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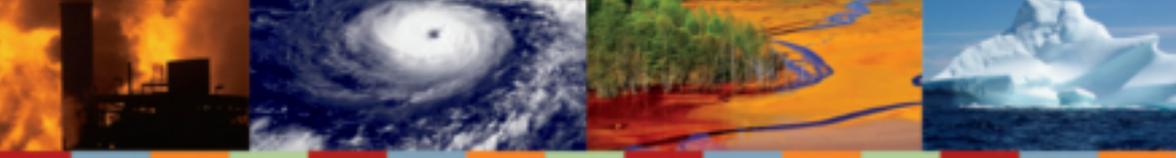
PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY



THE TRUMP ERA: REFLECTIONS

Faculty and alumni interpret
the election of the new president

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PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

PAW

An editorially independent magazine by alumni for alumni since 1900

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Food for Thought
 Barry Lam '07's new philosophy podcast, Hi-Phi Nation, weaves together storytelling, journalism, and the voices of leading academics.



Ways of Living
 Faaria Volinski '09 on exploring "the interstices of humanity."

International Leaders
 Gregg Lange '70 looks at Princetonians who went on to top government posts abroad.

Alumni in the News
 Sign up for PAW's new email newsletter, a weekly roundup of alumni newsmakers.

From top: James Steinberg; from left: courtesy Barry Lam '07; courtesy Faaria Volinski '09

Faith, Knowledge, and Community: Muslim Life at Princeton University

As this edition of the PAW was going to press, we received news of President Trump's executive order banning travel to the U.S. by citizens of seven Muslim-majority countries. The full global impact of this order is not yet clear, but it has caused disruption to the lives of thousands of individuals and families, including Princeton students, faculty, and alumni. I joined with 47 other college and university presidents in a letter urging the President to rectify or rescind this ban. In the meantime, I have chosen to publish this piece as originally written. It is both a celebration of the vibrant Muslim community on our campus and a statement of solidarity with all of those around the world who seek religious and political freedom. — C.L.E.

Early in January, I had the pleasure of attending a reception after our Muslim community's Friday prayers. The day was cold and snowy, but the atmosphere inside Murray Dodge was warm and convivial as Princeton students, staff, and friends gathered together.

I had come to talk with Imam Sohaib Sultan and a group of undergrads, grad students, and recent alumni about their experiences at Princeton. Our lively discussion made clear to me that Princeton's Muslim students feel at home here, relishing the freedom they have to participate fully in the life of the University and to practice their faith. Being a Muslim and a Princetonian is possible today in a way that it would not have been 50—or even 15—years ago. In recent decades, the University has taken significant steps to foster an environment of acceptance and support for the many religious traditions represented on our campus.



Denise Applewhite

Meeting with Imam Sohaib Sultan (second from left) and Muslim students and alumni

Some are remarkably simple accommodations that can make it much easier for students to be observant. For Muslim students, the installation of a footbath in Murray Dodge for ritual washing before prayer services and the availability of halal meat in dining halls are examples of accommodations that have had a significant impact. The introduction of four-year residential colleges nearly a decade ago and the development of other dining options has benefited some Muslim students along with others who prefer alcohol-free alternatives to Prospect Street for social life in their junior and senior years.

The University has also taken formal steps to support its religiously diverse student body by establishing chaplaincies for several growing communities. In 2008, Vineet Chander was hired as Princeton's first Hindu chaplain, and Sohaib Sultan became its first full-time Muslim chaplain. Such

positions are still rare on American college campuses today—indeed, Chander's was the first institutionally supported Hindu chaplaincy in the United States. Sultan, who grew up in Indiana and was a college student on 9/11, brought experience as a journalist, author, and student advocate, in addition to his seminary training, to his role at Princeton. That broad experience has served him well over the past nine years in his work both to support the Muslim community on campus and to educate non-Muslims at Princeton and in the wider community about Islam.

With support from Dean of Religious Life and the Chapel Alison Boden and the Office of Religious Life, Imam Sultan has created programs like "Islam in Conversation," which invites noted Muslim scholars, artists, and leaders to campus to engage with students and faculty on issues of faith and ethics in contemporary society. In a September 2016 event jointly sponsored with the James Madison Society, for example, Professor Robert George joined Shaykh Hamza Yusuf, a well-known Islamic scholar, for a conversation about faith, public morality, and current affairs.

Muslim student groups are active on campus as well. The largest of these organizations, the Muslim Students Association, focuses on sustaining religious life and practice for its members while also educating the campus community; Princeton Muslim Advocates for Social Justice and Individual Dignity (MASJID) offers an outlet for students interested in contemporary justice issues.

I am pleased that Imam Sultan and Rabbi Julie Roth, the University's Jewish chaplain, have developed a warm and collegial relationship that has helped them to build bridges between their faith communities. Princeton's Muslim and Jewish groups have collaborated on campus dialogues. They have also made joint visits to Spain, where students studied interactions between Muslims and Jews that took place before 1492, and Detroit, where they did service projects and learned about the local Muslim and Jewish communities.

The vibrant, pluralistic Muslim community at Princeton today is a sign of how far the University has come from the days, many decades ago, when it was known for religious quotas and other exclusionary practices. Yet the existence of this community is also a fitting reminder of the ecumenism embedded in the University's very foundation. Princeton's Charter of 1746 is pointed in its admonition that Trustees not exclude "any Person of any religious Denomination whatsoever from ... any of the Liberties, Privileges, or immunities of the ... College."

Princetonians can take pride in that radical language, and in the role that our alumnus James Madison later played in drafting the Constitution's religion clauses. I have spent much of my scholarly career writing about religious freedom, and have frequently been impressed by the intense attachment to that ideal shared by Americans of widely varying faiths and political views. My meeting with Princeton's wonderful Muslim community increased my appreciation for the religious diversity that we have achieved. It also reinforced my conviction that in these turbulent times all of us must be vigorous advocates of the principles of religious freedom and non-discrimination embedded in this nation's history and laws. That is a role I happily embrace.



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PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

An editorially independent magazine by alumni for alumni since 1900

March 1, 2017 Volume 117, Number 8

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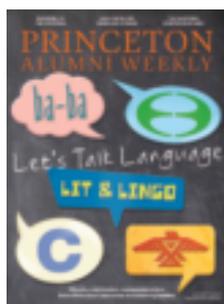
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LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE



I read with great interest the Jan. 11 “Let’s Talk Language” issue and was pleased to learn of the expansion of the undergraduate program in linguistics, having

been a member of a similar effort on the graduate level a half-century prior. The launching of the first satellite in 1957 by the Soviet Union caused a strong reaction in this country that produced the National Defense Education Act, designed to upgrade post-secondary curricula in fields considered critical to the country’s strength, if not survival. One such field encompassed language analysis and instruction, of which linguistics was a part.

Princeton was one of several universities selected to develop three-year Ph.D. programs and enrolled five graduate students in the fall of 1962 under the direction of Professor William G. Moulton ’35, one of the nation’s foremost Germanic language scholars.

My other reason for writing is to add to “Princeton Patter.” As graduate students, our group manifested the “library habit,” which meant spending as many hours a day in Firestone as possible. It was a matter of prestige to be seen entering the library, likewise an embarrassment to be seen leaving it.

Ross D. Hall *70

Harwich Port, Mass.

Re “Princeton Patter”: The term “face time” came into use during the Clinton administration, meaning “minutes spent with someone important.” This prompted me to send *New York Times* language maven Bill Safire a report on “faceman” from the ’60s. He used it as an endnote to his article about the political term in a collection of his “On Language” columns.

“Cepts” denoted “concepts,” not “precepts.” To be perfectly clear, a “cept” was a very boiled-down “concept.” Normally it was a kind of denigration of the term. (Let’s say you hadn’t done the reading and wanted a quick summary.)

And yet: In his open-book final exam in the spring of 1969 for “American Political Thought,” the late Professor Gerald Garvey cleverly asked for the 20 key “cepts” in American political thought. The analogous contemporary term might be “takeaway.”

“Swass” is unknown to me (two years behind your source class). Yes to “libe.” You missed a good one: A pizza was a “za”—sometimes with “shrooms”!

Princetonians used the word “bogus” an awful lot in those days, long before it gained any traction elsewhere. Nothing was ever “important” or “pivotal” or “essential.” It was “key.”

Rob Slocum ’71

St. John, V.I.

Dankon pro via engaĝi artikolo pri Esperanto! Kiel studento de la hispana dum miaj studentaj kariero, kaj fine kiel instruisto de hispano en miaj postaj jaroj,

FROM PAW’S PAGES: 10/26/56

Dear “1926 Alumni Wife”:

BECAUSE I find in your letter to the ALUMNI WEEKLY a similarity of situation and a completeness of agreement, I am asking the Editor of the ALUMNI WEEKLY to forward this directly to you.

I am a member of the Class of 1926, I have a son who is at the moment an undergraduate in the Class of 1958, and I too have two younger sons who have not yet chosen their college. I have traveled much in the realm of dormitories and fraternity houses, I have seen many a slum in both the North and South in the course of my professional work, but never did I breathe the pure serene air of complete disorder until I visited the room where my son and his seven roommates slept. There was only one corner of one so-called divan that I was told I could sit with safety, and the only room with any semblance of order was the so-called “bar” from which two record players apparently erupted decibels day and night.

Perhaps I am getting old but I really do not believe it was like that thirty years ago. I certainly can’t fight that kind of living, but I do hope that you can.

ROBERT WILSON ’26

Charleston, S.C.

Esperanto estis de iu intereso por mi, sed mi neniam eniris gxin. Via artikolo vekis intereso kiuj bezonas multe pli studo!

(Translation: Thank you for your engaging article about Esperanto!

As a student of Spanish during my undergraduate career, and finally as a teacher of Spanish in my later years, Esperanto has been of some interest to me, but I never went into it. Your article aroused interests that need much more study!)

Don Cantrell ’53

Princeton, N.J.

I enjoyed your recent issue on language. You had some substantive articles on topics of specialized interest. However, you spent no time on the general state of language comprehension in the United States or at Princeton itself.

The statistics on literacy are alarming (www.statisticbrain.com/reading-statistics). Taken collectively, these measures indicate that most citizens do not have the ability to understand texts with sufficient acuity to manage their personal, financial, or political obligations.

In my observations as a college

PAW TRACKS



THEIR SHOT: Princeton women’s basketball has risen to national prominence, but in its first season, 1971–72, the team had to shoo pickup players from the court to start its games. Alumnae share memories of the team’s early years at paw.princeton.edu.



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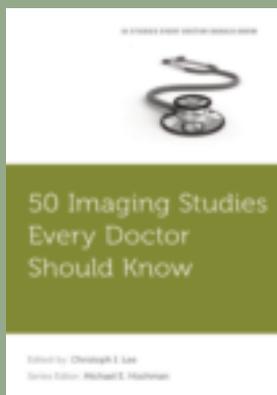
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Inbox

teacher of 40 years (beginning at Princeton), the capacity of even the best students to read or write well has deteriorated markedly. This same decline is evident in our media and in our elected representatives. Princetonians are unlikely to have been immune from this decay.

I do not mean by this, at all, that I wish to uphold any archaic, effete, and anal standard of the grammatically hypercorrect or the lexically acceptable. Only in myth was past language use perfect. I reject the incipient racism, sexism, and classism of any exclusive standard for English.

However, I do believe that a creative, critical, nuanced, responsive, and, most of all, responsible attitude toward language is a necessary adjunct to ethical thought and political engagement. I am sorry therefore that you found no space for these central issues. Princeton is a great university and must promote not only topics of academic research interest but also those that are crucial to our collective enterprise.

Dan Fineman *76
Los Angeles, Calif.

THE CASE FOR DIVERSITY

I was saddened and angered to read the letter from Thomas P. Wolf '48 (Inbox, Jan. 11) in which the writer managed to get in a jab at President Eisgruber '83 for "the drive for diversity for the sake of diversity at the expense of quality ... for the sake of political correctness." In the same issue was an article that made the case beautifully for diversity — about Anton Treuer '91 and his personal and academic efforts to keep his Ojibwe culture alive. Mr. Wolf may be "tolerating" President Eisgruber's work, but I am not tolerating the casual and baseless dismissal of the importance of diversity in enhancing the quality of a Princeton education, nor the hackneyed use of the term "political correctness" as a derogatory epithet.

Without people like Professor Treuer and thousands of other equally fascinating people of different backgrounds, Princeton would be failing to take advantage of the cultural and intellectual wealth that the United States and the world can offer. We have plenty of evidence for the benefits

of this wealth in the pages of PAW alone. Diversity isn't for quotas — it's to make sure that a Princeton education is the very best it can be and that it is accessible to everyone with the qualifications for admission.

Mary McKittrick '78
Northampton, Mass.

CANCELING THE SWIM SEASON

Re "Princeton Men's Swimming and Diving Season Canceled" (posted online Dec. 22): This is absolutely shameful, and it's going to take more than President Eisgruber and others exhorting the directors of the men's athletic programs to "redouble [their] efforts" to prevent this kind of thing. Mandatory "sensitivity training," or whatever they want to call it, for all athletes is an essential first step. I am appalled, though hardly surprised, that this kind of behavior, which I remember all too well from the late 1970s when I was at Princeton, is still happening on campus.

Miranda Johnson-Haddad '80
Pasadena, Calif.

My interest was to observe it is difficult to imagine every one on those teams is guilty of the indiscretions. Why is no distinction made? There must be innocent men who are being deprived of competing in the league championships because of their mates' misbehavior. Why are they penalized?

Ronald A. Wittreich '50
Englewood, N.J.

SEXUAL-MISCONDUCT REPORT

It was with a mixture of sadness and anger I read the article on inappropriate sexual behavior (On the Campus, Dec. 7). Some observations, with my apologies to the LGBT and male communities:

♦ "Experiencing sexual assault ... 19 percent for undergraduate women": Instead, let's say one in five, or 500 undergraduate women. Put 25 women in a group, and note five have been sexually assaulted.

♦ Four percent of undergraduate women were raped: 100 women were raped! Just two students were expelled for rape.

The numbers for graduate students are equally shocking.

Can you imagine Princeton's response if 1,000 students were held up at gunpoint, had their cars stolen or even their rooms burglarized?

Meanwhile, the Interclub Council is discussing the "possibility" of prohibiting students who have been suspended for sexual misconduct from rejoining the club or keeping those who committed sexual misconduct from entering a club. Let's keep discussing ...

The vice provost is happy to report "the numbers are still too high, but this is the direction we want them to be moving in." The numbers are horrific. The right direction is zero. What happened to the other 98 rapists? Forgive me for assuming there are no serial rapists. Were the police informed of these criminal acts? Were perpetrators prosecuted and jailed?

At a time when our new U.S. president has bragged about his many sexual assaults, I find Princeton's response to all forms of sexual misconduct grossly inadequate and shameful. This story belongs on PAW's cover and needs to be on the President's Page. What a disgrace.

Winton J. Tolles '73
West Orange, N.J.

Editor's note: Michele Minter, vice provost for institutional equity and diversity, provided the following response: "The University takes sexual misconduct very seriously and agrees that any incidents are too many. As President Christopher Eisgruber wrote on his President's Page in PAW in November 2015, 'The only acceptable number of rapes on a college campus is zero.' Over the past three years, Princeton has significantly increased mandatory training, optional educational programs, and support and reporting resources. Princeton encourages sexual-misconduct victims and survivors to report, but most choose not to do so. The University respects their right to decide how they wish to handle their experiences or whether they want to involve law enforcement. For more information, including reports of sexual misconduct adjudicated during the 2015-16 academic year, see <http://sexualmisconduct.princeton.edu/>."

FROM THE EDITOR

Farewell to '34

For more than two years, the first class to be represented in PAW's Class Notes section has been 1934. But on Jan. 3, the last known surviving member of the class, Noel Hemmendinger, died, bringing the class's columns to an end. As is PAW's tradition, we mark the close of a class's notes with a brief history:

Class historians were the first to say that outwardly, at least, the 631 freshmen of '34 were little like Princeton undergraduates today. "In most ways we were a pretty traditional group," the class recalled in its 50th-reunion book. "Our family politics were overwhelmingly

Republican. Most of us belonged to one of only two churches, Presbyterian and Episcopal. Most of us came from private schools. An even 100 were sons of Princeton alumni. The great majority hailed from just three states — New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania ..."

Members of '34 called themselves the Depression Class — 27 percent left before graduation, which classmates attributed partly to economic hardship. Tuition during their first year cost \$450; eating at Commons cost \$8.50 per week.

Still, classmates had fun — occasionally too much. In the *Nassau Herald* they told of black ties and dinks, football, and cane sprints. The *Herald* recalled a football rally that turned "into a riot, and a large part of the student body surged aimlessly up and down Nassau Street, blocking traffic, while a smaller and more energetic number worked behind the library and pulled the Christian Student from his pedestal." Class members experienced tragedy when three students were killed and four injured in two separate auto accidents; got caught up in presidential politics when the campus was "deluged by Republican campaigns, Democratic speeches, parades by both parties, exhortations from young Socialists ..."; muddled through a bank holiday (see page 64); and celebrated the end of Prohibition in their senior year: "'34 donned its beer suits, proud to be the first class in years to baptize the traditional white wing outfit with real, legal beer — vastly superior to '33's 3.2. Our last stand at Princeton was begun."



Ritchie '34 in 2005

It's impossible to tell the story of '34 without recalling its faithful chronicler, Ralph Ritchie. Ritchie became class secretary at his fifth reunion and served until June 2009, when he stepped down at age 97 because his eyesight was failing. Over seven decades, Ritchie took only five years off — in the 1940s, when he was in the Army. When he was discharged from the military in 1946, he assumed his class responsibilities with fervor, vowing "immediately to re-establish our 1939-40 network of special news correspondents in key cities, for the intention of collecting all the news for all the class." He succeeded.

When he resigned as secretary, Ritchie found the perfect successor: his daughter, Lisby, as diligent as her dad in reporting class news even as the number of classmates reading her notes dwindled. To her, PAW sends a special thank you.

— Marilyn H. Marks '86

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Inbox

THE WILSON MARKER

As a matter of intellectual integrity, and for the benefit of current and future generations, the proposed campus Woodrow Wilson 1879 marker (On the Campus, Oct. 26) should highlight the important insights offered by Hubert H. Harrison (1883–1927), the “father of Harlem radicalism” and founder of the militant “New Negro Movement.”

