reminded us of that periodically ever since. He attended every annual class reunion. He memorialized classmate deaths with a dirge on his harp. He emailed long monologues to the class with acute intelligence but little continuity on a variety of current issues early in the morning after drinking, he said, a lot of Molson beer. Jon's life was as eclectic as he was.

He came to Princeton from Pingry School, played 150-pound football and rugby freshman year, sang with the Tigertones, and joined Tower Club. He served as a Naval officer until 1961, skied in the West until the snow melted, played guitar in a San Francisco bar, sold data processors for IBM, was a management consultant, married and divorced, sold government bonds for Chase and Franklin banks, moved furniture, drove trucks, and from home was a computer programmer and analyst. He took up woodworking, sometimes contributing sales proceeds to the Classmate Fund. He wanted to be the last classmate alive.

Jon died Aug. 17, 2019 of heart failure. He was survived by his friend of 46 years, Monique Corey, and two children.

John A. Ruvane '57

A last gesture before John died was mimicking with his fingers playing a piano, an essential component of his life from age 5. He attributed



his admission to Princeton to playing to the alumnus interviewer the latter's favorite tune. His SAT scores, he said, were unremarkable.

At Princeton John played for the Tigertown Five and the Nassau Jazz Band. Later he played in Manhattan for 30 years on Les Leiber's *Jazz at Noon* "comping" for then-nationally known pianists and sometimes playing with musicians including Dave Brubeck, Buddy Guy, and Walter Chiasson.

He studied at the iconic Mannes School in Manhattan and lent his talent to the Mayo Clinic in Jacksonville, Fla., and elsewhere there. He loved playing at parties in any key, no sheet music needed, to any accompaniment, such as including his family in four-part harmony. John sang as well, with the University Glee Club of New York City, the Jacksonville Symphony Chorus, and other groups.

His career, however, was elsewhere. Beginning in pharmaceutical sales, he settled into pharmaceutical advertising and marketing, later forming three agencies of his own, all in New York. He was president of the Pharmaceutics Advertising Council.

John is survived by his wife of 62 years, Anne; six children; and 12 grandchildren.



Russell O. Stewart '57 Russ died Feb. 23, 2020, of respiratory failure.

Throughout his life he derived great pleasure in renovating the houses in which

he lived with his wife of 58 years, Francoise Miralet Stewart. In one they made flooring from oak trees that he had cut on the property. On another they built masonry patios and walls from local rock near the pond.

Russ was the son of Robert Stewart and Priscilla Moore Stewart and later the stepson of Peyton Houston '32. At Princeton Russ was a member of Charter Club, where he played a lot of bridge. He majored in psychology, graduated with honors, and was elected to Sigma Xi, the honorary science fraternity. He roomed with Norm Augustine and then Chuck Acree, Bob Bolgard, and Tom Soper.

The Navy assigned Russ to an aircraft carrier in the Pacific, and after extending his commission, to Villefranche on the French Riviera. There he met and married Francoise, a fashion model. Russ then embarked on a marketing career with Colgate-Palmolive, Mennen, Gillette, General Hosts, and Brown & Williamson. He lived in Hong Kong and throughout this country before settling in Connecticut and starting his own marketing company.

Russ is survived by his wife, Francoise; son Georges, son James and his wife; and two granddaughters.

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William H. Stouch '57 When he wasn't fishing in Lake Champlain, cheering the University of Vermont ice hockey team, or enjoying a cheeseburger, Bill was caring for

the ill of Burlington, Vt., and later serving on a number of health missions to Haiti and India.

Born in York, Pa., Bill came to Princeton and majored in chemistry, joined Quadrangle Club, was active in intramural basketball and other sports, and spent his senior year living in Walker. After earning a medical degree from Columbia University and spending two years in the Army, he opened an office in Burlington specializing in internal medicine, a practice he maintained for 40 years despite suffering severe arthritis and many orthopedic operations.

His courses in general practice medicine at the University of Vermont Medical School emphasized the need for an old-fashioned, one-to-one relationship with patients. Bill was active in the First Congregational Church and later in politics as a volunteer for Sen. Bernie Sanders' presidential campaign in 2016.

Bill and his wife of 47 years, Miny, moved two years ago to Beverly, Mass., to be nearer their three children and eight grandchildren. Bill died there peacefully Feb. 6, 2020.



David W. Vannatta '57 David died July 1, 2019, of

heart failure. At Princeton he majored in mechanical engineering, was on the football parking squad,

and was social chairman of Dial Lodge. His senior-year roommates were Barry Caskey, Jim Herr, and Lex Winans.

