

FALL ISSUE I 2022
EVERYTHING YOU'VE MISSED



PRINCETON'S LEFT
POLITICAL PUBLICATION

THE PROG

THE PROG

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POLITICAL PUBLICATION*

A NOTE FROM THE EDITORS

DEAR READERS,

We are so excited to be publishing the first print issue of the Prog since the pandemic halted our print publications in Spring 2020. During this time, we had transitioned to publishing exclusively online (theprincetonprogressive.com), with a small hiatus due to a transition of leadership. We are happy to announce that the Prog plans to publish at least two publications per semester and will hold meetings twice a month. In addition, we have expanded ways to stay involved with the publication through several new positions. The responsibilities of these roles and how to submit a short application are detailed on the following page. This semester, we will also be encouraging our writers to engage in investigative reporting while providing resources to help people begin with no experience necessary. We will be providing research advising as well as providing tutorials for submitting FOIA requests and providing funding associated with requests.

To stay updated on upcoming meetings and events, follow our instagram page, [@theprincetonprogressive](https://www.instagram.com/theprincetonprogressive) and join our page and listserv through searching “Princeton Progressive” on my.princeton.edu or by scanning the QR code.

This edition would not have been possible without the help of our friend Ollantay Avila (RISD '24), who redesigned our logo and overall presentation. They will be staying this semester to assist in design and layout until we find a design editor at Princeton!

All the best,
Maryam and Mary Alice



my.princeton.edu

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UPCOMING EVENTS

DINNER WITH CO-FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT OF THE PRINCETON PROGRESSIVES, JASON GOLD '81
 Sept 10th at 5:30 PM
 Terrace F. Club

CONVERSATION WITH JIMMY TARLAU '70
 Sept 27th, Time TBA
 Terrace F. Club

CONVERSATION WITH SALLY FRANK '80
 Nov. 3rd, Time TBA
 Terrace F. Club

DINNER WITH SANDY HARRISON '74, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE PRINCETON PROGRESSIVES
 Nov. 13 & 20, Time TBA
 Terrace F. Club

AVAILABLE POSITIONS

CAMPUS GROUP CORRESPONDENT*

- Each correspondent is responsible for reporting on a progressive campus organization of their choice and soliciting descriptions of their work on campus
- Publish two bulletins per semester on activities of chosen group
- Submit pictures and draft instagram content for the events of the chosen campus group that they attend

SECRETARY

- Take notes during meeting and upload into the Prog Google drive
- Update central spreadsheet for article commitments
- Assign articles to editors and send reminders near article and editing deadlines

SOCIAL MEDIA MANAGER

- Create Instagram posts at least once every two weeks
- Create posts to advertise events and meetings
- Attract new followers and maintain social media engagement of existing followers

STAFF WRITER*

- Publish at least two articles per semester on topics of choice
- Complete edits and changes from editor by assigned deadline

EDITOR*

- Make edits and constructive suggestions on assigned article(s) from staff writer(s), following the Prog style guideline
- Offer assistance to staff writer during the writing process
- Proofread staff writers' articles before publication

DESIGN + WEBSITE MANAGER*

- Design covers and complete layout for each publication, following Prog style guidelines
- Work with social media manager to design and post Instagram posts
- Post articles and corresponding image to website
- Optional: Create promotional materials (Posters, Stickers, etc.)

*Multiple positions are available for this role

TO APPLY FOR A POSITION, email the editors-in-chief, Maryam Ibrahim (maryami@princeton.edu) and Mary Alice Jouve (mjouve@princeton.edu) and briefly answer the following questions:

Name, Class Year, Major

- Why are you interested in this position?
- Why are you a good fit for this role? (ex. Related experiences or relevant skills)
- Do you have any previous experience in publication? (no experience is necessary)
- What are your other commitments on campus?