As president, Wilson cut back federal appointments of African Americans; stood by as segregation was formalized in the Post Office, Treasury, Interior, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and Navy; and declined to take any significant steps to address lynching, segregation, and disfranchisement and vicious attacks on 26 African American communities. During his presidency the U.S. implemented the Espionage Act, the Sedition Act, and the Palmer Raids; occupied Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Nicaragua; and intervened in Panama, Honduras, and Mexico.

When Wilson led the United States into World War I with a call to “make the world safe for democracy,” Harrison emphasized that Wilson “never had the slightest intention of extending democracy to millions” and that “Wilson’s protestations of democracy were lying protestations, consciously and deliberately designed to deceive.” Harrison responded by organizing massive Harlem protest rallies and demanding enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, federal anti-lynching legislation, and that the Wilson administration “Make the South Safe for Democracy.”

It is important for current and future generations that we challenge lies made by a president — whether the lies are about making the world safe for democracy, about a Gulf of Tonkin incident that didn’t occur, or about weapons of mass destruction that didn’t exist.

Jeffrey B. Perry '68
Westwood, N.J.

Editor’s note: A longer version of this letter can be found at PAW Online.

HUMANKIND’S VIOLENCE PROBLEM

The recent letters from David Pohndorf ’65 and Lew Kamman ’67 questioning

Islam (Inbox, Jan. 11) inspire questions of their own: If Christians revere the Prince of Peace, why have Catholics and Protestants slaughtered each other for centuries? Why have so many recent terrorist attacks (Timothy McVeigh, Dylann Roof, and Anders Behring Breivik come immediately to mind) emerged out of white, Western European/American Christian culture? If Christianity honors and reveres women, why do increasing numbers of Christians believe that a wife must submit to her husband in all matters? What does Biblical law have to teach us about equal treatment of women and respect for members of other religions?

My point is not to provoke a comparison as to whether one faith has generated more evil and suffering than another, but to show that one can raise similar questions about any large and diverse world religion. It is unreasonable to hold more than a billion people responsible for the actions of the worst of those claiming adherence to the same faith. ISIS and al Qaeda no more represent Islam than Hitler’s Protestant Reich Church (Reichskirche) represented Christianity.

In reality, it is not Islam that has a violence problem, it is humankind, and it will take people of all nations and all faiths (or none) working together to make any progress toward resolving it. In the meantime, one-sided critiques like Mr. Pohndorf’s and Mr. Kamman’s are not part of the solution, they are part of the problem.

Thomas G. Hess '77
Milton, Mass.

PICKING ONE’S BATTLE

Marilyn Marks *86’s column (From the Editor, Jan. 11) quotes a recent piece by *New York Times* public editor Liz Spayd that makes reference to “a linguistic battle royale” between the electorate and the media. I’m guessing Ms. Spayd means “battle royal,” unless it’s covered with chocolate sauce.

Robert Coxe '69
Kennesaw, Ga.

A SHARED DISTINCTION

It should in no way detract from Brian Kernighan *69’s distinction of having submitted “the first machine-readable

Inbox

computer-printed” (doctoral) thesis at Princeton on record (feature, Jan. 11) to report that my erstwhile roommate and lifelong friend, Morgan Kousser ’65, professor of history and social sciences at Caltech, similarly submitted his senior thesis four years earlier.

Bill Janeway ’65
New York, N.Y.

GLOBAL OPPORTUNITIES

I expected to spend just five or 10 minutes flipping through the supplement to the Dec. 7 issue, *Princeton International*, before recycling it. Instead, I was enthralled by each first-person article (and even by our president’s introductory essay), and read it cover to cover. A great idea — thank you! I hope more and more students will take advantage of these extraordinary and wonderful opportunities.

Brian Zack ’72
Princeton, N.J.

FOR THE RECORD

The Julis Romo Rabinowitz Building, the new home of Princeton’s economics department, was supported by the Julis Romo Rabinowitz family with a gift from Mitch ’77 and Joleen Julis. The donors were not fully identified in an On The Campus article in the Feb. 8 issue.

The profile of Robert A. Tuggle ’54 in PAW’s “Lives Lived and Lost” section in the Feb. 8 issue included a quote by Fred Plotkin that was rendered incorrectly. The quote should have referred to Tuggle’s “waspish wit” (not “WASPish wit”).

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2017 MEREDITH MILLER MEMORIAL LECTURE
SPONSORED BY THE PROGRAM IN GENDER AND SEXUALITY STUDIES

**KIMBERLÉ
CRENSHAW**

Professor of Law
at UCLA and
Columbia Law School



AGAINST NORMALIZATION
INTERSECTIONALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE
IN THE AGE OF TRUMP

Kimberlé Crenshaw, Professor of Law at UCLA and Columbia Law School, is a leading scholar of Civil Rights, Black feminist legal theory, and race, racism and the law. A foundational activist and advocate in calling for a gender-inclusive approach to racial justice interventions, Crenshaw has worked extensively on violence against women, structural racial inequality, and affirmative action. Her groundbreaking work on “Intersectionality” has traveled globally and was influential in the drafting of the equality clause in the South African Constitution.

MARCH 2, 2017
4:30 P.M.
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GSS PROGRAM IN GENDER AND SEXUALITY STUDIES

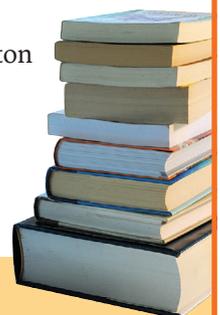


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News from the Alumni Association

aluminaries

Jennifer Daniels '93, S92
Chair, Princeton Schools
Committee



c. 1993

To learn the many ways to stay connected to Princeton, contact the Office of Alumni Affairs at 609-258-1900 or alumni.princeton.edu

Princeton has always been special for Jennifer Daniels. Her parents were married there and Jennifer was born there. No surprise that it was among her top choices for college. Charmed by Princeton's idyllic location and awed by its world-class academic and extracurricular opportunities, Jennifer's final decision was also influenced by her Alumni Schools Committee (ASC) interviewer, whose demonstrably deep ties to Princeton and her desire to give back to the University through alumni connections made an enduring impression.

Arriving on campus ready to do her part for Princeton, Jennifer was fortunate to experience personally the powerful connections shared among Tigers during her college years, particularly through her Project 55 internship. After graduating, Jennifer continued to "lend a helping hand." Within a year after graduation she was volunteering for Annual Giving phonathons. When the call came inviting her to join the ranks of ASC interviewers, the answer was an immediate "yes."

Now almost 25 years later, Jennifer is herself the Chair of the Princeton Schools Committee. In addition, she is in her second term as the Treasurer for the Class of '93, is the Vice President of the Princeton Club of Philadelphia, served on the Class Reunion Committees for her 15th and 20th Reunions, was Class Participation co-Chair for her 20th and is excited to serve in the same role for her upcoming 25th. (For Jennifer, giving back to Princeton is truly a family affair as her husband, Keith '92, is also an active Princeton volunteer.)

"My greatest joy comes from connecting with other alumni, finding what would make them thrive, asking the next generation to get involved." Jennifer goes on to share a story that captures the Princeton alumni connection experience that she loves: "When I was a junior, I worked the 50th Reunion for the Class of '42. I was admiring the tiger necklace that one of the wives was wearing. Without hesitating, she removed the necklace from her neck and gave it to me, saying, 'You'll give this to someone at your own Reunions.'" Jennifer did just that at her 20th. "I was passing along a bond, a tie, a pledge that Princeton embodied for me from the beginning. We always want to make 'the best damn place of all' even better."

CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS

A CONVERSATION WITH

President Christopher L. Eisgruber '83

PLENARY ADDRESSES BY

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor '76 in conversation with University Trustee Margarita Rosa '74

José Quiñonez *98, 2016 MacArthur Fellow

Eduardo Bhatia '86, former President and current Minority Leader, Senate of Puerto Rico

Nellie Gorbea '88, Secretary of State of Rhode Island

A PANEL ON THE UNDOCUMENTED EXPERIENCE

featuring Harold Fernandez '89, Yessica Martinez '15
Dan-el Padilla Peralta '06, Maribel Hernández Rivera *10

PROGRAMS AND PANELS featuring faculty, senior administrators, and fellow alumni

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- Come to the Princeton Prize Symposium on Race on Saturday, April 29, 2017 to meet our winners and hear about their work



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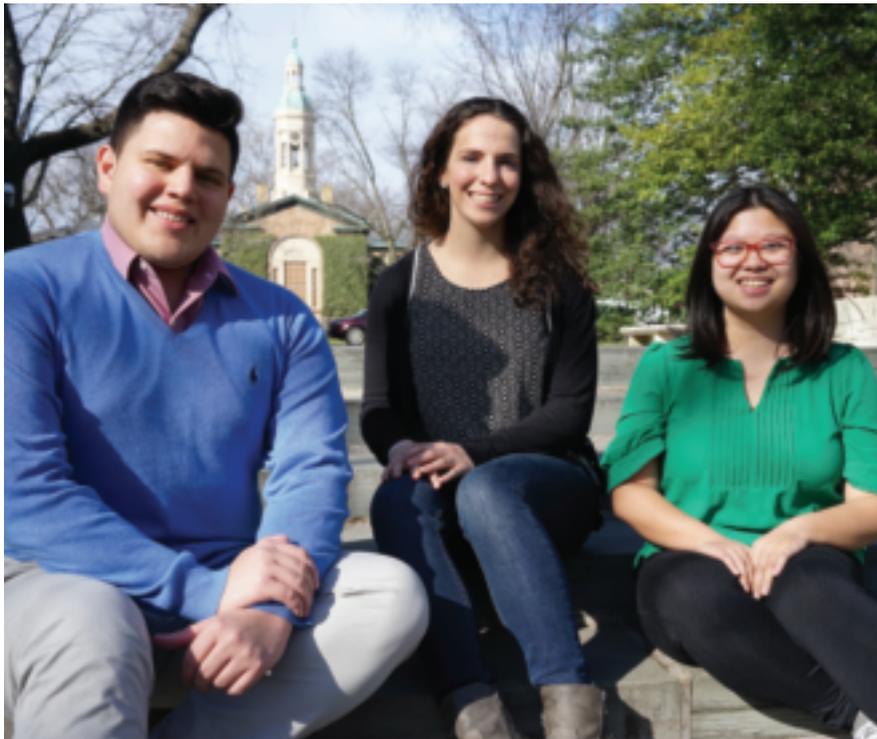
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Baja Whales
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Morocco to the Canary Islands

alumni.princeton.edu/journeys

On the Campus



Rows of cabinets house 2,500 computers and 3,000 hard disks in the High-Performance Computing Research Center on the Forrestal Campus. About 70 percent of the computing power is used for research; the remainder supports the University's email, databases, and other computing services. Cooling air is provided by three massive chillers a floor below. *Photograph by Ricardo Barros*



Princeton Hidden Minority Council members, from left: Samuel Vilchez Santiago '19 and co-chairs Melana Hammel '18 and My Bui '18

Negotiating College Life

For low-income and first-gen students, the focus shifts from access to success

Two years ago, a fellow Princeton freshman asked Melana Hammel '18 where she planned to vacation. Her own family usually went to the Bahamas, the classmate explained, but that year they were headed to London.

"In that moment, there was just so much that I just could not explain," said Hammel, the daughter of a security guard and a home-health aide. "I can't even remember the last time my family went on vacation."

As Princeton expands its cadre of undergraduates like Hammel — first-generation and low-income students, known by the acronym FLI (pronounced "fly") — the University is working to ensure that such misunderstandings don't burden FLI students with a permanent sense of alienation.

"For a long time, the administration was focused more on college access," said Brittney Watkins '16, who in 2013 co-founded the Princeton Hidden Minority Council, a student group that

works on FLI issues. "But once you get FLI students there, then it becomes a matter of college success."

Princeton remains an affluent place: A recent study led by researchers at Brown, Stanford, and Harvard found that the University is one of 38 in the country that enrolls more students from the top 1 percent of the national income distribution than from the bottom 60 percent. But the last class included in the study graduated in 2013, and Princeton officials say the data don't reflect recent efforts to recruit low-income and first-generation students. Twenty-one percent of this year's freshman class are eligible for income-linked Pell grants, double the proportion in the Class of 2013.

Princeton data show that FLI

"Where we see the gaps is in terms of experience."

— Associate Dean Khristina Gonzalez, director of programs for access and inclusion

students enjoy their college years and graduate at the same rate as more privileged peers, said Associate Dean Khristina Gonzalez, the director of programs for access and inclusion. "Where we see the gaps is in terms of experience," Gonzalez said — how many fellowships students apply for, how fully they access academic supports like the writing center, how many professors they know well enough to request a recommendation letter.

Two programs — one long-standing, one new — seek to give FLI students a sense of belonging as they negotiate college life amid classmates who come from very different worlds.

In the decades-old Freshman Scholars Institute, 80 students spend eight weeks on campus in the summer before their freshman year, taking two credit-bearing courses and learning about the University's support services. FSI aims to help students acquire "some of that cultural capital that is particular to elite institutions of higher education, to help them learn to ask for help and to give them a vocabulary for asking for that help," said Nimisha Barton '14, associate director of programs for access and inclusion.

Last year, the University built on FSI by launching the Scholars Institute Fellows Program, whose academic-year workshops and mentoring sessions aim to help FLI students develop the skills and relationships they need to succeed in college and beyond. The voluntary program launched in the fall of 2015 with 100 students; this year, 300 are participating.

Fellows in the program can choose among workshops on such topics as networking, writing resumes, managing finances, and coping with the stress of family life. "This is stuff that all students need to learn," Barton said. "The difference, I think, is that first-generation and low-income students don't have the same personal and interpersonal resources. A lot of students can ask their parents, 'Hey, can you read through my cover letter?'"

FLI students generally give Princeton good marks for its efforts to support them, though they continue to press for such enhancements as a dedicated space for FLI students and a less onerous summer-work contribution requirement for financial-aid students who must help support their families.

Some also express concern about eating-club membership. Ten years ago, Princeton increased its financial aid for upperclassmen in an effort to make club membership affordable for less affluent students. But some clubs charge fees that total \$1,000 or more above the aid the University provides — and to many FLI students, joining a club and borrowing money to close that gap seems foolish, even irresponsible.

“I just could not justify that to my family,” said Soraya Morales Nuñez ’18, who grew up in Colorado with a single mother who spent years living as an undocumented Mexican immigrant. “It just seems like an outrageous amount of money.”

Instead, some FLI students opt out of meal contracts altogether: My Bui ’18, whose Vietnamese-immigrant single mother works as a manicurist, cooks with friends in a shared on-campus kitchen and pockets the savings from the board portion of her financial-aid package. After graduation, that money could cover car payments or a security deposit on an apartment.

But eating-club membership is about more than money, FLI students say: Some clubs send the subtle or not-so-subtle message that less affluent students need not apply. “The larger issue is a cultural one,” Gonzalez said. “Students make financial decisions; I think that they also make decisions about where they feel that they belong.”

But FLI students note that the emphasis on their challenges can obscure the resilience and commitment they bring to the University. “A lot of the low-income and first-generation students value their time here and their education here more than other students, because they don’t take it for granted,” said Samuel Vilchez Santiago ’19, who left Venezuela as a refugee six years ago. “Those struggles make a lot of us stronger.” ♦ *By Deborah Yaffe*

IMPACT ON SOME TRAVELING ABROAD

Princeton Supports Legal Challenge to Trump Order on Immigration

Six Princeton students and scholars who had been outside the country were among those affected by President Donald Trump’s Jan. 27 executive order on immigration, which stirred protests from students and faculty. Princeton joined with 16 other universities in filing a friend-of-the-court brief Feb. 13 in support of a legal challenge to the order.

The president’s order, which suspended entry for people from seven predominantly Muslim countries and placed limits on refugees, was blocked by a temporary restraining order in federal court. As of mid-February, some of the Princeton students and scholars had returned, University spokesman John Cramer said.

An additional 45 students and employees “are unable to, or discouraged from, leaving the U.S. because the Order may prevent them from returning,” the friend-of-the-court filing said, and a postdoc from Iran was unable to enter the United States after he was hired to work in the lab of a Princeton professor. The University also said about 150 students from the seven affected countries have applied for fall enrollment in the Graduate School.

Of about 200 Muslim students on campus, about 50 graduate students and three undergraduates come from the seven countries, according to Imam Sohaib Sultan, the Muslim chaplain. Sultan said there was a great concern among other international students who fear “their country might be next on the list.”

President Eisgruber ’83 and Amy Gutmann, president of the University of Pennsylvania and a former Princeton provost, drafted a letter Feb. 2 to Trump urging him to “rectify or rescind” the order.



“There is a very strong desire not only to stand in solidarity, but to mobilize.” — Sohaib Sultan, Muslim chaplain

The letter, signed by 46 other college presidents, said the action “threatens both American higher education and the defining principles of our country.”

In an earlier statement, Eisgruber said Princeton was assisting students and scholars affected by the executive order as well as supporting legislative efforts to assist non-citizens. “Every single person on this campus has benefited from the ability of people to cross borders in search of learning or a better life,” Eisgruber said. He noted that his mother and her family came to the United States as refugees and would have died if they had been denied visas, and his father came to America as an exchange student.

In other responses to the order:

♦ Many Princeton faculty members joined in a letter, signed by 62 Nobel laureates and more than 30,000 professors nationwide, that opposed the immigration ban.

♦ A coalition of more than 20 student groups called Princeton Advocates for Justice announced plans for letter-writing and phone calls to members of Congress during an Immigration Day of Action Feb. 17.

♦ The Muslim Life Program was planning a series of teach-ins for the campus community, for schoolteachers from around New Jersey, and for journalists to counter “misinformation about Islam,” Sultan said.

After the travel ban was announced, he said, support from other parts of the Princeton community “has been overwhelmingly positive — there is a very strong desire not only to stand in solidarity, but to mobilize.” ♦ *By W.R.O.*

How the Stage Depicts Minorities

CLASS CLOSE-UP: Race and the American Musical

Teacher: Theater professor Stacy Wolf

Focus: How the portrayal of minorities in American musical theater has evolved from minstrel shows to *Hamilton* during the last century. Productions being studied range from 1940s-era Triangle Club shows that included white students wearing blackface to *The King and I*, a show Wolf said is centered around the idea that Western culture is superior to the East.

Background: “Race is socially constructed,” said Wolf, director of the Program in Music Theater. “But on stage, it’s not. You look at someone’s body and you look at their complexion, and you



make assumptions about that character. The history of musical theater is built on these assumptive affiliations between appearance and character and identity.”