In 1985 he earned a master's of science degree in mechanical engineering from Portland State in Oregon. He spent 35 years in the business of electrical energy generation. He called his career "undistinguished but reasonably useful." It ended, he wrote in our 50th-reunion yearbook, with a downsizing. He and his second wife, Sue Vannatta, moved from Oregon to Arizona. Classmates had a standing invitation to visit him and Sue there. He and Sue were "dog people," he wrote, dispensing affection on two standard poodles. He was interested, too, in woodcarving and painting.

David is survived as well by two sons and brother Lex '53. "A nice guy," Lex said of him.

THE CLASS OF 1958



Jimmy died April 1, 2020, in New York City. He was 83. He came to Princeton from Midwood High School in Brooklyn, where he was

James H. Cohen '58

president of his class and on the student newspaper. At Princeton Jimmy was in Quadrangle Club, Triangle Club, and on *The Daily Princetonian*. He majored in history and roomed with Paul Singer.

After graduation Jimmy earned a law degree from Harvard, a diploma in law at Oxford, and much later a Ph.D. from NYU. He practiced law with several New York City firms before opening his own office in Rockefeller Center, which he kept for nine years.

In 1980 he bought and restored an old farmhouse in Vermont. He wrote a memoir, *Confessions of an Old Man: Gone Are the Days*, in 2019, which should not be missed some fact and some fiction and nothing you would expect!

Jimmy did not marry and was predeceased by his brother Richard '56.

Jay K. Katzen '58



Jay died April 9, 2020, at his home in Talkeetna, Alaska. He was 83.

Jay came to Princeton from Erasmus Hall High School in

Brooklyn. He was a member of Quadrangle Club and the rifle team and was head cheerleader (and occasional Tiger). He roomed with Adkins, Farrin, McLean, Poole, Rankin, and Zilkha. Jay graduated *magna cum laude* in politics and received the Philo Sherman Bennett prize.

After earning a master's degree at Yale, he entered the career Foreign Service with postings over 25 years in Australia, Burundi, both Congos, Romania, Mali, the United Nations, and the White House. He spoke five languages.

Jay served as consultant to the CEOs of five Fortune 50 companies for a decade, was vice chairman of the African Development Foundation, and acting chief of staff of the Peace Corps. He was the first Republican to represent his rural constituency in Virginia's House of Delegates, where he served four terms before narrowly losing as Republican nominee for lieutenant governor. He was a visiting professor at Boston College's Graduate School of Management and a member of several university boards.

Jay and his wife of 56 years, Paddy, were driving forces in the construction of the Victims of Communism Memorial in Washington, D.C. He was chairman of the board of the Combat Wounded Veteran Challenge. The Katzens moved to Alaska in 2009, where Jay continued his service as a National Park ranger.

Jay is survived by Paddy, three adult sons (all Eagle Scouts), and seven grandchildren. The class extends its condolences to each of them.

Mark H. Miller '58

Mark died March 13, 2020, in Green Valley, Ariz. He was 84.

He came to Princeton from The Hill School, where he was on the soccer and wrestling teams.



At Princeton he was on the wrestling team, a member of Cottage Club, Right Wing Club, Student Christian Association, and the Rugby Club. He majored in economics.

After graduation he served in the Navy in Taiwan. Mark and Betty were married in 1961. In 1962 he earned an MBA in finance at Wharton. He worked for Colgate Palmolive and Squib until 1971, when he purchased a seat on the American Stock Exchange. In 1991 they moved to Lancaster, Pa., and he attended the Culinary Institute of America and in 1993 opened A Loaf of Bread in Lancaster and ran it until he retired in 2003. Throughout he was active in Quaker organizations wherever they lived.

Mark enjoyed long-distance running, including the New York City, Boston, and Century marathons. He switched to bicycle touring, and then in 2004 had a knee replacement but kept up an active life with swimming, walks, and some bicycling.

Mark is survived by his wife, Elizabeth; their son, Matthew; two brothers; and many nieces, nephews, and cousins. The class extends them its deepest sympathy.

THE CLASS OF 1959



Arvin R. Anderson '59 Described by his daughters as "a loud, proud, and loyal Tiger," Arv succumbed to heart disease Feb. 25, 2020, in Newport, Vt., near his beloved

home on Echo Lake.

Arv grew up near New Haven where, while at nearby Hamden High School, he worked each fall as an usher at the Yale Bowl. Assumed by his family to attend Yale, his Swedish grandmother remarked when he told her he was going to Princeton, "You mean you're not going to Jale?" At Princeton Arv's major was chemistry, his club was Elm, and he managed the baseball team. He solicited for the Campus Fund Drive and Memorial Insurance Fund. An MBA from Wharton followed in 1961, as did marriage to Polly Benner and a training program with General Electric. A toe in the water as development director for Penn Hall Junior College, then back to industry with Quantum in Wallingford, Conn., in 1965.

The lure of a career in education and the tranquility of northern Vermont drew the Andersons to Echo Lake in 1968, where Arv would spend the rest of his days as a high school guidance counselor, a part-time realestate broker, and a full-time steward of the environment. His wife, Polly, died in December 1989. Two more marriages followed, both ending in divorce.

Arv is survived by his daughters, Lynne Bradley and Karen Oliver '87, and four grandchildren, to whom the class extends its condolences.

THE CLASS OF 1962



John H. Roberts '62 John died March 30, 2020, of complications due to COVID-19. He grew up in Corry,

Pa., and came to Princeton after graduating from Corry High School. At Princeton he majored in aeronautical engineering. He later obtained a master's degree from the University of Connecticut. For 44 years John worked for Pratt & Whitney in Hartford, Conn., designing and developing civil and military jet engines.

During his working years and in retirement, John lived in Bolton, Conn., where he was active in local affairs, including serving for more than a decade on Bolton's Zoning Board of Appeals. He also volunteered for many years on Princeton's Alumni Schools Committee.

John fell in love with Betsy Storer when he was an undergraduate and Betsy was a nursing student at Princeton Hospital. They married during the summer after our graduation and were together for 57 years.

In March 2020 John contracted the novel coronavirus. He was taken to the hospital March 22 and died nine days later. Betsy was unable to be with him in the days before he died. Betsy herself suffered a mild case of the virus but fortunately has fully recovered. To her and to their three children, Beth Hayes, Jennifer Lahey, and John Roberts, and their seven grandchildren, the class sends its deepest sympathies.

THE CLASS OF 1963



John S. Margerison '63 John died April 24, 2020, of a heart attack in his sleep in Traverse City, Mich., where he had a long career as an infotech administrator at hospitals.

Healthy to the end, he had taken his usual walk that day.

Colleagues, friends, and classmates fondly remember John's broad smile, kindliness, affability, and strong sense of ethics. Born in Philadelphia, he came to Princeton from Penn Charter School, majored in economics, caught for freshman baseball, wrestled junior varsity, ate at Cap & Gown, worked on Campus Fund Drive, and roomed with Fred Dimond and Tony Beard.

After college came the Army, information systems at IBM for 15 years in four states, then more than two decades at medical centers in Traverse City. John kept distance-running into his mid-70s, saying, "I'm just a guy who plods along and enjoys being able to finish a race," and sometimes running half-marathons up to six times a year, always annually in Alaska while visiting his son.

John is survived by his wife of 44 years, Carol; son Drew; daughter Susan Moore; six grandchildren, who knew him as Poppy, Grandpa M or Grandpa Blah Blah; one greatgranddaughter; and brother Dick. A son, Johnny, preceded him in death.

Burton D. Rose '63



Burton D. Rose '63 Bud, a nephrologist who delivered the digital age to clinicians nearly 30 years ago, died April 24, 2020, from Alzheimer's complicated

by COVID-19.

Working in the 1990s with Gloria in their Wellesley, Mass., basement, he created UpToDate, a medical resource now used globally a million times a day by clinicians aiding patients. Bud's initiative arose when his publisher wouldn't digitally update his textbook. He began by helping kidney physicians reach decisions, then expanded to 25 specialties and thousands of contributors. He had a gift for writing crisp and logical prose, easily understood, and colleagues began calling him "the Steve Jobs of medicine."

Known widely for his kindness, optimism, radiant smile, and infectious laugh, Bud continued to see patients at Beth Israel Deaconess and to teach at Harvard Medical School. He met weekly with nephrology fellows and won the American Society of Nephrology's highest award.

After Bayside High School in Queens, he studied history at Princeton, was athletics chair of Elm Club, and roomed with Baggot, Kadish, and St. John. He went on to NYU Medical School, the Navy, and then to Massachusetts.

The class shares its sadness with Gloria, daughters Emily Rose Mor and Anne Moller, son Daniel, brother Stephen, and five grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1964



E. Judson Jennings '64 Jud died May 1, 2019, in New York City. He grew up in Livingston, N.J., and attended Livingston High School, serving as student council president

and playing varsity soccer for three years. At Princeton he majored in philosophy, writing his thesis on aspects of Hegel's philosophy. He dined at Dial Lodge and was active in the Triangle Club.