On the syllabus: Students read the scripts, listen to the music, and read critical articles for 15 musicals, including *Porgy and Bess*, *Dreamgirls*, *West Side Story*, *Hamilton*, and *The Wiz*.

Other activities: The class will attend and analyze campus productions of *Hairspray* and *In the Heights*. Students also will attend *Aladdin* on Broadway

and will discuss the representation of Middle-Eastern characters with Adam Hyndman '12, who is in the ensemble.

Raising questions: “When we see *The King and I*, do we say, ‘It’s amazing that they’re doing [a revival] because they hired 50 Asian and Asian American performers, and these actors have work?’ Or, ‘Is it terrible that they’re doing this because it reinforces all of these negative stereotypes?’” Wolf said. “*The King and I* is produced constantly, and it should be — the music is beautiful — but it sends a terrible message. So what do we do about that?”

Where musical theater is heading: Wolf said she believes every character should be able to be played by any actor, regardless of race, but thinks it’s unlikely that there will be more shows like *Hamilton*, in which African American and Latino actors portray white historical figures. “Musical theater is not inclined to be progressive and forward-thinking — it’s too expensive, too cumbersome.” ♦
By A.W.

Sara Krulwich/The New York Times/Redux

Sustainable Goals

With progress on 2008 campus objectives, emphasis turns to having broader impact

As Princeton enters the final years of a 12-year sustainability plan designed to reduce its environmental footprint, officials say the University is on track to meet most of its goals and is planning a new set of objectives.

In February 2008, Princeton adopted a plan with goals to be achieved by 2020. They included reducing greenhouse-gas emissions to 1990 levels, conserving resources, and promoting a “living laboratory” setting for students through research, education, and civic-engagement opportunities.

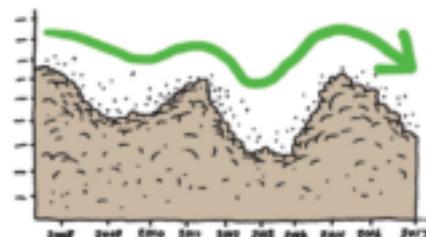
Shana Weber, director of the Office of Sustainability, said the University is shifting its focus to thinking about how the data it has gathered — and will continue to gather — can be applied more

broadly. Efforts such as the Washington Road stream-restoration project, for example, could be adapted by others.

“There’s very little point to improving things just on the campus if it’s not having any sort of scalable impact,” Weber said. “Now we have a good sense of the full scope of the sustainability challenge and can plan for the local, regional, and global impacts we’d like to have.”

Although the University is less than halfway to accomplishing its ambitious carbon-emissions reduction goal with three years to go, Weber said that “strategies are in place indicating that the target will be met.”

She said new sustainability goals will be part of the 2026 campus plan, which is scheduled for completion next fall. ♦
By A.W.



8% fewer carbon emissions since 2008 (a decline of 8,800 metric tons) despite new campus construction of 1.5 million square feet

GOAL: 18% reduction by 2020



59% of food purchased in 2016 was sustainably produced, up from 36% in 2007

GOAL: 75% of all food purchases by 2020

Illustrations: Peter Ankle

LEE '99 TO RETURN TO TEACHING

Prentice Chosen to Become Next Provost



Dean of the Faculty Deborah Prentice will succeed David S. Lee '99 as provost July 1.

Deborah Prentice, dean of the faculty for the past three years and a Princeton professor of psychology since 1989, will become provost July 1. She will succeed David S. Lee '99, who will return to teaching and research after four years as provost.

Being provost was a “wonderful experience,” Lee said, but during his tenure

he missed the connection to academic life — the advising and close connection to students — that he had as a professor of economics and public affairs.

President Eisgruber '83 said Lee will direct a new project on higher-education metrics and outcomes. Initially the project will be Princeton-based, Lee said, but “with an eye toward understanding our sector of higher education more broadly.”

One focus will be gaining a better understanding of the impact of the University’s investment in its students: “Learning more about our alumni will be key,” Lee said. Another is the University’s research mission, he said, examining the “societal return to basic research and how it translates to, for example, new technologies and affects the economy.”

Eisgruber praised Prentice as a “superb” dean of the faculty who is “knowledgeable, thoughtful, insightful, compassionate, and wise.” Prentice said she will become provost at a critical time. Princeton’s strategic and campus planning efforts have provided “a compelling vision of how we can build on the extraordinary strengths of this University,” she said, “and I am eager to work with the entire University community to make this vision a reality.” ♦ *By W.R.O.*

IN SHORT

PRESIDENT EISGRUBER '83 has received the Navy’s Distinguished Public Service Award, the highest civilian honor given by the secretary of the Navy. The award follows the University’s re-establishment of its Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps (NROTC) program in 2014. Princeton’s NROTC was originally established in 1945 and was active on campus until 1971. “I am glad the Navy is back at Princeton and that we can renew this University’s proud connection to the Navy,” Eisgruber said.

An **ORANGE SWASTIKA** was discovered on the interior of the sculpture “The Hedgehog and the Fox” Jan. 23 and removed two days later with solvent by a conservator hired by the Princeton University Art Museum. The conservator estimated the size to be 10 by 14 inches. The massive weathering steel sculpture by Richard Serra, between Lewis Library and Peyton Hall, has become a magnet for graffiti, and at least one other swastika has been removed since August 2015, according to Princeton’s communications office.

IN MEMORIAM: Professor of mathematics **JOHN N. MATHER '67** died Jan. 28 in Princeton. He was 74. Mather was a member of the faculty from 1975 until his death, and his research focused on singularity theory and Hamiltonian dynamics. His awards included membership in the National Academy of Sciences and the Brouwer Prize. ♦

Denise Applewhite/Office of Communications



25% less water used in dorms in 2016 vs. 2008



13% fewer cars (615 less) commuting to campus since 2008
GOAL: 15% reduction by 2020



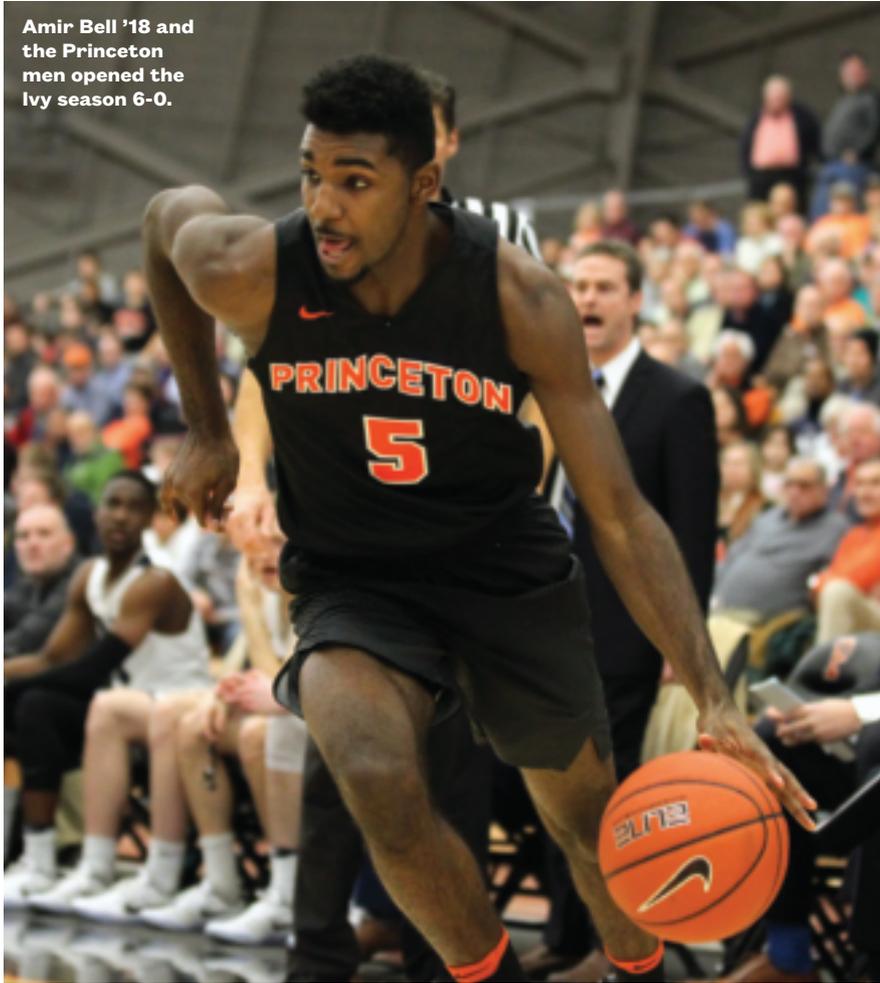
34% less waste per person since 2006 (includes landfill waste and recycling materials such as paper, plastic, glass, and metal)
GOAL: 40% reduction per capita by 2020 (goal was increased to 40% after the original 25% goal was met)

400% more commuters (635 more) since 2009 coming to campus via bicycle/walking/public transportation/carpool



39 seniors from 14 departments were awarded certificates in environmental studies in 2016

Amir Bell '18 and the Princeton men opened the Ivy season 6-0.



BASKETBALL

The Path to the Palestra

This year's top Ivy teams look ahead to a showdown in Philadelphia

Courtney Banghart and Mitch Henderson '98 played in the Ivy League when only the regular season mattered.

Now the head coaches of women's and men's basketball are working for the chance to bring their Princeton teams to the first Ivy postseason tournament and compete for bids to the NCAA Tournament.

"I think the [Ivy] tournament presents the opportunity to have your best teams showcased on the national stage," Banghart said. "It's a big deal for our student-athletes, and it's a big deal for our league. I think people will see how good our league is when they see the

better teams going head-to-head."

The tournament, which was approved unanimously by the Ivy schools, will be held March 11-12 at the Palestra in Philadelphia, with the top four men's teams and women's teams playing. (For schedule details and television coverage, visit IvyMadness.com.) The Ivy League is the last of the 32 conferences in Division I to add a postseason tournament to

"There's a different energy. The living and dying is lessened. But there's no less urgency."

— Mitch Henderson '98, men's basketball head coach

decide its NCAA automatic bids.

The tournament represents "a chance to congregate and not only celebrate a champion but also be together as a league," Henderson said. "On Selection Sunday, you're playing your championship game."

The Ivy's double-round-robin regular season — the "14-game tournament" — still will crown the league champions, but the postseason will determine which team advances to the NCAA Tournament in a league that historically has received only one NCAA bid. (Last year the Princeton women became the first Ivy team to receive an at-large bid.)

"There's a different energy," Henderson said of the regular season. "The living and dying is lessened. But there's no less urgency."

Witness Princeton's riveting Feb. 4 games against Harvard: In front of a sellout crowd in Cambridge, Steven Cook '17 rebounded a missed free throw and laid it in with less than three seconds left to give the Tigers a 57-56 win and keep the men in first place at 5-0; at Jadwin Gym, with a season-high 2,110 fans on hand, Gabrielle Rush '19 fueled the Tiger women to a critical 63-58 win in overtime that put them ahead of Cornell for fourth place in the standings at 3-2.

The Princeton women lost their first two league games, which normally would cripple an Ivy team's postseason prospects. But the tournament, Banghart said, "allows you to be playing for more for longer."

In each year since 2010, the Princeton, Harvard, and Yale men have finished in the top four, as have the Princeton and Harvard women. Every school except Cornell would have qualified at least once had the Ivy tournaments existed in that span.

"There are really four good teams on the men's and women's sides now," Banghart said. "And it's not just a one-year anomaly."

Last year, only 10 of 31 men's regular-season champions and 16 of 31 on the women's side won their conference tournaments — statistics that are either worrisome or encouraging, depending on where the Tigers are placed in the postseason bracket. ♦ *By Justin Feil*

Beverly Schaefer

Last year's Princeton-Penn finale decided the Ivy women's title.



IVY LEAGUE

Forward March

Harris Aims for 'Celebratory Environment' in Inaugural Postseason Tournaments

In 2015, Dartmouth men's basketball spoiled Yale's NCAA Tournament hopes in the closing seconds of the regular season, forcing the Bulldogs to play co-champion Harvard in an Ivy League playoff game. Dartmouth's win secured fourth place in the league standings, which meant little back then.

But this year, fourth place will earn a coveted trip to the Ivy tournament.

"That was already a fantastic atmosphere and game," says Robin Harris, the league's executive director since 2009. "If you add to that the excitement that Dartmouth would have been qualifying for the Ivy League

Tournament, it would have been off the charts."

Harris sees plenty of positives in the new four-team postseason format, developed by a working group of coaches and athletic directors. For teams that stumble in the regular season, the postseason provides a chance to recover and have a shot at an NCAA Tournament bid. And for the league as a whole, Harris said, the two-day event creates "a celebratory environment for men's and women's basketball together."

The Palestra, nicknamed "the cathedral of college basketball," seemed like a natural fit for the inaugural tournament, according to Harris. "I know Penn is a rival of Princeton, to say the least, and we are going to be making the facility as neutral as we can," she said. Ivy League logos will cover some of the Penn and Big Five markings, and locker rooms and ticket allotments will be assigned according to each team's tournament seed.

"This was really done for our student-athletes," Harris said. "We had been hearing that our student-athletes want to be part of March Madness, more than just the one or two teams that go to the NCAA Tournament. They want to be part of that championship week where all the other conferences were having tournaments, and we were not part of that. That was convincing." ♦ By B.T.

THE FIRST IVY LEAGUE BASKETBALL TOURNAMENT

Decades before the Ivy League announced plans for its first postseason tournaments, midseason tournaments played an important role in the development of Ivy women's basketball.

In the 1970s, when Ivy schools were beginning to add women's sports, few teams had enough money in their travel budgets to support a full league schedule, so they agreed to play a round-robin tournament at Princeton in December 1974.

The Tigers swept their Ivy foes, winning five games in two days to capture the first league championship. "I'm exhausted," captain Janet Youngholm '75 told *The Daily Princetonian* after scoring a team-high 11 points in the final game.

Organizers eventually added a third day and trimmed the number of games played in the tournament, which crowned the Ivy champion through 1982. Looking back, Youngholm laughs about the grueling format that first year. "We were just so happy to have the tournament," she said. "We knew it was significant, but not historic."

♦ By B.T.



▶ **LISTEN** to women's basketball alumnae recall the team's early years at paw.princeton.edu

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On the Campus / Sports



Max Véronneau '19 leads the Tigers in scoring.

MEN'S HOCKEY

Led by a Fertile Crop of Young Scorers, Tigers Show Signs of Improvement

Of all 1,645 Division I men's ice hockey players, Max Véronneau '19 was the best — in December, at least.

An email notified the sophomore forward from Ottawa, Ontario, that he was the Hockey Commissioners Association National Division I Player of the Month, just the second Tigers player ever to receive the award. (Andrew Calof '14 won it in January 2013.)

"I was pretty shocked at first," Véronneau said. "I knew I had a pretty good month, but I didn't know it was that good of a month. ... That's just a testament to how good our team was during that stretch."

The Tigers won five straight games in December, beating ranked teams from Quinnipiac and Minnesota State. After an early-January lull, Princeton returned to form with wins over No. 4 Penn State Jan. 28 and Ivy League rival Yale Feb. 3. At 9–11–3, the team has surpassed its best win total of any of the last three seasons, and Véronneau's honor is another indication that the program is heading in the right direction.

"With Max, he's gotten better, even better than last year," said Princeton head coach Ron Fogarty. "He's kind of a quiet player. He's not flashy, but he has a great change of speed. He's smart. He knows when to attack and when to delay. He has a great hockey IQ."

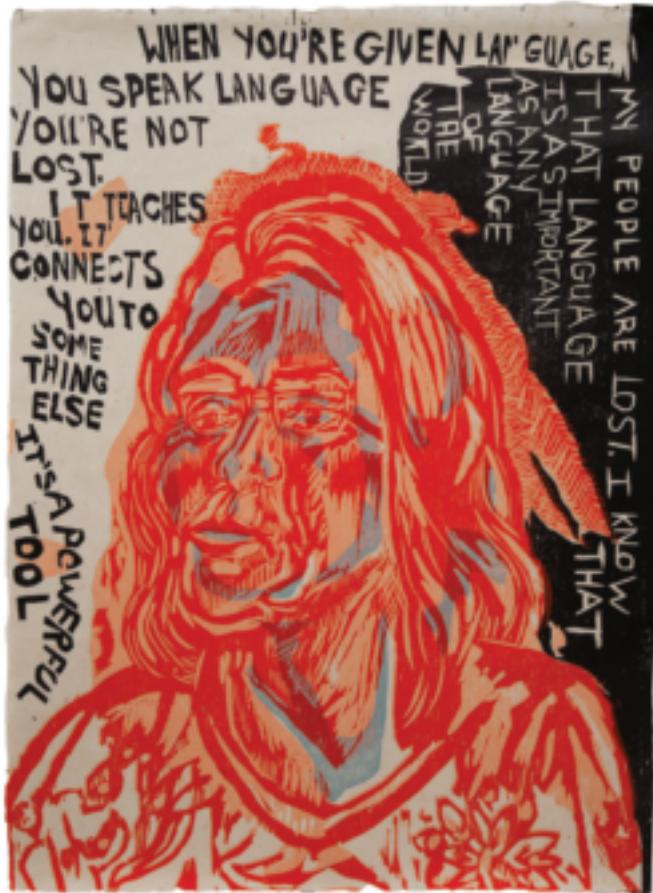
Véronneau and linemates Alex Riche '19 and Ryan Kuffner '19 made an immediate impact last year as freshmen. Kuffner was an ECAC All-Rookie selection and led Princeton in scoring, and Véronneau was second. Through Feb. 9, Véronneau led the team in scoring this year with Kuffner second. Freshman Jackson Cressey was fourth in points and second in assists. All of Princeton's top 10 scorers will return next season.

Véronneau moved from center to wing this year so he's not stuck so low in the defensive zone and can move into the offensive zone faster. Record-setting goalie Colton Phinney '17 is the backbone of the defense. He broke the program mark for career saves with 2,952 Jan. 13, topping the previous best set by Ronald Dennis '83.