Following graduation, Jud earned a law degree at Georgetown Law School. He worked in public interest law in New York for 10 years, starting as a storefront lawyer on the Lower East Side. After serving as a clinical instructor at NYU's Urban Law Clinic, he began a 45-year career at Seton Hall Law School, becoming a full professor and serving as associate dean for academic affairs. His teaching focus was on civil litigation, and he specialized in the impact of computer technology, the internet, and the phenomena of online social communities on the development and practice of law. He was twice named teacher of the year at Seton Hall. He had a strong interest in music and the theater and served on the board of directors of the New Jersey Volunteer Lawyers for the Arts.

The class extends condolences to Jud's wife of 47 years, Merilee; their two children, Stephen and Kirsten; and his brother, Douglas.

THE CLASS OF 1965

Richard P. Corben '65

Richard came to us from The Wheatley School in Old Westbury, N.Y., where he was involved in journalism and dramatics. At Princeton he majored in politics, ate independently, and devoted substantial time and effort to WPRB, including becoming its station manager and chairman of its board of directors. He later earned an MBA from Harvard Business School, and lived in the Boston area for many years, ending up in Southern California.

We had very little contact with Richard over the years but we know that he pursued a career in business, including serving as director of planning and engineering at Apollo Computer Corp., in Chelmsford, Mass. At the time we arrived at Princeton, WPRB was involved in a debate on whether to invest in stereo technology. Richard led the station to adopt it, putting the station ahead of much of the industry and of college stations in particular. Classmates have provided stories about his perpetual willingness to help them with their projects and endeavors.

He leaves no relatives, so we will end with a fond farewell to someone who was always gracious in his advice and encouragement to others.

George C. Farnbach '65

George died April 26, 2020, in Mount Holly, N.J., after contracting the coronavirus.

His education on campus began immediately when he stepped off the Dinky with his twin brother, John '65: Bags checked on the train don't get there for a week. And arriving freshmen could get instant credit at the U-Store.

He interrupted his education to serve with the Army in Vietnam, and then graduated with honors from the Woodrow Wilson School. He went on to earn a V.MD. and a Ph.D. (specializing in neurology) from the University of Pennsylvania, applying his love of animals for a time as a veterinary clinician. He finished his career working more than 20 years as a senior web developer for Independence Blue Cross in Philadelphia.

George enjoyed tennis, taught his young daughter classical guitar, and spoke to his dogs in Russian. He was memorable. When hailed "Hey, waiter!" in Commons, he'd answer, "Whadya want, eater?" And his roommates still talk about the night in Philadelphia that he convinced a mugger to return his money.

He is survived by his loving wife, Natasha; children Ingrid, Tommy, and Lana; grandchildren Gianni and Talia; and siblings John '65, Bill, and Shirley Mae Johnson.

Robert M. White '65

Bob died Jan. 2, 2020, in his sleep at home in Atlanta, Ga., from complications related to pneumonia, at the age of 78, having had his final birthday the previous day.

Bob was born Jan. 1, 1942, in Honolulu, Hawaii, the oldest son of Thomas Stuart White, a U.S. naval officer, and June White. He spent time in the Philippines as well before graduating from New Trier High in Winnetka, Ill. At Princeton he majored in geological engineering and took his meals at Cloister Inn while participating in rugby, cross country, and track, then joined the Marine Corps, attaining the rank of captain and serving in Vietnam. He enrolled at Georgia Tech, earning a master's degree in civil engineering and another in computer science.

During 17 years working in engineering geophysics, seismic hazard studies, and waste-disposal issues for Law Engineering, he married, raised two children, and was divorced. He was then remarried to Debora Herburger, who survives him (and with whom he hiked to the top of Machu Picchu), as do daughter Cindy Lynch and son Stuart White. Seeking new challenges, he then switched to commercial real estate in the Atlanta area until he retired.

The class extends its condolences to his survivors on the loss of this active, energetic, and thoughtful man.

THE CLASS OF 1968



Alexander R. Sussman '68 Alex died April 19, 2020, in Scarsdale, N.Y., from complications of COVID-19. He was 73.

Born in the Bronx Sept. 24, he graduated from Great Neck North High School, where he was yearbook editor and played varsity baseball. At Princeton he majored in the Woodrow Wilson School (cum laude); was a member of Whig-Clio, lightweight crew, and Russian Club; was chairman of the Trenton Tutorial Project and a University Scholar; and ate at Campus.