"Having such a good goalie behind you, it makes everyone more confident," Véronneau said. "People can make better, smarter plays with that confidence behind them." ♦ *By Justin Feil*

Life of the Mind

Daniel Heyman (American, b. 1963) and Lucy Ganje (American, b. 1949); in Our Own Words: Native Impressions 2015–2016 (That Language); one diptych from a collaborative portfolio of 26 prints; 12 reduction woodcuts (portraits) and 12 letterpress (oral history) with title page and colophon: 26.25 x 19.25 each; Edition of 9; courtesy of the artists and Cade Tompkins Projects; photo of Heyman: Kim Fink



VISUAL ARTS

Art and Activism

Daniel Heyman’s woodcut portraits give a voice to the oppressed

Giving a voice to underrepresented communities through art has always been a priority for Daniel Heyman, a painter and printmaker who since 2010 has been a lecturer in the visual arts. His latest project, “In Our Own Words: Native Impressions,” is no exception. In June 2015, Heyman and Lucy Ganje, an art professor at the University of North Dakota who grew up on a nearby American Indian reservation,



Daniel Heyman

“That Language,” from the “Native Impressions” collection. From left, Daniel Heyman’s woodcut and Lucy Ganje’s accompanying letterpress.

traveled to four reservations in North Dakota where they heard stories of languages lost, family traumas spanning generations, and the ongoing loss of Native American land, incorporating those stories into portraits. They saw how despite those losses, people on the reservations are dedicated to improving life for their communities — a man on the Standing Rock reservation ran for Congress, for example, and another leader proposed that the tribe establish a hardware-supply store so that the reservation could benefit from nearby oil-industry construction.

Heyman and Ganje spent several days at each reservation, beginning the woodcut portraits and interviewing the subjects. The interviews are integral to the project; Heyman carved excerpts around the subjects' silhouettes while Ganje transcribed the interviews onto the letterpress prints that accompany the portraits. There are 12 woodcuts, 12 letterpress prints, and two combined technique prints. The works will be included in the exhibition "Hear My Voice" at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts from August 2017 to February 2018.

Heyman hopes that the project will give the public a "better understanding for who we all are as Americans."

"I've chosen communities that have been talked about endlessly in the U.S. body politic without ever really being asked directly, 'What do you guys think about this?'"

"Native Impressions" is the most recent in a series of sociopolitical portrait projects by Heyman; he also has worked with victims of the shooting of civilians by Blackwater security guards at Nisour Square in Baghdad in 2007, former detainees of Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, survivors of military sexual assault, and African American fathers trying to reconnect with their children after being released from prison.

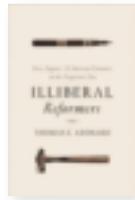
"I've chosen communities that have been talked about endlessly in the U.S. body politic without ever really being asked directly, 'What do you guys think about this?'" he says. "We simply asked, 'Can you tell us about how you were arrested and what happened in prison? Can you tell us about your interrogation?'"

Later this year, Heyman hopes to travel to the Arctic Circle to interview native communities along the shores of Alaska and northern Canada that are feeling the effects of global warming. He's teaching or co-teaching three courses on campus this spring and hopes that making art will allow his students to better examine the ways they perceive the world.

"I hope they learn to use art to engage the world around them, be it politics or some other concern," he says. ♦ By A.W.

FACULTY BOOK: THOMAS LEONARD

The Racism of the Progressive Era



After the largest recession in history, a political movement comprising mostly white, small-town, Protestant voters grabbed the reins of power from elites under the banner of making America great.

Sound like 2016? Try 1900. And these weren't conservatives. These were progressives. "They described it as a revolution, the likes of which the world had never seen," says Thomas Leonard, a research scholar in the Humanities Council and a lecturer in economics at

Princeton and author of *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics & American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton University Press). While corporations were checked and progressive presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson 1879 were voted in, the Progressive Era — 1900 to 1920 — was marred by a darker history of racism and xenophobia among its politicians. The legacy of that racism surfaced on Princeton's campus last year with a call by student activists to remove Wilson's name from its public-affairs school and a residential college.

The industrial revolution and the rise of big business after 1870 dramatically increased American living standards, but the era was plagued by recurring financial crises, violent labor conflicts, and two deep economic contractions. In response, progressive economists sought to regulate the American economy through a new administrative state based on scientific management principles.

They established economics as an academic discipline, while promoting and helping build regulatory and independent institutions such as the Federal Reserve (1913), the Federal Trade Commission (1914), and the International Trade Commission (1916).

Leonard shows, however, that their policies were undergirded by social Darwinism and eugenics and excluded groups deemed inferior — including women, Southern- and Eastern-European immigrants, Catholics, Jews, and blacks.



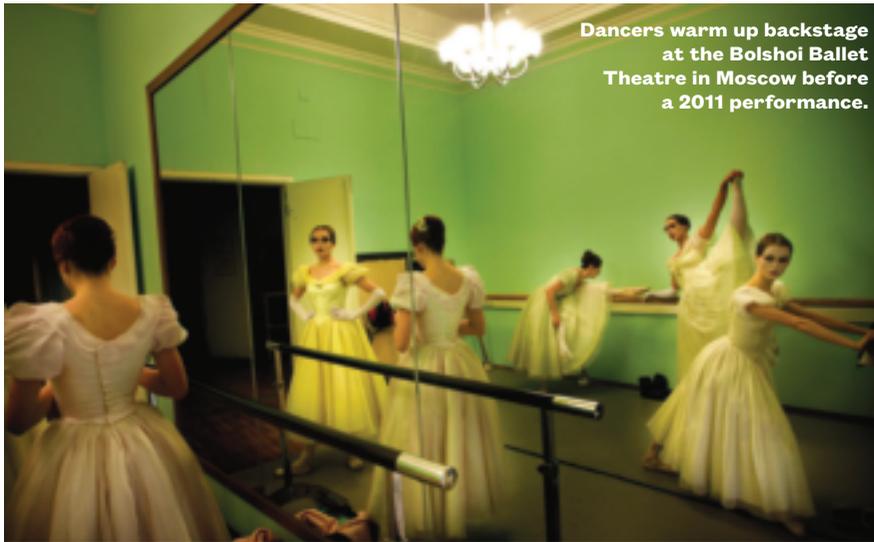
Thomas Leonard is a historian of economics specializing in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

"They wanted to help 'the people,' but excluded millions of Americans from that privileged category on the grounds that they were inferior," he says.

Progressives pushed for voter registration, literacy tests, and poll taxes to mitigate fraud and corruption, bolstering the Jim Crow South. In 1913, they proposed a minimum wage to benefit skilled Anglo-Saxon workers by requiring immigrants to prove they had a job paying that wage to enter the country.

Leonard began researching the origins of the minimum wage in 2001. "I was forced to confront the fact that race and social science intersected in complicated ways," he says. "The entanglement was significant and deeply rooted in the Progressive Era."

He wrote *Illiberal Reformers* to re-evaluate a crucial moment in American history, but found it surprisingly relevant today. "I finished the book before the rise of Donald Trump and the nationalist and populist movements in Europe," he says. Those movements are also characterized by dissatisfaction with rising inequality and perceived corruption; moreover, they are anti-immigrant, and sometimes openly racist. "If you would have asked me in 2015 about a wholesale return to illiberalism, I would have scoffed," says Leonard. "While economic historians tend to focus on class, you can't look at political and economic reform without understanding the complicated ways race and class intersect." ♦ By Michael Blanding



Dancers warm up backstage at the Bolshoi Ballet Theatre in Moscow before a 2011 performance.

FACULTY BOOK: SIMON MORRISON *97

The History of Russia, as Told Through Ballet



In 2013, a hooded man approached Sergei Filin, artistic director of the Bolshoi Ballet, and flung acid into his face. Later, a soloist from the ballet confessed to

orchestrating the attack. The exalted Russian ballet's tumble into the sordid piqued the interest of music professor Simon Morrison *97, whose focus includes 20th-century Russian music. "I wondered what kind of tensions existed in the theater from the start," said Morrison. After all, the Bolshoi is just a few blocks from the Kremlin; "As goes Russia, so goes the Bolshoi Ballet," Morrison writes in *Bolshoi Confidential: Secrets of the Russian Ballet from the Rule of the Tsars to Today* (Liveright). He spoke to PAW about the relationship between art and politics and what he calls "the pressures that produced the masterpieces of the ballet canon."

What does the acid attack reveal about the Bolshoi and about Russia in general?

Dancers are not paid and contracted as well, or as properly, as at other companies outside of Russia, say. So there are imbalances and the resentments that



"As goes Russia, so goes the Bolshoi Ballet."

— Simon Morrison *97, professor of music

naturally arise from them.

The dancer who organized the attack thought of himself as a defender of the rights of lower-ranking dancers, and wanted to be the head of the artists' union. Filin made himself briefly the head of the artists' union, a blatant conflict of interest, and his nemesis, Pavel Dmitrichenko, sought revenge [through the attack]. So this crime stemmed from, first, hotheaded irrationalism, but also from the many structural injustices in how employees are treated in the theater.

How has the theater historically been linked to Russian politics?

The kinds of ballets that were performed

in the 19th and 20th centuries reflected Russia's imperial ambitions. For example, ballets were put on for coronations of czars. These ballets also featured ethnic or national dances to show the kind of lands or peoples that Russia had conquered — and also hypothetically the lands and peoples that Russia planned to conquer. There were also ballets that represented the mineral wealth of the country, with dancers dressed to represent pearls and gold, things like that. There were periods in the 19th century when there was talk of closing down the Bolshoi altogether. But it was deemed important for these kinds of political pageants.

Artists at the Bolshoi have to deal with a lot of censorship. How did that change over time?

In the 19th century, before the Soviet era, the censors chiefly looked at the libretti, the scenarios, the plotlines, to see whether or not there were signs of subversion or prohibited depictions of the czar or a royal person. Nineteenth-century rulers of Russia didn't worry too much about dance and music being subversive, because they didn't think of the power of art in this sense.

In the 20th century, Moscow became the capital, and the Bolshoi, which was very close to the Kremlin, became the No. 1 theater in the country. For the Bolshoi Ballet to survive under the Soviets, it needed to stage ballets that had ideological content supporting socialist-communist principles and the agenda of the Bolsheviks.

Initially, I thought this theater managed to produce classics like *Swan Lake*, *Don Quixote*, and *Romeo and Juliet* despite all of the political pressures and tensions. After I finished the book I realized it was the opposite — that great art was produced almost in response to, and in a strange way needed, these pressures. A lot of the challenge facing the theater involved responding to very crude political directives and political circumstances, and turning ideological dreck into workable scripts for powerfully athletic, virtuosic performances. ♦ Interview conducted and condensed by Eveline Chao '02

 **READ MORE:** A longer version of this interview at paw.princeton.edu

THE POLITICS OF RACE AND CLASS

How Donald Trump made ‘working class’ white

Nell Irvin Painter



Historian Nell Irvin Painter is history professor emerita at Princeton and the author of seven books, most recently *The History of White People*.

Donald J. Trump campaigned on the slogan “Make America Great Again,” a phrase whose “great” was widely heard as

“white.” Certainly the election has been analyzed as a victory for white Christian Americans, especially men, especially the less educated. Although a cascade of commentary since the election has characterized the outcome as a loss for Democrats, Hillary Clinton received the majority of votes — almost 2.9 million more than for Trump. Against Mr. Trump were women, people who had attended college, young people, and middle- and working-class people of color. Trump’s supporters increasingly have been labeled by class — working class.

Though white Americans differed sharply on their preferences for president, the election of 2016 marked a turning point in white identity. Thanks to the success of “Make America Great Again” as a call for a return to the times when white people ruled, and thanks to the widespread analysis of voters’ preferences in racial terms, white identity became marked as a racial identity. Formerly seen as individuals expressing individual preferences in life and politics, white Americans in 2016 became Americans with race: white race.

I don’t mean that Americans suddenly started counting people as “white.” This has been going on since the first federal census of 1790. Since 1790, population statistics have faithfully recognized a category of “white” people, sometimes more than one — especially native and non-native born, for in previous centuries, the census divided white people into subgroups according to nativity. We did not suddenly discover the category of white in 2016.

I’m saying that what it means to see yourself as white has fundamentally changed, from unmarked default to racially marked, a change now widely visible: from *of course* being president and *of course* being beauty queen and *of course* being the cute young people selling things in ads to having to make space for other, non-white people to compete for those roles. Conveniently, for most white Americans, being white has meant not having a racial identity. It has meant being and living

THE TRUMP ERA: Reflections

Over the years, PAW has published essays and articles by Princeton faculty and alumni experts on some of the most urgent issues of the day. The surprising election of Donald Trump — and the expectation that it will bring great change to government and American institutions — made this a good time to do that again. On the following pages are essays on Trump and populism, race and class, a game plan for the media, polling and pundits, and the concerns of an undocumented immigrant — all by Princeton writers with uncommon expertise. We recognize that some readers will hold different views, and invite you to respond at paw.princeton.edu or email paw@princeton.edu.

— Marilyn Marks *86, editor

and experiencing the world as an individual and not having to think about your race. It has meant being free of race. Some people are proud white nationalists, but probably not many of the millions who voted for Donald Trump.

Thinking in terms of racial community would seem to be the job of black people. So for many white people the change is a demotion. We have been seeing this change creeping into popular culture and in higher education over the last few decades. Black and brown and Asian people sell you financial instruments and clothing. The former president and first lady are black. College literature courses include Toni Morrison and Junot Díaz. But according to many interviews before and after the election, people who haven't gone to college — where multiculturalism has been making its way for a generation — felt they had a lot to lose, as did millions who retained an image of America formed in the 20th century.

From assumed domination, white people now take their place among the multiracial American millions. For Trump supporters embracing the social dimension of "Make America Great Again," their vote enacted a visceral "No!" to multicultural America — as if to say: Take us back to the

time of unmarked whiteness and racially unmarked power, assumed to be white.

The Trump campaign disrupted that easy freedom and identified his name, and hence his administration, with a white identity. The Trump administration is one of white men in charge (including a U.S. attorney general whose embrace of white supremacy previously denied him a federal judgeship). You could say that's nothing new, that white men have been in charge forever. This is true, but now with a gigantic difference. This time the white men in charge will not simply happen to be white; they will be governing as white, as taking America back, back to before multiculturalism, or, as many would prefer to term it, before the reign of political correctness.

In addition to a white racial identity, the billionaire-laden Trump administration comes with a paradoxical class identity: working class as white. Time and time again, recent commentary has labeled his supporters not only "white," but also "working class." According to a line of thinking that has become popular among some Democrats as well as many journalists, Democrats "lost" the presidential election because they disregarded the legitimate, class-based needs of the white



James Steinberg

working class — as though class-based needs precluded any place for racial resentments, as though economic grievances obscured the Republican Party’s history of Southern strategy, birtherism, “you lie!” and anti-immigrant posturing.

The logic of white-working-class grievance has two weak points. First is the discrepancy between an electorate’s class-based needs, on one hand, and Republicans’ favorite policies privileging tax cuts over job creation, on the other. Second is the logic’s inability to recognize the existence of working-class Americans who did not vote for Donald Trump. Millions of working-class voters who favor Democrats are white, but in the discourse, it would seem that Democrats lack economic and class interests of their own. Democrats are seen either as elite liberals who disdain working-class whites or as members of racial-ethnic minorities whose main concern is political correctness. Jobs would seem not to be among their main concerns. This narrative flourishes even though Hillary Clinton’s campaign devoted far more attention to policies that actually would increase the number of jobs in the United States, for instance, in renewable energy.

Describing the electorate this way means assigning class only to Trump voters and identity only to people who are not white, and it totally ignores the history of Republican governance — or, rather, non-governance — during the administration of President Obama. Thus, talking about the concerns of working men and women means talking about Trump voters and jobs, while talking about people with “identity” means talking about issues of political correctness. It’s as though working-class Americans who are not white cannot have a class identity or economic interests related to class, for they have only racial identity or, even more narrowly, a racial identity connected to political correctness. The distinction here counts, because political correctness is a cultural issue, while jobs are an issue of economic policy.

The reluctance to see people of color as people with class status, seeing them as workers, has centuries of historical precedent. Historians seldom characterize the antebellum enslaved as a class of unpaid workers; the great 20th-century migrations out of the South are more commonly conceived of as racial phenomena than movements within the American workforce. By removing people of color from the working class to which many of them belong, today’s narrative suggests that jobs and financial security are interests of white voters only, voters who identify as Republican. This locates the economy in the purview of the Republican Party, which throughout the Obama presidency blocked policies intended to benefit working people. Today’s narrative of blaming Democrats for neglecting working-class interests steadily ignores the congressional Republican role. This blindness may be about to change.

Now that congressional Republicans are in charge of governing, the white-working-class-Trump-supporter narrative may run up against actual policymaking. The great test case is the Affordable Care Act, which Republicans immediately began working to repeal. Here is a policy affecting working-class Americans of every race and ethnicity whose repeal will not spare those who are white. How repeal will translate into discourse and electoral preference remains to be seen. ♦

WHO’S A POPULIST?

Donald Trump and ‘the people’

Jan-Werner Müller



*Jan-Werner Müller is a professor of politics and the founding director of the History of Political Thought Project at the University Center for Human Values. His book *What is Populism?* was published last year. This article draws on that book and on an essay published Oct. 26, 2016, in the Boston Review.*

President Trump constantly invokes “the people.” In his inauguration address, he claimed that his assumption of the office was equivalent to transferring power back to “you, the people.” He also explained that it did not matter which party controls the government, but that the people control the government — and that, with his inauguration, the people ruled again. Does this demonstrate conclusively that Trump is a populist? Or is he by definition not a populist because he is so obviously himself part of a particular elite? Just what is it that defines populism?

Everywhere, or so much news coverage suggests, “the people” are rising up against “the establishment.” According to Nigel Farage, former leader of the U.K. Independence Party, Brexit and the election of Trump are part of a populist “tsunami” rolling across the West. But this picture is misleading. It distorts our understanding of today’s political reality in two ways: First, it equates legitimate protest against elites and specific policies with populism. After all, any civics textbook would instruct us that we, as citizens, should be critical and vigilant when it comes to the powerful — it cannot be that all of a sudden such a stance is automatically dismissed as “populism.” At the same time, the tsunami image propounded by Farage leads us to underestimate the dangers posed by actual populists. The latter do not just criticize elites; they posit that there is one true, fully unified people and that they are its only legitimate representatives, or as Trump implied in his inauguration speech: When he rules, the people rule. In a diverse democracy containing many interests and identities, this idea opens the path to excluding entire groups — and possibly to authoritarianism.

Populists always claim that they — and they alone — properly represent the people, or what they frequently call “the real people” or “the silent majority.” This initially innocuous-sounding rhetoric has two consequences that are detrimental for democracy. First, all other political contenders are condemned by populists as part of a self-serving corrupt elite. This kind of populist talk is never just a matter of disagreeing about policy — which is completely normal in a democracy,



of course. Rather, populists always make it personal: Their competitors are bad, crooked characters who betray the people's interests (think of how Trump's inauguration speech opposed a self-serving establishment, enriching itself in Washington, to a hard-working people). Second, citizens who do not share the populists' conception of the "real people" — and hence do not support the populists politically — will have their status as properly belonging to the people put into doubt. Every populist operates with a symbolic and ultimately moral distinction between the "real people" and those who don't belong (think back to how Farage celebrated Brexit as a "victory for real people" — with the implication that the 48 percent of Britons who sought to stay in the EU weren't quite real). All U.S. populists — think of George C. Wallace in the 1960s — have deployed the pregnant phrase "real Americans."

Trump has said so many deeply offensive and demonstrably false things that a sentence that revealed him as a proper populist went virtually unnoticed. In May Trump declared at a rally: "The only important thing is the unification of the people — because the other people don't mean anything." Trump's politics are about exclusion. The specifics of who exactly gets excluded and how can vary from day to day: Sometimes he sounds nicer about Mexicans, Muslims, or African Americans; the next day he doesn't. But the logic is always the same: There is a real America, as identified by Trump, and whoever does not agree cannot be a real American (and is also implicitly opposed to "making America great again"). Hence Trump's seemingly conciliatory speeches and tweets after the election

("We will unite, and we will win, win, win!") are not really liberal democratic promises of accepting pluralism; rather, everyone has to unite on the populist's terms.

Trump's infamous leadership of the birther movement was not just a historical footnote. President Obama literally embodied two groups who in the eyes of right-wing populists don't belong to the real America: liberal elites and African Americans. It was consistent that Trump was so prominent in trying to prove that Obama was not just symbolically an illegitimate president but plainly an illegal one — an "un-American" figure who had usurped the nation's highest office.

It should be clear, then, that the lazy equation of Trump and Sen. Bernie Sanders — "a populist of the right and a populist of the left," as they are often portrayed — is deeply

mistaken, even if it seems plausible in light of the historical understanding of the word "populism" in the United States (as in: the People's Party representing the downtrodden against Wall Street in the late 19th century). One might think of Sanders' policy ideas as naïve or in some other form undesirable — but clearly Sanders never claimed that he is the only representative of the real America. Only Trump is a genuine anti-pluralist. What matters is not whether the populist himself could be said to be part of an elite — his promise is not that he is like any ordinary citizen. Rather, the claim is that he and he alone will execute the people's real will (as discerned by him).

This kind of anti-pluralism has adverse consequences for any democracy, even when populists do not succeed in winning office. Since "the real people" is a myth conjured up by populists, actual election outcomes or opinion polls always can be questioned in its name. If the populist does not win, it is not because he is not as popular as he thought — it is because the "silent majority," shorthand for "real people," has not yet spoken, or, even worse, has been prevented from expressing itself. In other words, the populist delegitimizes existing democratic systems as somehow "rigged." Now, there is nothing wrong with citizens criticizing election rules or other aspects of a particular democracy — any civics textbook would encourage such an engaged stance. What one cannot do is to say, as populists do: "Because we don't win, it's not really democracy."

Why have populists become so prominent? Their rise has to do with a fundamental political conflict that has increased in importance in many Western democracies. This conflict is

not meaningfully described as one of “ordinary people versus the establishment.” In Britain, Boris Johnson, one of the main faces of the Brexit campaign, is about as establishment as one can get there; Trump is hardly the authentic representative of Main Street. Rather, on one side of the conflict are those who advocate more openness: This means engaging with the world on the outside (both economically and culturally), but it is also about openness toward their own nations’ sexual, ethnic, and religious minorities. So yes, the rise of populism has something to do with “globalization” in the widest sense, but it is not just an expression of the discontent of the supposed “losers of globalization.” When the likes of Farage, Trump, and French populist leader Marine Le Pen call for “the people” to rule, they want to close their nations off by shutting borders and thereby, or so they promise, take back control; but they also want to preserve the traditional hierarchies that have come under threat on the inside.

How should other politicians address this form of identity politics? Those fighting populists should not pretend that their opponents are politicians like all others, just with more fiery rhetoric or bad manners. But they end up contradicting themselves if they demonize the demonizers or effectively end up saying: “Because you exclude, we exclude you.” It’s the trap that Hillary Clinton fell into when she criticized Trump voters as “deplorables.” In Europe it has been a common strategy to shut populists out of TV discussions or to refuse to engage with them in parliaments. This is a mistake. Talking with populists is not the same as talking like populists. One can take the policy issues they bring up seriously without accepting the way they frame them. In the 1980s, the French National Front propounded the slogan “1 million unemployed, 1 million immigrants.” It was perfectly possible to admit that people being jobless was a serious challenge, without accepting the all-too-simplistic equation offered — just as it is perfectly possible now to have a hard-nosed discussion about who really benefits from trade agreements without demonizing some shadowy establishment of “globalists.”

Yet it is also naïve to think that populists can be defeated just by setting facts straight or lecturing citizens that their economic interests are ill-served by following demagogic promises. Hardly any facts speak for themselves; they are always part of a larger political narrative. In the case of populists, we are dealing with a narrative about the “real people” and their proper identity. Simply saying that whoever finds that narrative attractive is deplorable or full of resentment is bound to backfire. For one thing, this dismissive attitude confirms populists in what they have been telling their supporters all along about what elites are really like: uncaring and ultimately alien, or at least alienated from citizens’ daily problems. So what to do instead? Rather than comment on their supporters, one should call out populist politicians directly and precisely on their pernicious exclusions and their habitual conspiracy theories. There is no guarantee that this will have an effect on populists’ supporters. But if such counterattacks are part of a narrative about nationally shared democratic ideals, they just might work. One might do well to remember how the question “Have you no decency left?” started the undoing of Sen. Joe McCarthy, a figure comparable to Trump in his divisiveness and bullying. ♦

LESSON OF 2016

Beware the confident experts

Tom Bevan ’91



Tom Bevan ’91 is the publisher and co-founder, with John McIntyre ’91, of RealClearPolitics, one of America’s leading websites covering politics and elections.

Almost everyone I met last year had a story to tell about the 2016 presidential election — or, to be more precise, an anecdote that foreshadowed the outcome. Here’s one of mine: I was in Manchester, N.H., in mid-September, and my driver eagerly began asking me questions about the campaign.

He was an affable Muslim immigrant from Pakistan who appeared to be in his 50s. He’d been in America for nearly 30 years, raised his family here, and told a heart-wrenching story about being ostracized by his factory co-workers after Sept. 11 because of his religion. He moved on and started his own company and was now facing anxiety over a recently diagnosed medical condition.

“So who are you going to vote for?” I asked as a courtesy, convinced that I already knew the answer.

“Donald J. Trump,” he responded, to my surprise.

He explained that America is facing what he felt only an outsider with Trump’s business experience could fix. It was a bracing reminder that this election had scrambled most, if not all, political stereotypes and norms.

I heard stories like that everywhere I went. And, unless you live in a hermetically sealed bubble, you probably heard similarly surprising stories from friends, family members, co-workers, or chatty Uber drivers.

So why, despite plenty of signs that something strange was afoot, were so many people shocked by the outcome of the election?

Many were quick to blame the polls, but that’s not quite right. The final RealClearPolitics national poll average — which included 11 surveys conducted during the final five days of the campaign — showed Hillary Clinton with a 3.3 percentage-point lead. She won the national popular vote by 2.1 points — not very different from what the polls predicted.

That’s in line with the RealClearPolitics national poll averages from the 2004 election (off by 0.9 of a percentage point) and the 2008 election (off by 0.3 point) and more accurate than the national polls in 2012, which projected President Obama winning re-election by 0.7 percent. He won by 3.9.

Overall, the state polls weren't terrible either. The average polling error in the top battleground states (Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Iowa, Nevada, Colorado, Michigan, Wisconsin, Georgia, Arizona, and Virginia) was virtually identical in 2016 to what it was in 2012, both of which were better than 2008.

True, there were a couple of big surprises, Wisconsin in particular. The final pre-election surveys in the Badger State — including the state's most respected poll, conducted by Marquette University Law School — all showed Clinton comfortably ahead. She lost the state by less than 1 point. It was a result almost no one saw coming — not even the Trump campaign, which canceled an event planned for the Milwaukee suburbs in the final days of the campaign. (There were no public surveys taken in the final six days of the campaign.)

Trump's narrow win in Michigan was another surprise, although not as much. Beyond that, however, the final RealClearPolitics averages of other state polls showed tight contests: Clinton held small leads in Pennsylvania and New Hampshire, while Trump clung to similarly small leads in North Carolina, Nevada, and Florida.

Yet heading into Election Day, most Americans were convinced Hillary Clinton would win, and they would not have characterized the race as "close" or "competitive." And no wonder. Everywhere they looked in the weeks leading up to Election Day there was some "expert" on television, on the internet, on the radio, or in the newspaper declaring with complete confidence that Trump had little or no chance to win the election.

Among the most notable was David Plouffe, the campaign

operative who helped engineer Barack Obama's wins in 2008 and 2012, who proclaimed as early as July and again in late September that Clinton had a "100 percent chance" of winning the election.

Sam Wang, a Princeton neuroscience and molecular biology professor who also runs the Princeton Election Consortium, expressed certitude. He predicted publicly that Trump had a less than a 1 percent chance of winning. After the election, he went on national television and ate a bug as penance.

The *Huffington Post* election model gave Trump a mere 1.7 percent chance of winning. *The New York Times*' model was more generous at 15 percent, and Nate Silver of FiveThirtyEight gave Trump a 28.2 percent chance.

It's not that Trump wasn't the underdog. He was. His path to victory in the Electoral College was narrower than Clinton's, but despite her lead in the national polls, that path was still viable on Election Day. The final RealClearPolitics Electoral College Map showed Clinton winning, 272 to 266, on Nov. 8. All Trump needed to win was to flip a single state. He ended up flipping three.

Looking back, it's clear what happened: Many pundits and analysts built preconceived theories as to why Trump couldn't win, and accepted data that supported that conclusion while filtering out any evidence pointing in the other direction. There was also a failure within the media to fully appreciate Trump's uniqueness as a candidate: his ability to defy political norms and, most importantly, an underestimation of the visceral bond he had formed with key sections of the electorate.

There are plenty of examples, but here's one that was featured prominently in the campaign coverage: Pundits



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focused, sometimes obsessively, on how much money Clinton had raised and spent on television ads and the number of field offices she had opened in battleground states. These factors were constantly referred to as a definitive advantage for Clinton, despite the fact Trump had shattered that exact conventional wisdom by mowing down the deepest Republican primary field in history while spending almost no money, with little organization on the ground, and withstanding an onslaught of attack ads — more than \$150 million worth — aired against him during the primaries.

Another example was President Obama's job-approval rating, which was above 50 percent for most of the summer and fall. This was consistently cited as a positive indicator for Clinton. That was one possible interpretation, but not the most logical. A more neutral elucidation was that in a general election pitting the two least liked and least trusted major-party nominees in modern political history, the incumbent president looked better to independent voters with each passing day. This explanation did not necessarily benefit Clinton.

Meanwhile, other important indicators — such as the generic congressional ballot, which surged almost six points in the GOP's favor in the final few weeks of the campaign — went largely unremarked.

As in many professions, political pundits, journalists, and election analysts often find themselves fighting the last war. In this case, it was the re-election of Barack Obama. In 2012, the president managed to win a second term despite several traditional indicators suggesting he wouldn't: relatively high unemployment and a stagnant economy, a job-approval rating under 50 percent for most of the campaign, close to two-thirds of the country saying things were headed in the wrong direction, and unease among independent voters.

Perhaps the biggest question of 2016 was whether Obama's electoral coalition would be durable and transferable to his successor. We now know the answer is no — at least in regard to Hillary Clinton.

Moving forward, the same question applies to Donald Trump, a man who managed to take over the Republican Party and at least partially remake it in his own image in a matter of 18 months. He rallied working-class voters to his cause by bucking four decades of party orthodoxy on trade and explicitly rebuking the GOP establishment on foreign policy.

But is the coalition that elected Trump unique to him? Will it stick with him moving forward? Will the Republican Party really transform into a populist, working-class party that is less interventionist abroad?

Already, apparently unfazed by the mistakes of the past year, some of the same experts who insisted Trump could never win the Republican nomination and would never win the general election are declaring with absolute certainty that he will be a failure as president and a one-termer. That may prove to be true, but so is the possibility that Trump may once again defy expectations of the pundits.

Sixty-eight years ago, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* blared its infamous headline "Dewey Defeats Truman." In 2016, much of the public was stunned by the election outcome, not because the polls were more wrong this year than in previous years, but because the pundits were. Here's hoping we've learned our lesson. ♦

TESTY TIMES AHEAD

Trump, the media, and the truth

Kathleen McCleery '75



Kathleen McCleery '75, a special correspondent and freelance producer for the PBS NewsHour, was a visiting Ferris professor in the fall, teaching "Covering the Presidential Campaign." She has covered presidential elections since 1980.

T rue or false? Right or wrong? The mission for journalists has long been to seek facts and report them, but President Trump's first post-election news conference illustrates the challenges facing the media today.

The event at Trump Tower — held nine days before the inauguration, a full two months after the election — had a reality-TV feel. Insults flew. A flurry of questions related to a dossier of unverified, salacious allegations about Trump's ties to Russia prompted the then-president-elect to lash out. The online organization BuzzFeed, which had printed the full report, was a "failing pile of garbage." Trump accused CNN of publishing the details (it did not) and refused to acknowledge a question from CNN reporter Jim Acosta. Pointing his finger, he shouted that the network was "terrible" and "fake news."

Acosta's peers — competing for headlines and scoops — didn't come to his defense. Most, presumably, wanted to pose their own questions; only 16 out of the 350 in attendance got a chance during the hour-long affair. It was a divide-and-conquer strategy, and it worked.

It did not get better from there. On his first full day in office, Trump accused the media of being "among the most dishonest human beings on earth," claiming journalists had invented a rift between him and U.S. intelligence agencies. His press secretary, Sean Spicer, angrily scolded journalists, saying they lied about the size of the inauguration crowd — even though the media's assertions were upheld by photographic and other evidence. Senior adviser Kellyanne Conway said Spicer had presented "alternative facts." A day later, at Spicer's first official White House briefing, he called the coverage of the new president "demoralizing" and, when asked if he'd be truthful, said, "Our intention is never to lie to you." Hours after that, Trump told members of Congress ballots cast by 3 million to 5 million immigrants living in the country illegally had cost him the popular vote, a false claim.

For months, candidate Trump had taken control of the narrative and the press. The candidate blocked some news organizations, including *The Washington Post* and Politico, from



getting media credentials to cover his events. He harassed reporters, including a disabled one, in person and via Twitter. Nearly every rally included a broadside directed at the press. In May 2016 in Albuquerque, N.M., this reporter was perched on the camera platform when Trump exhorted the crowd to “look at them, the dishonest slime.” Hundreds turned and booed. In November, a Trump supporter at a Minnesota rally sported a T-shirt that read: “Rope. Tree. Journalist. Some assembly required.” Long before he secured his party’s nomination, Trump called for loosening libel laws, a move that prompted worries about First Amendment protections. In mid-January, the Society of Professional Journalists declared that Trump’s “words and actions threaten the underpinning of democratic

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society: an independent press and freedom of speech.”

Facts are journalists’ most valuable tools. Operating in what some described as a “fact-free universe” — with fact-checkers debunking many of Trump’s claims — many journalists covering the campaigns deserved plaudits. They scoured speeches, debates, and tweets, often in real time on multiple platforms. The Pulitzer Prize-winning PolitiFact rated 70 percent of Trump’s statements as mostly or completely false, some getting its “Pants on Fire” score. *Washington Post* reporter Jenna Johnson, who spent months following Trump, said the GOP candidate made it tougher for the press to be gatekeepers. “It used to be that [when] you cover a candidate and they say something that is inaccurate, you call them out on it, and they stop saying it. With Donald Trump, he doubles down on those things and keeps saying them,” she said.

So much attention focused on truth-telling that the Oxford Dictionaries’ word of the year was “post-truth,” defined as an environment “in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief.”

When Trump used the phrase “fake news” to describe CNN, he equated a mainstream organization with online hoaxes. Real journalists weren’t fabricating stories during the campaign, but real people did read the made-up ones: Pope Francis endorsed Trump. Hillary Clinton sold weapons to ISIS. A pizza joint in a tony Washington, D.C., neighborhood hid a child-sex ring linked to Clinton and her former campaign manager, John Podesta. The seemingly incredible tales mimicked reality and got hundreds of thousands of clicks, though it’s unclear how many were believed.

“We don’t need you guys anymore,” former Vice President Dick Cheney told CNN. He was referring to Trump’s use of Twitter, which gives news consumers information in tidbits of 140 characters or less. The moniker “Twitter President” took

hold months before Trump won office. His tweets — many in capital letters with exclamation points — offered policy pronouncements as well as personal views. With more than 22 million followers, his unfiltered messages kept the press corps moving to new topics with little time to reflect and examine what had been said. “We should be using this as a news resource about the candidate, but at the same time, that’s really dangerous ground ... it’s a one-sided conversation,” said Christina Bellantoni, associate managing editor of the *Los Angeles Times*.

All this comes as trust in the media has hit an all-time low. A December 2016 NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* survey found that 55 percent of respondents had “very little or no confidence” in the national news media. About 38 percent told Pew the press deserved a failing grade for campaign conduct; only 22 percent gave it an A or a B.

A reporter for Breitbart News Network, a right-wing organization that had a front-row seat at the pre-inauguration news conference, asked Trump what reforms he’d recommend for the industry. Trump said he hoped for people who “have some moral compass,” then denounced some in the room as “very, very dishonest” and ended with a plea for “honest reporters.”

Honesty is important. So is tenacity. Reporters need to be aggressive. Be transparent. Ask questions, follow up, demand answers. Report on debates, but don’t engage in them. Focus on issues over style or spectacle. Be a troublemaker. Consider whether to report everything the president says — not every word or every tweet is newsworthy. Rethink live coverage of news conferences. Use news judgment to determine what’s important and what’s not.

Find new techniques for detecting fake news — using people, not just robots, because though algorithms designed to ferret out false stories can be useful, they can fail to spot nuances. Pressure social-media giants like Facebook and Google to remove made-up stories.