After a Fulbright year in Bordeaux, France, he attended Yale Law School and then clerked for the Honorable Constance Baker Motley. He was a partner from 1979 to 2009, and of counsel from 2009 at Fried, Frank, Harris,

Shriver & Jacobson. A successful corporate litigator, co-author of the treatise Takeover Defense and a lifelong advocate for civil rights, Alex was a former board and executive committee member of the Legal Aid Society of New York and board member of New York Lawyers for the Public Interest.

Alex is survived by his wife of 47 years, Edna; sons Jason and his wife, Abby *13, Carl and his wife, Nicole, Matthew '09 and his wife, Karen, and Eric and his wife, Lexi; grandchildren Henry, Aliza, and Galon; and sister Barbara. The class extends its profound sympathies to them all.

THE CLASS OF 1973



Roderick George Dorman '73 Rod died May 5, 2020, peacefully at his home in La Canada, Calif., from complications caused by a 18-year battle with cancers.

Unfailingly positive, Rod called his cancers a "gift" that liberated him to live every day to its fullest, with no regrets and full of love for his family and friends.

Rod loved his classmates and time at Princeton; he was a member of Cottage, sang with the Tigertones and graduated cum laude from the Wilson School. He earned a law degree from the University of Miami.

Rod went on to a celebrated career in private practice and consistently was recognized as one of the nation's leading intellectual-property litigators by numerous legal publications. He had a lifelong passion for hot rods, basketball, skiing, and celebrating life. However Rod's first passion was his family: his wife, Robin; his two sons, Brett and his wife, Tatiana, and Kirk; and his brothers, Rick and Mike. He loved them all beyond measure, and he showed that love every day. Rod will be sorely missed. A celebration of his life will be held in September. Donations may be sent to the USC Verdugo Hills Hospital Foundation in Rod's name.

James R. Wong '73



We mourn the loss of James Richard Wong. He died Aug. 21, 2019, of end-stage Parkinson's disease in Sunland, Calif. Jim leaves behind his wife

of 45 years, Susan Ossanna Wong; daughters Emilia and Abigail; and three granddaughters.

Jim was born June 15, 1951, in Rockville Center, N.Y., to William and Emy Lee Wong. Jim graduated from Whippany Park (N.J.) High School in 1969. At Princeton Jim earned a bachelor's degree in biochemistry. At Yale he earned a master's degree in 1975 and a Ph.D. in 1978, both in biology.

Jim and Susan married in 1974. He joined Ohio State University as assistant professor in 1980. In 1983 Jim left academia for a job in

bio-tech. Jim was diagnosed with young-onset Parkinson's disease in 1994 and continued working for the next 11 years. In 2005 he became involved in advocacy for Parkinson's research and patient participation in clinical trials. In 2010 Jim joined the OC Tremble Clefs, a singing group for people with Parkinson's and their caregivers.

Despite the impact of Parkinson's, Jim walked both of his daughters down the aisle and met all three of his grandchildren. Jim will be remembered for his intellect, his wit and humor, the fabulous meals he cooked, and how he did everything he could to care for his family.

THE CLASS OF 1976

Andrew S. Philpott '76

Andrew died July 1, 2019, in Fairbanks, Alaska. Andrew came to Princeton from Johnson County High School in Buffalo, Wyo., and spent one semester on campus before returning home to work as an oil-well logger.

In 1974 he served as an intern to U.S. Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming. Always interested in studying geology, Andrew worked as a crew foreman on the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline from 1975 to 1978, as a uranium solution mine technician in 1977, and in various other oil-well logger jobs for a decade. He decided to try sailing the seas and signed on as an ocean research-vessel crewman in 1986, where he worked until he suffered a serious injury in 1987. Following his recovery, he decided to return to college and was accepted at Stanford, where he obtained a bachelor's degree in political science in 1994. Andrew enrolled at the University of Virginia Law School in 1998.

More recently, Andrew moved to Fairbanks to work in the field of exploration geology at Northern Star Resources (formerly Sumitomo Metal Mining), an Australian-owned gold mine.

The class officers extend sympathy to his brothers, Jeff and Matthew.



Thomas Michael Ramsey

'76 Born and raised in Massachusetts, the son of the late Richard and Margaret Ramsey, Tom attended Belmont High School. At

Princeton he majored in politics and was a member of Cottage Club. His senior thesis was titled "Institutions in the City of Boston: An Overview of Education and Integration."

Tom returned to Belmont and began his life's work with his father and three brothers to grow their successful family business, the W.T. Phelan Insurance Agency. Along with his brothers, Tom also invested in commercial and residential real estate.

The Ramseys spent holidays and summers

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in Kennebunkport, Maine. A few years after graduation, Tom met Elizabeth Ann Randall, a teacher and University of Maine graduate. Tom and Beth married in 1981 and raised four children, Margaret, John, Alice, and Ellen. Tom was devoted to his family above all else.

At age 58, Tom was diagnosed with earlyonset Alzheimer's. Two and a half years ago, he transferred to the Newton-Wellesley Center for Alzheimer's Care in Wellesley, Mass. He died there April 7, 2020, with the immediate cause of death suspected to have been COVID-19.



Lisa Ann Shapiro '76 Lisa died March 19, 2020, following a three-year-long fight with lung cancer. She passed peacefully, at home in Bethesda, Md., surrounded by

her husband and their two sons.

A native of Kansas, Lisa came to Princeton after graduating from Shawnee Mission High School. At Princeton she majored in French and joined Colonial Club. After graduation she spent a year in France as a Fulbright scholar, reading Proust.

Returning to the United States, Lisa graduated from Stanford Law School in 1981 and joined the firm Van Ness, Feldman, Sutcliffe and Curtis in Washington, D.C. where she practiced law for 10 years. In 1989 she married Michael Steinberg, and celebrated in 1991 the birth of their first son, David, and in 1996 a second son, Ethan.

Lisa absolutely loved all things Princeton, and attended Reunions often. Lisa wrote, "We live our lives, we hope to set good examples for our kids, and we try to help others. It took me a few years to figure out that that is pretty much what life is all about."

The class extends deepest sympathy to Lisa's husband, Michael Steinberg; and their sons, David and Ethan.



Holly Lee Wiseman '76

Holly died suddenly April 17, 2020, at home in Mobile, Ala. At Princeton, she roomed in Princeton Inn and majored in French. Holly spent her junior

year abroad at the Sorbonne.

Holly graduated from Boston University Law School in 1979 and settled in Birmingham, Ala., working at the U.S. Attorney's Office. She also ran a small experimental theater and tried her hand at play writing.

In the 1990s Holly moved to our nation's capital as a trial lawyer in the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice. She also took a pause to pursue her dream of creative writing, graduating with an MFA from the Iowa Writer's Workshop in 1993.

For 15 years at the DOJ, Holly handled votingrights cases and prosecuted hate crimes, police brutality, and human trafficking cases. In 2000 she received the John Marshall Award, the highest honor given by the Department of Justice.

In 2013 Holly returned home to Mobile, where she worked with the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Southern District of Alabama until her retirement in February 2020. Her hobbies included singing in multiple local choirs, including Bella Voce of Mobile, playing the piano, and sewing quilts.

The class officers extend deepest sympathy to her five siblings.

THE CLASS OF 1977



Gunars Dreifuss '77 Gunars died March 15, 2020. He was born in Philadelphia, Pa., Jan. 1, 1955, the son of

Milda and Norman Dreifuss. Gunars attended the Upper Darby school system. He attended Princeton on a sports scholarship playing baseball and

football, and acquired the nickname "The General" because he was always in the lead. Gunars then attended New York University and earned an MBA. He lived in New York City, where he met the love of his life, Bonnie Sue Eagle, a native of Charlotte, N.C. They married in 1980 at Providence Presbyterian Church in Charlotte, starting their life together in Texas, moving to Chicago and Tennessee, and ending in Connecticut, where they raised their daughter, Kristin. They enjoyed traveling and having fun adventures. Gunars loved the arts as much as ESPN. Gunars will be remembered for his

character, perseverance, integrity, and loyalty. Gunars is survived by his wife, Bonnie; daughter Kristin; and sister Cynthia Hartman, her husband, Bill, and their son, Tyler. Gunars is also survived by his Southern family, Mr. and Mrs. A.K. Hardee III; Charles Steven Eagle and his wife, Carter; A.K. Hardee IV and his wife, Shelly; and Martha E. Hardee; and his nieces and nephews. His family and his lifelong college friends were beside him while he fought valiantly before his passing.

Sharon Lyn Shervington '77

Sharon died Nov. 21, 2016, while on vacation in Martinique. She was born in Chicago and graduated from Fieldston School in the Bronx, and then Princeton with a degree in psychology. She graduated from the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism in 1980.

Sharon was an editor for *The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Miami Herald*. At the *Herald* she also wrote a business column about the local tourism business. In 2006 she moved to Asheville, N.C., and worked as a freelance writer. Her drive to be a writer possibly came from her father, who was a reporter for *Brown's Letters*, a construction industry newsletter in New York.