And don a bulletproof vest when insults fly.

None of that is easy, but it’s possible. The roller-coaster ride of the past year brought more coverage, investigation, and analysis than ever before. Months of digging by *Washington Post* reporters, in particular, yielded details about Donald Trump’s business dealings, reality-television programs, and political pursuits, all cataloged in the biography *Trump Revealed*, co-authored by Marc Fisher ’80. Hundreds of hours of interviews went into the two-hour *Frontline* documentary “The Choice 2016.” Examples of exemplary reporting abounded on air, in print, and online. There was no shortage of information, but much of the public didn’t read, watch, or believe the stories.

News organizations need better, more creative ways to capture views and spread the news. Well-researched investigations have limited impact if they don’t capture a large audience. It’s not enough to post to Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, or whatever new social network emerges.

Voters have a responsibility, too. To assure truthful and fair reporting, voters must be willing to ante up. Shoe-leather reporting takes resources. No matter where it comes from — advertising, subscriptions, or grants — funding is key. American citizenship requires a commitment to an independent, free press. ♦

UNDOCUMENTED

An immigrant in the time of Trump

Dan-el Padilla Peralta ’06



Dan-el Padilla Peralta ’06 is an assistant professor of classics at Princeton.

In the aftermath of Donald Trump’s election to the U.S. presidency, I spent several weeks attempting to sort out which obligations and responsibilities would need to take precedence in my personal and professional

lives moving forward. I had come of age in a community that had been singled out for particular opprobrium and vilification by the Trump campaign: the 11 million undocumented. It was in the pages of PAW 11 years ago that I presented, for the first time in my own voice, my journey to Princeton as a Dominican-American without papers. I now return to these pages even more determined in light of recent events to affirm that these 11 million belong in the United States.

My initial venture into the autobiographical arts emboldened me to entertain the possibility that a fuller exposition of this journey might offer encouragement — and admonition — to a readership beyond Princeton. Not long after the PAW article came out, I decided to write a memoir. *Undocumented: A Dominican Boy’s Odyssey from a Homeless Shelter to the Ivy League* was published by Penguin Press in 2015. You may be wondering why my memoir had a nine-year gestation; surely a 20-something-year-old couldn’t have that much to say? The short answer: life! The long answer: graduate school, first in the United Kingdom (courtesy of the Daniel M. Sachs Class of 1960 Scholarship) and then at Stanford (where I received my Ph.D. in classics in 2014); and family happiness (in 2009 I began dating a fervent Yankees fan from Sparta, N.J.; six years later we got married).

Always humming in the background, impervious to all attempts at resolution, was anxiety about my immigration status. Having departed the United States in the fall of 2006 while still undocumented, I was granted a waiver of inadmissibility and a work visa to re-enter the country in 2007 for a part-time research-assistant position at Princeton. After completing my studies at Oxford in 2008, I applied for a change of status to a student visa to accept an offer of admission to Stanford’s doctoral program. In my fifth year at Stanford — and about two months after I submitted the final draft of the memoir manuscript to Penguin — I received a postdoctoral job offer from Columbia’s Society of Fellows. Off I raced to complete my dissertation and to apply for the work authorization that would enable me to begin my

postdoctoral employment.

This work authorization, linked as it was to my student-visa status, was good for only one year, but my partner-in-the-struggle and I figured that after we pronounced vows to each other in March 2015 we would submit a “concurrent filing” to the immigration service to get the ball rolling on my permanent residency. The application was received by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) in May 2015. After an 11-month wait, we were summoned to an interview at the Newark regional immigration office, to which we came prepared with heaps of documentation attesting to our lives together. The interview was a success, we were told; but in the summer of 2016 we learned that I would have to apply for a special waiver because I had previously lived in the United States as an undocumented immigrant — a waiver that would be granted only if I could prove to the examining officer’s satisfaction that the denial of my green-card application would cause “extreme hardship” to my spouse. The waiver request — a seven-page single-spaced cover letter, two three-page affidavits, and 89 pages of supporting materials — was finally approved the last week of January.

As long as I had a change-of-status application in the pipeline, I remained legally authorized to work, provided I filed the appropriate annual paperwork with USCIS. It was with this work authorization in hand that I was able to accept Old Nassau’s invitation to return as an assistant professor of classics. In the fall, my first term back, I taught the introductory Roman history course (CLA 218: “The Roman Republic”) and co-taught a graduate seminar on the Roman Middle

Republic with my colleague Professor Denis Feeney. This spring, I am teaching a new course, “Citizenships, Ancient and Modern.” The premise of this new course is that our 21st-century contestations over access to citizenship have a long and fractious history; the goal of the course is to supply students with a variety of interpretive strategies for plotting such a history.

I would not say that my training as a Roman historian has uniquely positioned me to offer spanking-fresh insight into our contemporary situation, even if I can now pat myself on the back for designing the CLA 218 syllabus such that election week coincided with our coverage of the Gracchi. But likening Donald Trump to ancient Roman demagogues and oligarchs is almost irresistible, especially for those (like me) with a soft spot for historical comparison and analogy. Yielding twice to the temptation, in November 2015 I had written a two-part article for the online classics journal *Eidolon* (founded and edited by Donna Zuckerberg ^{*14}) in which I argued that Trump’s normalization of xenophobia, far from simply exhibiting some striking affinities with certain Roman precedents, also mimics the structural logic of these precedents: Woe-is-us economic populism, paired with imperial fantasies of grandeur, is sutured to a program of isolating and demonizing the most vulnerable segments of the polity.

At the time the article was published, it was still easy to regard Trump as a flash in the pan, one last invective-spewing eruption of white-supremacist revanchism. Not anymore: The country I have called my home for 25 of the past 27 years has elected a man who repeatedly and insistently menaces the



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communities that gave me life. That some percentage of the American electorate holds implacable feelings of hate toward me and other previously or currently undocumented folks, I find unsurprising. What has shaken me is that a significant percentage of the American electorate did not consider the broadcasting of xenophobia, racism, and anti-Semitism disqualifying — perhaps even found it alluring — when choosing a president.

One obvious takeaway is that white fragility is real. Of course, I would not be where I am today without having made the acquaintance many times over of the prickly white American id and its avatars. The cops who tore down the door to my Spanish Harlem apartment when I was a teenager; the high-school classmate who credited my admission to Princeton to affirmative action; the college classmate whose parents could not accept the implications of a post-*Loving* world; the Princeton alum and retired Marine Corps officer who wrote to correct me on my use of the term “inhuman” to characterize the treatment of the undocumented; the agent who asked, apropos of my memoir, “It’s not about race, is it?”; the well-intentioned cop from California’s San Joaquin Valley who could not be persuaded that the behavior of people protesting the national anthem at sports games was anything other than “unpatriotic”; the kind-seeming elderly woman who, after attending a reading of *Undocumented* at Labyrinth Books on Nassau Street, rang me at my East Pyne office to tell me that President Obama had made arrangements to ship in “illegal Haitians” to vote against Trump. White fragility wears many masks.

In some circles it is received wisdom that the failure of Hillary Clinton at the ballot box had to do with the Democratic Party’s failure to connect with an aggrieved white (male) middle class, for whom the economic havoc of globalization had been exacerbated by the added indignity of no longer feeling special — “identity politics” and “political correctness” being the primary culprits. According to proponents of this view, Democrats (among whom I count myself, not that I’m in a position yet to exercise that preference at the polls) should heed the feelings of the mostly white men and women who have been turned off by this minority-talk, this Black and Brown Lives Matter business. I have no patience with this “wisdom,” and not only because it both trivializes the suffering of the structurally oppressed and waves off the other factors responsible for November’s electoral outcome (racialized voter suppression, Russian meddling, rank misogyny). If anything, the identities and experiences of the outcast and exploited should move to the very center of our political discourse, rife as it now is with oversimplifications and misrepresentations.

In the case of the undocumented, the thundering about “the law,” the recriminations about their not having waited their turn “in line,” and their dehumanization as “illegals” all strike me as mere pretexts for removing and destroying brown bodies. The allegation that the undocumented are “taking away jobs” is based on an (at best) dubious interpretation of cloudy economic data, and the accusation that the undocumented siphon off public benefits is blithely ignorant of the amount that undocumented immigrants pay in taxes and into the social-safety net. But bullet points of fact, reasoned analysis, or explication of historical trends don’t seem to move the needle much for some people. The congressman who sat next to me on a Reunions panel last May and loudly proclaimed his indifference to ivory-tower academics whose attention to historical and demographic trends he saw as detached from “reality” was a harbinger of that post-fact world into which we have all been ushered, and for which we will need to harness a full arsenal of strategies for personal and civic empowerment.

In those weeks of reflection after the election, I reaffirmed my commitment to teaching and writing; I participated in conversations here at Princeton on how best to support those members of our community who may be subject to arbitrary removal — legal or extralegal in form — under the new president; and I tried to put on a face of indefatigable good cheer *rebus in arduis* before the high-school and college students for whom modeling and embodying the drive to social justice have taken on a new and vital significance.

However, with the signing of executive orders that authorized the construction of a border wall and imposed bans on immigrants from multiple countries, I have become convinced that each of us who benefits from the privilege of studying and working at Princeton will soon be called to make good on the University’s motto of service to the nation, to all nations, and to humanity. The siren call of shutting out the external world to focus doggedly on “knowledge for knowledge’s sake” will become almost irresistible. But the pursuit of knowledge, while never far removed from the political, can no longer be undertaken in isolation from the political: The new president and his collaborators have assaulted the very foundations of university life itself, both by threatening to deprive of funding any research seen as threatening or inimical to their interests and by targeting for detention, expulsion, and exclusion the many immigrant bodies who bring their knowledge and labor to our country and university.

We must resist any effort to bludgeon — or entice — Princeton into the complicity of silence. ♦



READ Padilla Peralta’s 2006 essay at paw.princeton.edu

PRINCETONIANS



Tony Avelar/AP Images

TAKING THE PLUNGE: Members of the Dolphin Club regularly suit up for a dip in the always-brisk San Francisco Bay. Here are five of the six Dolphin/Tigers after swimming earlier in the day in 50-degree waters in January. From left are Van Metaxas '84; Lisa Newman-Wise '05; Jay Dean '79, who rows in the club; Joe Illick '56; and Krist Jake '66 (Lowen Cattolico '98 is not pictured). Illick, who plunges in daily, says the club provides a challenging swim and ample social opportunities. "One might say it becomes a way of life," he says. ♦

READING ROOM: JAMES D. ZIRIN '61

BLIND JUSTICE SKEWED



Attorney James D. Zirin '61 had already completed a draft of *Supremely Partisan: How Raw Politics Tips the Scales in the United States Supreme Court* (Rowman

& Littlefield) when Justice Antonin Scalia died in early 2016. Zirin says what followed — Congress blocking a vote on Obama nominee Merrick Garland and presidential candidate Donald Trump's promise to appoint a pro-life justice — laid bare an “irrefutable fact”: The Supreme Court's appointments and decisions have become fiercely partisan. Zirin spoke to PAW about Trump's nominee Neil Gorsuch and how the federal government's umpire has turned into one of its most active players.

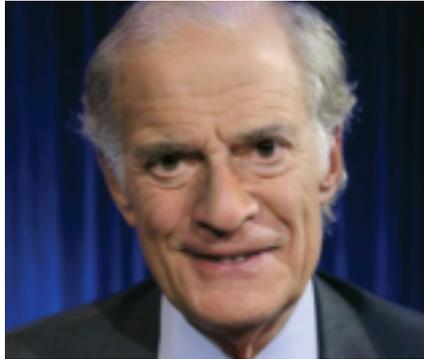
What should be the role of a Supreme Court justice?

No judge should “legislate from the bench,” or act as a moral philosopher or an ethicist deciding what in his or her view achieves some desired social end or policy. In Justice John Marshall's words, the judge's role in the constitutional system is “expounding,” not redrafting, the Constitution.

You say the Supreme Court is more politically polarized than ever. How did you determine that?

The court has often appeared to be politically influenced. But since the appointment of Justice Scalia in 1986, it has never been so polarized, with 5–4 and 6–3 decisions decided along partisan lines.

Both presidential candidates expressed [their] view as to the necessary ideology of Supreme Court justices. ... We have now a



“Since the appointment of Justice Scalia in 1986, [the court] has never been so polarized, with 5–4 and 6–3 decisions decided along partisan lines.”

— James D. Zirin '61

deeply polarized nation. Unless the nation comes together, we are unlikely to see a change for some time to come.

How does Trump's nomination of Gorsuch support your book's thesis?

Trump said he would appoint a justice who would “automatically” overrule *Roe v. Wade*, of “similar views and principles” to Justice Scalia. Gorsuch, a Scalia admirer, with strong conservative Republican bloodlines, fits the bill quite nicely. He referred admiringly to Scalia in his speech at the White House.

If the most conservative wing of the court had its way, what laws could be overturned?

The most conservative of the justices, Clarence Thomas, has said he wants to overrule all decisions he deems contrary to the Constitution. These might include

not only *Roe v. Wade* (which has been reaffirmed at least twice), but also the 14th Amendment, whose due process clause makes the Bill of Rights applicable to the states; decisions questioning capital punishment and how it is administered; well-settled decisions making children of alien parents citizens of the United States; decisions forbidding the prosecution [and denaturalization] of flag burners; decisions upholding press freedoms; and decisions that make the unassailable divide between church and state. No other justice, including Scalia, has gone this far. Scalia said in this regard: “I may be an originalist, but I am not a nut.”

What did you think of Trump's nomination process?

The appointment process had every element of a reality TV show or perhaps the crowning of Miss Universe. The announcement ... was televised in prime time with Mrs. Scalia in attendance — all great political theater.

Will the court get more partisan in the years to come?

With the specter of at least three vacancies in the next four years [Justices Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Anthony Kennedy, and Stephen Breyer are over the average retirement age for justices], the court will become increasingly partisan. A Trump nominee needs to muster 60 votes for confirmation. These would have to include the votes of Democratic senators, who now must be the guardians of our well-settled constitutional liberties. The confidence in the Supreme Court of a politically divided nation hangs very much in the balance. ♦

Interview conducted and condensed by Dan Grech '99

 **READ MORE:** A longer version of this Q&A is at paw.princeton.edu

NEW RELEASES



Exit West (Riverhead) by **Mohsin Hamid '93** is a timely allegory about the refugee crisis told through a migrant couple seeking asylum from a war-torn country. The book details the evolution of their relationship as they struggle to find food, shelter, and acceptance in the many communities where they seek refuge.



Marc Levinson '85's *An Extraordinary Time* (Basic Books) examines the economic system policymakers built after World War II and how it faltered in the 1970s, triggering a global economic collapse. Levinson shows how that collapse has led to the political polarization and sluggish growth we see today. ♦



“The pressure to change police may start from the outside, but effective change comes from within. We need to see police as part of the solution again.”

— Peter Moskos '94

In the long run, I think it's going to help everybody. Cops are doing the right thing most of the time, and often the video shows exactly the cop's story. And when it doesn't? Oh, well. I tell cops that whether they like the idea of being filmed or not, they have to embrace it. Body cams are inevitable. But there are still important issues of privacy, archiving, and public access that need to be resolved.

What is the future of law enforcement in America?

Trump's election certainly changes the police-are-the-problem narrative that was coming from the previous administration. The past two years have seen [a significant] increase in murder. That's a trend that needs to be stopped. It's too easy to tell cops what we don't want them to do. It's much harder to discuss the nitty-gritty of how we want police to interact with and confront violent criminals. The pressure to change police may start from the outside, but effective change comes from within. We need to see police as part of the solution again. That said, a lot of problems we see in America are related to illegal guns, poverty, mental-health care — it would be nice if we could address some of these before police have to get involved at all.

♦ Interview conducted and condensed by Andy Faught

Latino Alumni Conference Planned

Princeton's Latino conference will be held on campus March 30–April 1. “¡Adelante Tigres! Celebrating Latino Alumni at Princeton University” will feature panels, performances, and talks by President Eisgruber '83 and Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor '76. To register, go to alumni.princeton.edu/adelante. ♦

Q&A: PETER MOSKOS '94

THE COP CONDUNDRUM

Former police officer-turned-academic discusses shootings, body cams, and the future of policing

It wasn't a plan for the timid: From 1999 to 2001, Peter Moskos '94 was a night patrol officer in the Baltimore Police Department's gritty Eastern District. “There is something about danger and sweat that makes a beer after work particularly cold and refreshing,” he wrote in his 2009 book, *Cop in the Hood* (Princeton University Press). It was never Moskos' plan to remain a police officer, but rather to use his experiences in the classroom. Moskos, an associate professor in the department of law, police science, and criminal-justice administration at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, is now writing a book about the drop in crime in New York City in the 1990s, attributed in part to tougher prison sentences, a stronger national economy, and a drop in crack cocaine use.

In general, how do you characterize the relationship between law enforcement and the public today?

First of all, it's never been great. This is not new, the idea that people don't like cops. We as a society have to ask, what's the big picture here? But we haven't

gotten beyond individual incidents. Outrage can raise an issue, but it doesn't by itself lead to effective reform. And there will always be pushback from law enforcement if people are outraged at legitimate use of force.

Across the country's 17,000 police departments, there is no accepted definition for excessive use of force. How does that affect law enforcement?

Police have a working definition of use of force. And the differences between jurisdictions aren't that great. But what worries police so much isn't cops getting in trouble for doing their job wrong, it's getting in trouble when they're doing their job as trained. That's what terrifies them. A lot of cops I've spoken to say they're less likely to confront criminals because there's a great risk to their career and family if they have to shoot someone. Police are avoiding situations that might lead to force.

What role do smartphone videos play in the unfolding discussion?

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](http://paw.princeton.edu/class-notes)

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 1943

Christian A. Chapman '43

Chris died Nov. 27, 2016, after a long and courageous battle with dementia.

He left Princeton at the end of his sophomore year to enlist in the Free French forces and served as a Spitfire pilot under the Royal Air Force. This service involved action on D-Day, being shot down, and being held as a prisoner of war.

After the war, Chris returned to Princeton and earned his degree in economics. Chris' devotion to Princeton continued through the years — he served as chairman of the Advisory Council of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures and was a regular attendee at Reunions.

He enrolled in the Foreign Service and retired after a 30-year career. This included tours in Morocco, Beirut, and Tehran, where he interacted with the Shah. After these postings he returned to Washington, where he married Anita Ioas and raised three children.