Sharon is survived by her husband, Reginald

Thomas; her daughter, Morgan A. Thomas; and her son, Lorne S.

THE CLASS OF 1980

Peter M. DeStefano '80 Peter died July 16, 2017, in his home in Lawrenceville, N.J.

He graduated from Regis High School in Washington Township, N.J. At Princeton Peter majored in sociology and wrote his thesis on the formation of national healthcare policy.

He graduated from medical school at the University of Puerto Rico and eventually returned to New Jersey. He spent 20 years as a staff cardiologist at St. Francis Medical Center in Trenton.

He is survived by his wife, Carmen Storer-DeStefano '81, and daughters Carmen and Anna Maria.

THE CLASS OF 2005

Jessica Ann Bonney Reveley '05

Jess died Nov. 25, 2019, due to a severe epileptic seizure. She grew up in New Jersey on Garden State staples, like the Giants, The Boss, the Jersey Shore, Broadway trips, and, of course, real bagels and pizza. As part of a large, close family, Jess carried on a deep love of family with her spouse, Nelson '05, and their two young sons.

At Princeton Jess was a leader of the theater scene, directing *Pippin* and *Cabaret* and helping produce *Sweeney Todd* and *Stop Kiss*. When the Princeton University Players (PUP) faced immense challenges in 2003, Jess helped save the organization and later became its president. Jess majored in politics, and her senior thesis, "Tough Competitors: Crime Control Roll-Call Voting and Election Incentives in the 106th House of Representatives," was collaboratively developed and later published. Jess also participated actively in the Princeton Justice Project's prison-reform group. As an alum, Jess regularly interviewed prospective Tigers and served on the Friends of PUP board.

Although Jess and Nelson did not meet at Princeton, they must have crossed paths unknowingly countless times, living just one entryway apart in Spelman senior year, taking the same intro courses in religion, and sharing mutual friends. Two classmates introduced them in the fall of 2005. Reunions proved a regular rite of spring and routine pilgrimage for them to blaze orange with friends, P-rade with abandon, and enjoy well-worn memories while crafting new ones together.

Jess attended William & Mary Law School and spent most of her legal career clerking for Justice LeRoy F. Millette Jr., of the Supreme Court of Virginia. Her research and writing met an extraordinary standard of rigor and excellence. Jess served as well on her church's session and other nonprofit boards in Richmond.

Jess is survived by a strong but grieving family of Bonneys and Reveleys.

Classifieds

For Rent Europe

Paris, Left Bank: Elegant apartment off Seine in 6th. Short walk to Louvre, Notre Dame. 609-924-7520. gam1@comcast.net

Paris, Marais: Elegant, 2 bedroom, 2 bath apartment, vibrant Pompidou museum/ sidewalk café quarter on 13c pedestrian street, full kitchen, w/d, AC, cable. desaix@verizon. net, 212-473-9472.

France, Paris-Marais: Exquisite, sunny, quiet one-bedroom apartment behind Place des Vosges. King-size bed, living/dining room, six chairs, full kitchen, washer, dryer, weekly maid service, WiFi, \$1350 weekly. corinnabarbara@gmail.com

Italy/Todi: Luxurious 8BR, 7.5BA villa, amazing views, infinity pool, olives, lavender, grapes, vegetable garden, housekeeper included, cook available, A/C, Wi-Fi. Discount for Princetonians. Photos/prices/ availability: www.luxuryvillatodi.com, p'11.

Paris, Tuileries Gardens: Beautifullyappointed, spacious, 1BR queen, 6th floor, elevator, concierge. karin.demorest@gmail. com, w*49.

Paris 7th: Fifth floor, quiet, studio sleeps 3. Balcony. View Eiffel Tower. www.parisgrenelle. com, 207-752-0285.

Unique 1880s heritage Irish farmhouse on fourteen acres in Ox Mountains, County Sligo; Wild Atlantic Way; Fáilte Ireland Welcome Standard; a Hidden Ireland Property. Adventure, Culture, Food! info@oldirishfarmhouse.com, '77.

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United States Northeast

Stone Harbor, NJ: Beachfront, 4BR, upscale. 570-430-3639, Stoneharborbeachhouses.com, radams150@aol.com NYC: Luxury locale furnished 1BR near Central Park, weekly/monthly, pager1990@ gmail.com, '85.

United States Southeast

Palm Beaches, Florida: Steps from gorgeous beach, Mediterranean villa, 3BR, 3.5BA, office, all amenities, heated pool, partial ocean view. Yearly or short term, great for family vacation. Beautiful, walkable area, many attractions, 25 mins from PBI Airport. 561-568-1196, AMaciejko100@gmail.com, '88.