Chris spent more than two decades working on the Vietnam War and its many complexities. In 1974 he managed to keep the American Embassy in Laos open despite the takeover of the government by the communist Pathet Lao.

Chris is survived by two daughters, Catherine and Jennifer '87, and son Hillary.

THE CLASS OF 1945



Lucian Fletcher Jr. '45

The class lost another of its effective leaders when Lucian died Aug. 7, 2016.

Lucian entered Princeton from Blair Academy, ahead of his brother, John '49. He joined Terrace Club and the Navy V-12 pre-med program, earning a degree in biology in 1944. He then earned a medical degree from Columbia in 1948, the year he married Constance Merrill.

Lucian enlisted in the Air Force during the Korean War and served in Iwo Jima, Guam, and Okinawa, ending with a stint in Japan. He then began a 60-year career as a partner of Schmidt-Fletcher Medical Associates, where he specialized in cardiology.

A licensed pilot, he was primarily interested

in flying and skiing during his long life. He was involved with many civic and charitable organizations, including Rotary International, the American Heart Association, and the Boy Scouts of America. He was a founding director of the Karen Ann Quinlan Hospice.

Constance passed away in 1989, and Lucian later married Dorothy Miller. She survives him, along with children Lucian III, Kristen, Constance, and Thomas; stepchildren Bryan Miller and Diane Kaspereck; nine grandchildren; a great-grandson; and his brother, John. As the class officers know, Lucian was always an enthusiastic volunteer. We will miss him and send our sympathy to the family.

THE CLASS OF 1946

John Jacob Seidel '46

John's career was in our country's Foreign Service, which gave him, wife Annette, and ultimately their three children what he called "delightful" experiences in Cairo, Karachi, Rawalpindi, Beirut, Tehran, and Paris. Following his retirement in 1985, they lived on a 17-acre farm at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia, 50 miles west of Washington, D.C. "Our neighbors, all of whom live in old stone homes," John wrote in our 50th Reunion yearbook, "have been kindly tolerant of our contemporary deck house in their midst."

Until his death May 3, 2015, John served on the board and executive committee of Oatlands Plantation, a nearby National Trust property. His survivors included his wife, sons John and Charlie, and daughter Annie. To all, the Class of 1946 sends gratitude for the life of this dedicated public servant.

THE CLASS OF 1947



Sidney Drell '47

Noted physicist and arms-control expert Sidney Drell died Dec. 21, 2016, in Palo Alto, Calif., at the age of 90.

Sidney was born in Atlantic City, N.J., where his father was a pharmacist and his mother was a schoolteacher. Both parents were Jewish immigrants from the Russian empire.

Sidney entered Princeton in 1943, and a ruptured appendix and peritonitis disqualified him from military service. He graduated from Princeton in 1946 and then attended the University of Illinois, where he earned a master's degree in physics and then a Ph.D. in 1949. He was on the faculty at both MIT and Stanford, settling permanently at Stanford in 1956. For many years he was a major contributor to the work at the Stanford Linear Accelerator, where his specialties were quantum electrodynamics and quantum chromodynamics. He was the recipient of the prestigious MacArthur Foundation "genius grant" for advances in particle physics and quantum theory.

In his own view, his most important work was "working to avoid the nightmare of nuclear holocaust," as a writer and adviser to military and intelligence leaders and an internationally prominent advocate of limits on nuclear weapons. He was co-director of the Stanford Center for International Security and Cooperation, which proposed solutions to worldwide problems through science, diplomacy, and economics. In 2006, Sidney teamed with former Secretary of State George P. Shultz '42 to start Stanford's program to free the world of nuclear weapons. They published several books together.

Sidney is survived by his wife of 64 years, Harriet Stainback Drell; son Daniel; daughters Persis and Joanna; and three grandchildren. The class proudly sends its memories of this outstanding scholar and world leader to his family.

THE CLASS OF 1948



William E. Bonini '48 '49

Bill was on the Princeton faculty from 1952 until transferring to emeritus status in 1996.

The holder of an endowed professorship of geophysics and geological engineering, he did distinguished work in magnetic and gravitational geophysics, spanning the departments of geophysics, geological engineering, and civil engineering. For many years he directed a summer field-research program in Montana, now also training graduate students from other universities. He advised more than 300 graduate students. One of these, who later became a faculty colleague, says, "Of course he was a well-known scientist, but I think about what a devoted and remarkable teacher he was." Another one of his student advisees, now a professor at another university, recalled: "Bill was so smart! We lived in fear of his questions [in graduate exams] ... absolutely penetrating and to the point, but we adored him as a person."

Born Aug. 23, 1926, in Washington, D.C., Bill died Dec. 13, 2016. He was the first in his family to complete college. His master's degree in 1949 was also from Princeton; his

Ph.D. in geology and geophysics was from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. There, he met Rose Rozich, and they married in 1954. She survives him, as do their sons Jack '79 and Jamie '85, daughters Nancy '81 and Jennifer '91, and seven grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1953



Thomas James Bain '53

Tom was born in Franklin, Sussex County, N. J., one of the most rural parts of the state, and returned there after graduation and a stint in the Army. At Princeton he majored in the Woodrow Wilson School, ran high hurdles on the track team, and was a member of Cap and Gown. He was drafted in 1953 and spent two years as a radio operator at Camp Gordon in Georgia and Fort Meade in Maryland. Tom then moved on to Harvard Law School, where he met Ann Elizabeth Gordon, a student at Radcliffe, whom he married in 1959 after her graduation.

Meanwhile, Tom had begun clerking with a law firm in Newton, N.J., in Sussex County, and joined the firm after his graduation from law school. He was made a partner in 1962 and continued with the firm until his retirement in 1999. Local activities included serving on the board of trustees of the hospital and as a municipal judge. Having grown up on the family farm, Tom enjoyed being a weekend farmer and took a great interest in raising Black Angus cattle. He died Dec. 5, 2016, and is survived by his wife, their three children, and their children's families.



Robert Dunbar Campbell Long '53

Bob died Oct. 30, 2016, in Hilton Head, S.C., where he had lived for 30 years, working on his golf game and helping out in various ways. Riding his bicycle around the community, he became aware of needs and responded. He helped out in churches, took people to work when their cars were in the shop, and fixed broken mailboxes.

Bob came to Princeton from Huntington, W.Va., and majored in music, writing his thesis on "The Songs of Schubert." He rowed 150-pound crew and was a member of Key and Seal.

Following graduation, Bob enlisted in the Army and was awarded a National Defense Service Medal. In 1962, Bob acquired a hobby shop in Charleston, W.Va., that grew into a store called Toy Magic; he always kept it open late on Christmas Eve to be available to frantic parents in their last-minute shopping. He also sponsored a youth football team and boxcar races. After two five-way bypass operations, however, Bob found a partially built house in Hilton Head, finished building it, and stayed on. He is survived by two sisters and 22 nieces and nephews.



Richard C. Minesinger '53

Dick died in his sleep Oct. 28, 2016, in Portsmouth, N.H. Dick was born in Ashland, Ohio, and came to Princeton from Ashland High School. He was a member of Elm Club, co-chairman of the 1952 *Bric-a-Brac*, and assistant advertising manager of *The Daily Princetonian*.

After two years with the Army Security Agency in Washington and Germany, Dick settled in Cleveland and began a 30-year career with Cleveland Twist Drill Co. After becoming president of the company, Dick retired and moved to academia to serve for 10 years as assistant dean and associate professor in the College of Engineering at the University of Massachusetts. Retiring for a second time, he started a new company that performed mergers and acquisitions, and he counseled inmates at the state prison on how to interview for jobs as they prepared to re-enter society.

Dick loved cars, travel, and golf, and found time to hike the Appalachian Trail and climb Mount Kilimanjaro. Jane, his wife of 56 years, predeceased him, but he is survived by their four children and their families.



William Alfred Parker '53

Bill died Nov. 30, 2016, in San Antonio, Texas. He was born in Tulsa, Okla., but the family moved to San Antonio and Bill grew up there.

At Princeton he majored in geology, but left college after his junior year. After leaving college, he served in the Army and then returned to San Antonio to be involved in the family oil business, Parker Oil & Gas, and Lewis Oil Co. Deeply involved in the life of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Bill was also active in the San Antonio German Club, the Order of the Alamo, the Everglades Club in Palm Beach, Fla., and other organizations. He is survived by Camilla, his wife of 56 years, and their children and grandchildren.



John Spencer '53

John was born in Boston and came to Princeton from Phillips Academy. He was president of Ivy Club, served on the staff of *The Tiger*, and wrote his thesis on Joseph Conrad.

After graduation, he spent two years in the Marine Corps as an infantry platoon leader in Korea and California, a year in law school, and then five years with the National Sugar Refining Co. in New York and New Orleans. Becoming interested in sub-Saharan Africa, John received a fellowship from the Institute for Current World Affairs that took him to East Africa for two years and then to the Ford Foundation as a program officer in its Middle East and Africa division.

Returning to academia in 1968, John earned a doctorate at Columbia and moved into the history department at Middlebury College, where he quickly became professor of African history, chairman of the history department, and dean of the college. He published many articles and two books, one titled *Kenya African Union*, which the *American Historical Review* noted will remain the standard account of early nationalistic politics in Kenya for some time.

John died Dec. 30, 2016, and is survived by Natalie; his wife of 46 years; two sons; a daughter; two stepchildren; and seven grandchildren.

CLASS OF 1954



Richard Bull '54

Dick died Nov. 15, 2016, after a fall that led to a brief illness in Santa Rosa, Calif.

Born in St. Louis, he graduated from the St. Louis Country Day School. At Princeton, he majored in English and was a member of Tiger Inn. A talented linguist, he spoke German, Russian, Polish, and French.

After graduation, Dick enlisted in the Army. He served in counterintelligence and was stationed in Berlin. He ultimately entered the Central Intelligence Agency, where he served for 31 years with postings in Vienna, Dahomey (Benin), Libya, Belgium, London, and Washington, D.C. In 1958, he married Katherine Stark, and she joined the CIA to become one of its early female field officers.

When the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, he wept for joy seeing countless East Germans reunited, a goal he and his wife had worked toward for 28 years.

Dick also spent two years as the liaison between the CIA and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, capping a career that had taken him across an era and several continents. He had a deep and abiding interest in people. An avid ski enthusiast and a lover of jazz, he also had an endless passion for golden retrievers.

The class is honored by his lifelong service to our country and extends its condolences to his wife, Katherine; son Winston; two grandchildren; and friends and family too numerous to mention.



William H. Hudnut III '54

Bill died Dec. 18, 2016, in hospice care in Maryland. Born in Columbus, Ohio, he graduated from Darrow School in New Lebanon, N.Y.

A member of Charter Club, he majored in history and was active in sports. He was a member of the Presbyterian Student Council and sang in Glee Club. Bill spent three years at Union Theological Seminary, graduating in

1957. He was ordained and spent three years in Annapolis, Md., where he was minister of the First Presbyterian Church and director of the Westminster Foundation. His ministry continued for the next 15 years in Buffalo and Indianapolis.

His political career began in 1972, when he was elected to Congress. To quote him, 51 percent of the people of Indianapolis voted for him to return. He ran for and was elected mayor, a position he held for 16 years. He was able to turn the city into a hub for conventions and sporting events, spearheading the construction of the Hoosier Dome football stadium in 1982, which was able to attract the Baltimore Colts to move to Indianapolis. History will judge him for his ability to bring the community together to tackle the revitalization of the city. His last year as mayor was 1991, and a statue of him was erected in downtown Indianapolis in 2014. He later moved to the Washington, D.C., area and became mayor of Chevy Chase, Md., from 2004 to 2006.

The class extends condolences to his wife, Beverly; sons William '84, Tim, and Christopher; and four grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1955



Archibald Alexander Jr. '55 Archie, born in New York City in 1933 to Archibald Stevens and Susanne Tilton Alexander, died Nov. 28, 2016, of cancer and muscular dystrophy in Bozeman, Mont.

Archie was a descendant of John Stevens, who received a land grant from Queen Anne in 1699 and was a member of the Stevens family of Hoboken, N.J., founders of the Stevens Institute of Technology. He came from St. Paul's School to Princeton, where he joined Ivy Club, wrote his thesis on Spenserian allegory, and lettered in freshman and varsity crew. He roomed at 523 1903 Hall with Charles Orr and James Follis.

After two years in the 82nd Airborne Division, Archie took up law, and from 1968 to 1974, he passionately advocated correctional reform to protect prisoners' rights. He taught at Rutgers Law School, where he created a seminar on providing civil legal services to state prison inmates.

In 1977, Archie moved to Bozeman, where he developed a great love for the outdoors. He taught business law and management at Montana State University and shared his love of the humanities and passion for critical thinking through the works of Foucault and Nietzsche. He received federal funding for a public school in Lame Deer, Mont., where today's curriculum includes Cheyenne language and culture.

Archie is survived by his wife, Nina; and children Benjamin, Jocelyn '87, and Christopher.



James W. Reid '55

Jim was born Oct. 12, 1933, in London, and died Dec. 4, 2016, of complications from leukemia at White Plains Hospital.

Jim was a key player in Gen. William Westmoreland's clandestine "Operation Vesuvius" in Cambodia from 1967 to 1968, and was decorated by Gen. Creighton Abrams with the Legion of Merit for his "outstanding meritorious services." During the years of left-wing terrorism in South America, Jim and his wife, Riet, served seven years as military attachés.

A Renaissance man with eclectic interests and fluent in seven languages, including Russian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Quechua, an ancient Incan language, he had a secondary career as a cruise-ship lecturer, delivering more than 1,000 presentations.

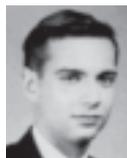
A foremost authority on Peruvian textiles, Jim specialized in pre-Spanish-conquest art, archaeology, history, religion, sociology, and political institutions. For his explorations of remote areas of Peru, Jim was an elected member of the Explorers Club.

As a resident of Hartsdale, N.Y., and an animal lover who served with his dog in Korea, Jim contributed generously to animal shelters in Westchester and South America.

Among his 16 major books was *Masterpieces of Ancient Peru*, which according to art historian Frederico Kauffmann Doig "finally lifted the veil that for so long has enveloped feather art."

Jim is survived by Riet, sons James and Pascal, four grandchildren, and sister Ginny Hansen.

THE CLASS OF 1958



Peter K. Rosengarten '58

Peter was raised in Bryn Mawr, Pa., and prepared for Princeton at St. Paul's School in Concord, N.H. At Princeton he majored in geology, was a member of Cottage Club, and was a coxswain on the freshman crew.

Soon after graduation, Peter married Christina "Tia" Muckle. Possessing a strong commitment to community service, he joined the Pennsylvania Economy League (PEL), where he worked for almost 30 years before his retirement. During his tenure at PEL, Peter earned a master's degree in government administration from Wharton in 1972 and served on the vestry at the Church of the Good Shepherd in Rosemont, Pa. He coached ice hockey and actively supported Native American rights.

Upon his retirement, Peter and Tia moved to Weston, Vt., where they raised alpacas and cashmere-producing goats for the next 20 years. Peter continued his local government service, serving on the board of listers (tax assessors) for 15 years (12 as board chair) and

later as a justice of the peace. He served on the board of the Weston Playhouse and was a member of the Weston Historical Society, through which he led the rejuvenation of the Old Mill Museum.

Peter died of metastatic cancer Dec. 1, 2016, at his Weston home. He is survived by Tia; their children, Christine, Peter Jr., and Mitchell; and four grandchildren. The class sends its enduring sympathy to the family.

THE CLASS OF 1962



Brian R. Bate '62

Brian died Aug. 28, 2016, in the Philippines after a prolonged illness.

Brian came to Princeton from Bay High School in Bay Village, Ohio. At Princeton he played freshman football, but quickly focused on music as an activity. He formed and led the Tiger Cats jazz band and dined at Key. Although he earned high grades as an English major, he withdrew after junior year. Brian graduated from Western Reserve University, now Case Western Reserve University, with a bachelor's degree in psychology. He then went on to earn his master's and Ph.D. degrees there.

He was a teacher at Cuyahoga Community College. As a professional musician, he perfected his trumpet playing and could play a trumpet and valve trombone simultaneously (see our 50th yearbook). Brian lived in the fast lane, enjoying life, perhaps excessively. He loved skiing, skydiving and did more than 20 jumps, had a private counseling practice, and donated more than 17 gallons of blood. His three marriages ended in divorces.

After conquering his demons, he moved to the Philippines in 2004, where he continued to pursue his musical interests. He preferred the musical scene in the Philippines more than in the States. He remembered Princeton professors and classmates in recent letters from afar.

He is survived by his two daughters, Jennifer and Julia. The class extends its condolences to them.



William K. Harris '62

Bill died Nov. 10, 2016, after a long battle with cancer.

Bill came to Princeton from The Hill School. He majored in architecture, was in the Army ROTC, and dined at Cloister Inn. His roommates were Bruce Partridge and Armand Fell. After graduation, he married Helen Tenney.

Bill served in Army Intelligence as a field commander in Bayreuth, West Germany. He extended his first tour for two additional years at the request of his superiors. He pursued additional studies in architecture and earned an MBA upon returning home.

Bill remained in the Army Reserve and became a Green Beret. He was recalled to active duty in 1979 and was involved in construction projects for the Army Corps of Engineers at the Pentagon. He retired as a lieutenant colonel in 1990 and later worked in the private sector as a consultant.

Sailing was Bill's primary passion, and he won several trophies in the Thistle class along the East Coast. These open-hulled boats are fast and tippy — just ask Al Barr.

Bill is survived by Helen, children Robert and Amy and their families, and his 102-year-old mother, Kathryn, whom he had recently visited. The class offers its condolences to them all.

THE CLASS OF 1964



Bradley H. Wells '64

Brad died Oct. 22, 2016, at his home in Carlsbad, Calif., after a courageous 15-year battle with cancer. He was born Dec. 14, 1942, in Toledo, Ohio, and grew up in Montclair, N.J.

He came to Princeton from St. Paul's School, played freshman hockey, majored in English, joined Cannon Club, and roomed in the Rockefeller Suite in his senior year.

After graduation he embarked on a career in advertising that would span more than 35 years, first in New York and then San Francisco. He founded his own firm, Cohn & Wells, eventually building it into one of the most successful direct-marketing agencies in the world.

Throughout his life, family and friends knew Brad as a true *bon vivant*. He loved golf, travel, a good party, great food, and really good wine. He was fiercely competitive in all aspects of his life, and he never passed up an opportunity to wager — whether it was a game of chance or sporting event. He most loved to “bet the ponies” and had a box at the Del Mar Thoroughbred Club until the day he died.