United States West

Big Sky Montana: Charming 4 BR log home on 20 acres beautifully furnished, spectacular views, Big Sky sunsets, skiing, hiking, fishing and golfing within 5 minutes. Close to Yellowstone National Park and Bozeman. Enjoyment all 4 seasons. 610-225-3286. janegriffith655@gmail.com, s'67.

Park City/Deer Valley, Utah: 3 BR ski-out condominium in Upper Deer Valley. Newly remodeled, hot tub, beautiful views, available all seasons. Reasonable rates. 937-825-4137 or pjkolodzik@aol.com, p'12 p'20.

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Princeton Portrait: Robert Francis Engs '65 (1943-2013)

A Leader on Race And Racial History

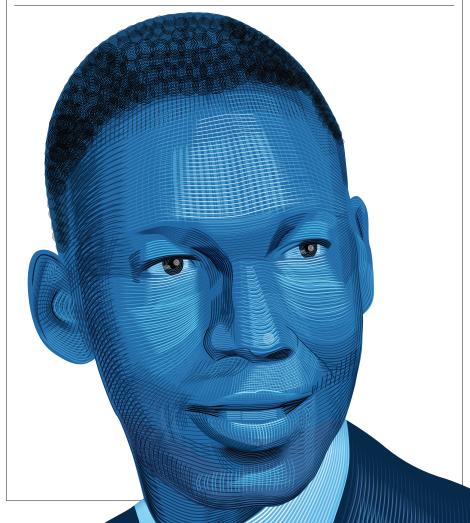
By Elyse Graham '07

In 1964, a Princeton undergraduate founded a student group (misleadingly called "the Committee for Racial Reconciliation") to promote segregation. Robert Engs '65, then one of just a few African American students at Princeton, went to the committee's first meeting in April, and he took friends with him — so many that he won election to the position of vice chairman. After that humiliating show of resistance, the committee dwindled into obscurity. Engs tore up the membership cards himself. "I don't like to be considered inferior," he told PAW.

That spring, Engs wrote an essay that PAW republished with the title "On Being Negro in the Ivy League" (read it at bit.ly/engs-paw-1965), in which he condemned both bigots and white liberals for setting him apart without his say in the matter.

"I find at Princeton the identification in the minds of others that I am not just an individual of another color, but a Negro," he wrote. "This is what I object to. In that assumption, my right to be a man, achieve a man's goals, and fail as men will fail is denied me. It is the sudden realization - more difficult in my case because it was sudden - that I can never be a famous American, or even a famous American who is a Negro, but only a great 'Negro American.' ... Once, just once, I'd like to be invited to dinner here at Princeton without the topic of conversation of my 'liberal' hosts being the race problem. I'd like to

"Once, just once, I'd like to be invited to dinner here at Princeton without the topic of conversation of my 'liberal' hosts being the race problem."



ask two questions of white Americans, especially those at Princeton. Do you really want a Negro to share your society? And if you do, why can't you let me share it instead of treating me as some honored representative of an alien group?"

Engs went on to become one of the deans of American historians. After writing his senior thesis about segregation in the era of Woodrow Wilson 1879 he requested access to a collection of Wilson's papers at Princeton, but was turned down because of his thesis topic — he earned a Ph.D. at Yale and taught as a professor at the College of William & Mary and the University of Pennsylvania. His work often dealt with the aftermath of emancipation.

"Both of us were active in trying to use history to change race relations," says Morgan Kousser '65, a friend of Engs in college and graduate school, and who likewise became a history professor. Engs "worked hard to get Black undergrads at Penn to be treated fairly and to make sure that people recruited Black grad students and professors," Kousser says. At both Penn and William & Mary, Engs led efforts to ensure their histories of intellectual achievement addressed the extent to which they relied on the unacknowledged labor of African Americans, from the era of slavery onward.

"He was sociable, gracious, funny," Kousser recalls of Eng. "I don't think he ever did a good job with a stone face. When he told a joke, you could always tell there was a joke coming."

"He was humane and understanding in treating everybody as individuals, but at the same time he was conscious of racial history," Kousser adds. "He was not colorblind with an emphasis on blind."

As for the Committee for Racial Reconciliation, Engs responded to criticism that he had staged an unfair coup with chilly contempt for the way the committee had demanded that others accept their bad-faith language and let them define racial reconciliation. "The meeting demonstrated that there is more than one point of view at Princeton on how best to reconcile the races," he said. "It is to be hoped, however, that no one group will again attempt to pre-empt the field of racial reconciliation." •



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