To his wife Stacy, daughters Amanda and Christine, and granddaughter Penelope, the class extends its deepest sympathy.

THE CLASS OF 1965



Dale Lasater '65

Dale died Oct. 14, 2016, in a horseback-riding accident at his ranch in Matheson, Colo., where he lived his entire adult life.

Dale graduated from Phillips Exeter Academy. At Princeton he took his meals at Ivy and worked on *The Daily Princetonian*. He majored in Latin American studies, culminating in a Fulbright scholarship to Buenos Aires and two years in the Peace Corps in Colombia.

Dale was a well-known Colorado cattle rancher and conservationist, carrying on

four generations of cattle breeding and ranch management at the Lasater Ranch, founded in 1948 by his parents, Tom and Mary. He received the Stuart P. Dodge lifetime award from the Palmer Land Trust in 2012 and the Slow Food Award for Biodiversity in Turin, Italy, in 2002. He was active in a broad range of conservation and livestock activities, speaking around the world on those subjects.

He is survived by his wife, Janine Vidal de Moragas; sons Alexander and Thomas; two grandchildren; brothers Laurence '63 and Lane '68; and sister Sally.

To his survivors and his extended family, we send our deepest condolences on the untimely loss of a man who clearly lived a full and productive life, giving back much to his community and on behalf of the environment.

THE CLASS OF 1966



Edward Durkee '66

Ed died Dec. 12, 2016, at his home in Austin, Texas.

Ed came to Princeton from North Tonawanda (N.Y.) High School, where he was president of the varsity club and student council and captain of the football team. At Princeton he majored in English and took his meals at Cap and Gown. He played freshman and varsity football, freshman lacrosse, and interclub sports.

After earning his MBA from Harvard in 1968, Ed served in the Army for two years. He then embarked on a business career that lasted more than 40 years, beginning with a stint as an associate at Morgan Stanley and concluding with service as senior investment committee adviser for Galapagos Partners in the Houston area.

Ed listed his nonprofessional interests as rugby, Princeton athletics, military history, and veterans' affairs. He belonged to the Princeton and Harvard clubs of Austin and the American Legion.

Unmarried at the time of his death, Ed is survived by sons Sam and Asa; daughter Cornelia; and sister Melissa '74. The class extends its heartfelt condolences to them.

THE CLASS OF 1971



John C. Hess '71

After a courageous 10-year battle with Lou Gehrig's disease (ALS), Jack died April 11, 2016.

Jack came to Princeton from Ridley Park, Pa., where he was an exceptional athlete. He starred in basketball and football, and was recruited by Big 10 schools. He roomed with Liddell and Swanson sophomore year in Holder. Jack started on the varsity football team for two seasons, majored in politics, and ate at Cottage. After Princeton, he graduated from Temple Law School.

Jack worked in financial planning in Florida

from 1989 to 2011, yet he always cited his 11 years of seasonal lifeguarding at Cape May, N.J., as his ideal job. Jack married Pat in 1976. His life centered around Pat and their children. He was a regular presence on campus. His many commentaries on sports, life, and the world were presented with conviction, yet a sense of humor.

With Pat's steadfast support, Jack took on ALS, raising awareness and funding for research. His death elicited an outpouring of tributes from classmates and teammates, remembering his personality and many talents. The class offers its deep sympathies to Pat; his children Jon, Jennifer, Paul '05, and Alison '08; his brother, Wally h'71; his grandchildren; and other family and friends.

THE CLASS OF 1974



Bruce Dicker '74

Bruce died March 20, 2016, in Tucson, Ariz. He was our beloved longtime Reunions chairman.

Born Aug. 5, 1952, in Detroit, Bruce grew up in Wooster, Ohio, before moving to Pottstown, Pa. After Princeton and the Harvard Graduate School of Design, Bruce practiced architecture at Keyes, Condon & Florance in Washington, D.C., and at JSA Architects in Portsmouth, N.H., where he was managing partner. A visionary designer, Bruce combined business expertise and exceptional personal qualities.

In the Princeton Chapel Fellowship and later at St. John's Episcopal Church in Portsmouth, where his memorial service was held May 7, 2016, many benefited from Bruce's kindness, encouragement, and deep faith. He helped many organizations, including the Strawberry Banke Museum, Berwick Academy, and the Birchtree Center, which is dedicated to youths with autism.

Bruce left a long record of service to the University, co-founding Tiger Camp during Reunions, and with the Princeton Club of New Hampshire. Our reunions rocked thanks to his capable, cheerful leadership. He knew how to deliver — with grace, humor, and unflappable calm.

He is survived by his children, Gabriel and Christian; former wife Tinka Pritchett; brother Art; sister Mary Sekaquaptewa Righter; and other family members. The class offers condolences to them all.

THE CLASS OF 1975

Daniel Bushner '75

Daniel died April 25, 2016, of lung cancer, at his home in Laguna Hills, Calif.

Daniel was born in Independence, Mo., and graduated from Phillips Exeter Academy before coming to Princeton. He served as class president during our sophomore year and majored in the Woodrow Wilson School. Daniel

went on to earn a master's degree at Oxford and then returned to the States and graduated *cum laude* from Georgetown Law Center. He practiced law with a Wall Street firm for three years before moving to London, where he became a distinguished lawyer who practiced for more than three decades.

After his career was established, Daniel and Malia Shipp were married in San Francisco. They had twins, Daniel and Bella, and a second son, Peter. After many happy years in London, most of the family moved to Laguna Hills so that the children could attend public schools in the States while Daniel wrapped up his legal career in London. Daniel's illness and sudden, unexpected death thwarted his plan to begin a new phase of his life in the States.

He is survived by Malia; Daniel, Bella, and Peter; and Daniel's mother. The class extends sympathy to them and we share their loss.



Sho-Ping Chin '75 *77

Sho-Ping Chin died June 13, 2015, surrounded by her family and loved ones, after a long battle with cancer. She was a respected and beloved architect.

After earning a bachelor's degree in architecture, Sho-Ping remained at Princeton to earn her master's degree in 1977. She and MIT graduate David Chi Keung Chan were married in Princeton in 1975. After Sho-Ping completed her degree, the couple moved for a year to Philadelphia, while David finished his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania and Sho-Ping worked for GBQC Architects. In 1978 they moved to Boston, where Sho-Ping made her significant mark in architecture, and where their daughter, Poole, joined the family.

Sho-Ping worked in various architectural firms in Boston and eventually became a principal in the architectural firm Payette, specializing in hospital designs. Her contributions to architecture were numerous and significant. In September 2015, the American Institute of Architects (AIA), of which Sho-Ping was a fellow, had a special tribute for her at its annual AIA Women's Leadership Summit, which Sho-Ping had co-founded a few years before.

Sho-Ping will also be remembered for her infectious humor, her sense of style, and her wonderful cooking. To David and Poole, and to Sho-Ping's many friends and colleagues, the class extends deep sympathy. We share their loss.

Pierre-Philippe President '75

Pierre died peacefully Oct. 22, 2016, with his wife of 43 years, Patricia Alford President, by his side.

Born in Chicago, Pierre had an exotic childhood as the son of a State Department Foreign Service officer whose assignments included Pakistan, Sudan, and Vietnam. He attended Sidwell Friends School in

Washington, D.C., where his lifelong love affair with Patricia began. They had a son, Justin, who predeceased his father.

Classmates may remember Pierre for his blistering guitar with Chicken Farm, a band that enlivened many a campus party during the early '70s. Bandmate Larry Gregory '72 recently said, "Pierre played guitar like he lived his life: a full-throttled assault, leaving no opportunity for excellence or fun unconquered." Others may recall his penchant for gadgets and inventions. All who knew Pierre probably recall his long strides — always on the verge of breaking into a run — a pace that his habit of tardiness made a necessity.

After graduating from Princeton as a physics major, Pierre embarked on a long and successful career with ExxonMobil. Music remained a captivating interest, and he loved to jam — particularly when Johnny Ward '75 convened Princeton friends for weekends of guitar obsession. Farewell to our classmate and friend.

GRADUATE ALUMNI

Robert L. Scott *45

Robert Scott, professor emeritus of physical chemistry at University of California, Los Angeles, died May 1, 2016. He was 94.

Scott graduated from Harvard in 1942, majoring in chemistry. In 1945, he earned a Ph.D. in chemistry from Princeton. After working at Princeton and Los Alamos on the Manhattan Project, in 1946 he did post-doctoral research at University of California, Berkeley.

In 1948, Scott was appointed an assistant professor at UCLA. He remained in the department of chemistry and biochemistry until he retired in 1993. At UCLA, he developed an experimental and theoretical research program in thermodynamics and statistical mechanics, establishing him as a leading expert in the physical chemistry of liquids, polymer, and nonelectrolyte solutions. He received the 1984 American Chemical Society's Hildebrand ("Liquids") Award. He also had received Guggenheim, NSF, and Fulbright awards.

For five years, Scott served as his department's chair. For nearly 20 years after his retirement, he remained active in the department — refereeing papers, attending seminars, and serving as a problem-solver about statistical mechanics and thermodynamics. His students remember him for his hospitality. Scott donated to Princeton's Graduate School Annual Giving campaign for 40 years.

He is survived by his wife, Libby, and four children.

Donald B. Easum *53

Donald Easum, a retired career ambassador, died April 16, 2016, of natural causes. He was 92.

During World War II, Easum served in the Pacific with the Army Air Force. In 1947, he received a bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin. Attending Princeton,

he earned a master's in public administration from the Woodrow Wilson School in 1950, then a Ph.D. in politics in 1953. That year he joined the Foreign Service.

He served in Nicaragua, Indonesia, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and was ambassador to Upper Volta from 1971 to 1974 and then to Nigeria from 1975 to 1979. In Nigeria, he was instrumental in changing acrimonious relations with the United States, and contributed to the country's first successful transition from military rule to a democratically elected government. He was proud of hosting Jimmy Carter on the first visit by a United States president to sub-Saharan Africa.

During the Nixon-Ford Administration, Easum was assistant secretary of state for African affairs. Earlier assignments were with United States Agency for International Development and the National Security Council. He retired in 1980, and became president of the Africa-America Institute from 1980 to 1988. This was followed by more than 20 years of lecturing, nonprofit board memberships, and work on human-rights causes.

Easum was predeceased in 1992 by his wife, Augusta. He is survived by four children and nine grandchildren.

Joseph J. Walter *63

Joseph Walter, retired Navy captain and former president of a Grumman Aerospace subsidiary, died of cancer March 8, 2016. He was 82.

Graduating from the Naval Academy in 1955, he became a fighter pilot and served on several aircraft carriers. In 1963, Walter earned a master's degree in aeronautical engineering from Princeton.

He was in charge of the Office of Government Plant Representative at McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis. After, he was responsible for the design, flight test, and fleet introduction of the F-14 Tomcat. He then became an assistant chief of staff at the Atlantic Fleet Command in Norfolk, Va.

His final tour was as commanding officer of the Naval Aviation Depot in Pensacola, Fla. His program to assist severely handicapped and mentally impaired persons through meaningful employment was highly honored. Walter retired in 1982 and received the Legion of Merit.

Walter then became president and chief operating officer of Grumman Aerospace's St. Augustine Corp. in Florida. His small division grew to 1,500 employees, repairing and modifying complex military and industrial aircraft. He also served on the boards of three Florida universities and one bank.

Walter is survived by Genie, his wife of 60 years; seven children; 13 grandchildren; and four great-grandchildren.

*This issue contains undergraduate memorials for William E. Bonini '48 *49, and Sho-Ping Chin '75 *77.*

Graduate memorials are prepared by the APGA.

Classifieds

For Rent

Europe

Rome: Bright, elegant apartment. Marvelous beamed ceilings. Antiques. Walk to Spanish Steps, Trevi Fountain. 609-683-3813, gam1@comcast.net

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. max@gwu.edu

Ile St-Louis: Elegant, spacious, top floor, skylighted apartment, gorgeous views overlooking the Seine, 2 bedrooms sleep 4, 2 baths, elevator, well-appointed, full kitchen, WiFi. 678-232-8444. triff@mindspring.com

Italy/Todi: Luxurious 8BR, 7.5BA villa, amazing views, infinity pool, olives, lavender, grapes, vegetable garden, housekeeper, A/C, Wi-Fi. Photos/prices/availability: VRBO.com, #398660. Discount — Princetonians. 914-320-2865. MarilynGasparini@aol.com, p'11.

Paris, Tuileries Gardens: Beautifully-appointed, 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.

Aix-en-Provence: Cours Mirabeau, heart of town. Beautifully appointed, 2 bedroom apartment, peaceful, steps to shops & restaurants, garage, wifi. Perfect for exploring Provence. \$1450/week. greatfrenchrentals@comcast.net

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bedroom apartment, 6th floor, elevator, metro Mirabeau. Perfect for long stays. trips@frenchtraveler.com

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England, Cotswolds: 3BR stone cottage, quiet country village near Broadway and Stratford-upon-Avon. Information: www.pottersfarmcottage.com, availability: pottersfarmcottage@msn.com

Dordogne, Family Compound sleeps 18. Charming location, breathtaking views, large heated pool. Recently renovated, updated kitchen/baths. Available weekly June–September. www.simply-perigord.com/rou320, call Karen +33553545431. '77.

Rome, Italy: Breathtakingly beautiful art-filled apartment on via Gregoriana near Spanish steps. 2 bedrooms in a 17th century palazzo. Mariaceliswirth@yahoo.com, 212-360-6321.

London: June 17–July 15. 2-week minimum. US \$1,300/wk. Sunny duplex, 3rd/4th floor, elevator, 3BR, 2BA, quiet, near tubes and Kensington Gardens, Wi-Fi. aleviii@yahoo.com

Riviera. France/Italy border. Romantic 3BR garden flat with uninterrupted, breathtaking Mediterranean views. Menton 5 minutes. www.ilvalico.eu

Lucca, Italy: Converted stone farmhouse, 2BR, 2BA, heated, peaceful gardens, small pool, easy walk to village cafe. For sale/long-term rental. luccalike1@verizon.net, '60.

Caribbean

Bahamas, Eleuthera. Beachfront villa, 4BR, 5BA, swim, snorkel, fish. www.heronhill.net

United States Northeast

Waitsfield, VT: 6BR, 3BA, fireplace, sleeps 2-18, brand new Simmons Beautyrests. MadRiver swimming. 3 day minimum. snohouse@hotmail.com, 978-922-0010, w'51.

Wellfleet: 4 bedroom beachfront cottage with spectacular views overlooking Cape Cod National Seashore. 609-921-0809 or warrenst@aol.com

Stone Harbor, NJ: On beach, upscale. 570-287-7191. E-mail: radams150@aol.com

Nantucket Shimmo: 5 bedrooms, 3 baths. Harbor view. www.wenedavacation.com/Nantucket/Shimmo-Vacation-Rental-12324 for pictures, rates, availability. TedBent@earthlink.net, '66.

Maine: Acadia National Park; Bar Harbor/Ellsworth area. Lakefront cottage, kayaks, canoe, rowboat. \$750/wk. 207-671-2726. Sandraquine@yahoo.com, www.freewebs.com/Quinecottage

Cape Cod — Wellfleet: Modern, 2,700+ sq. ft., architect-designed home in prime Lieutenant Island location. Views and privacy. 2 master suites, 2½ baths on 2 levels; 3rd floor loft; central air; sleeps 8 comfortably. Walk to private bay beach; short drive to ocean beaches, ponds. Paul Berman '88, pberman@law.gwu.edu

Nantucket Oceanfront: Charming, antique-filled cottage on five acre oceanfront estate. Sleeps six comfortably. \$4,600–\$7,400 weekly, May–October. phoey63@comcast.net for details/pictures. '63.

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Jackson, Wyoming: New, contemporary 2.5 bedroom home walking distance from Town Square and trailheads available for summer 2017. Photos/details at homeinjh.com, contact: homeinjh@gmail.com, 307-690-5374, k'93.

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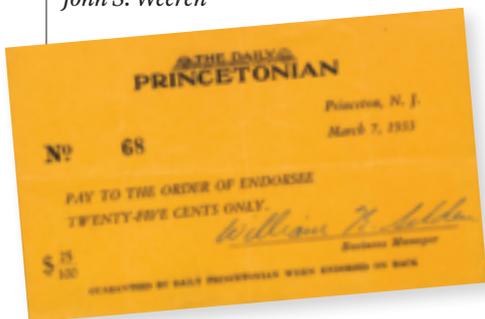
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Prince business manager William K. Selden '34, seated, issues *Daily Princetonian* scrip (below) to students during the bank holiday of March 1933.

A Bank Holiday, Taken in Stride

John S. Weeren



By 1933, the Great Depression had eroded public confidence in America's banks. Thousands had failed, and that winter, all 48 states declared "bank holidays" to curb the runs that threatened their financial institutions. On March 6, President Franklin D. Roosevelt took similar action on a national level — what he would call "the first step in the Government's reconstruction of our financial and economic fabric."

New Jersey had closed its banks March 4 in a measure that *The Daily Princetonian* soothingly described as "purely preventative, rather than remedial." With respect to Princeton, the editors continued, "it is sheer folly to fear for the safety of one's account in any of the financial institutions here. ... It must be remembered that Princeton is essentially a residential, rather than an industrial or an agricultural community, and is therefore under a far less serious strain than most American cities and towns."

Be that as it may, students were confronted with the awkward fact that in a pre-plastic era, their accounts were inaccessible and would remain so until March 15, when Princeton's banks

reopened. Into this breach stepped the *Prince*, which, in return for checks, issued scrip certificates "acceptable in trade with numerous local houses of business." In addition to the Princeton University Store, participating establishments ranged from eateries such as Renwick's to drugstores such as Thorne's; from Jack Honore's Barber Shop to Harry Ballot's clothing store; and for those craving finer things, from LaVake's jewelry store to Viedt's Chocolate Shop.

Blessed by the University's administration and welcomed by New Jersey Gov. A. Harry Moore, the scrip was limited to \$5 per student, giving each a purchasing power of more than \$90 in today's money. The scrip proved so popular that in one day, 2,000 certificates in 25-cent denominations were distributed, exhausting the \$500 committed to the venture. Redemption commenced the day that Princeton's banks reopened and as the nation's panic eased — a success by any measure. ♦

John S. Weeren is founding director of Princeton Writes and a former assistant University archivist.

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