FRONT, INSIDE, AND BACK IMAGES (IN ORDER FROM LEFT TO RIGHT) BY

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THE FIGHT FOR A MORE INCLUSIVE CAMPUS: An Interview with Activist and Lawyer Sally Frank '80 (Part I)

Mary Alice Jouve

AT THE END OF MAY, Princeton had its first Reunions since Covid-19 struck in spring 2020, bringing together multiple generations of Princeton alumni. In town for her 42nd reunion, Sally Frank '80 and I sat down in Jamin' Crêpes to discuss her experiences as a student activist both at Princeton and later in her career.

This article is the first part of a two-part series covering our conversation. Part one follows Frank's time at Princeton and the beginning of her anti-discrimination case against Ivy Club, Cottage Club, and Tiger Inn. Cottage prohibited women from joining until the late 1980s while Ivy and Tiger Inn held out until the early 1990s. The second part will cover her legal battle against the clubs after she graduated. Stay tuned for more stories from Frank's life and from Princeton's history stemming from our conversation.

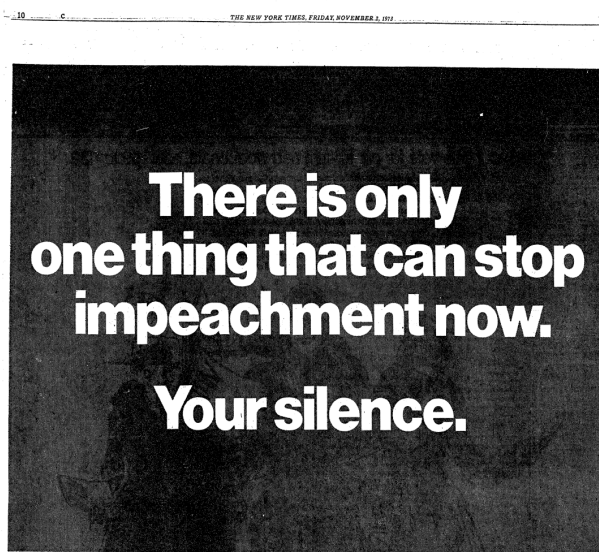
Frank has served as a legal observer in protests since the 1980s. A legal observer is someone who monitors protests to document instances of police misconduct against protesters to promote accountability. Speaking from these experiences, she shared her insights into policing in America, the legal tools used against protestors, and the role of lawyers in supporting activists. The third part stems from our discussion of important moments in the history of the eating clubs, most notably the Dirty Bicker scandal of 1958, in which Jewish students faced discrimination during bicker. As a result of conducting research for her legal case, Frank has a deep historical knowledge of the eating club system, campus culture, and Princeton's administration, providing valuable context about Princeton student life in the second half of the 20th century.

SALLY FRANK: ORIGINS

Growing up in a middle-class Jewish family in Bayonne, NY, an industrial suburb of New York City, Frank found her interest in activism and law as a result of the seismic political and legal events happening in her childhood and teenage years. "My first protest was when I was either nine or ten for Soviet Jews, and my parents took me," she told me. In the late 1960s and 1970s, Jews across America called for Soviet Jews to have the right to emigrate from the USSR in response to the country's discriminatory policies against them.

Frank's political awareness grew when she began to follow the Chicago Seven Trial in 1969. "In 5th grade, I had a teacher who had an assignment to watch the news every night," she related. "Every night I heard on the news the travesty of what was going on in that trial. Binding and gagging a black man in a courtroom because he kept speaking out

was not in 5th grade civics." Inspired by William Kunstler, one of the main lawyers representing the Chicago Seven, Frank decided she wanted to be a lawyer.



Clipping from *The New York Times*

Frank described her connection with the ACLU as a result of the political tumult of the early 1970s. In 1973, Nixon attempted to fire the special prosecutor investigating him in the Watergate case, prompting his attorney general and other top legal officials to resign in protest. In response to Nixon's attempt to circumvent the law, the ACLU took out a full page advertisement in the *New York Times*, calling for Nixon to be impeached, which a young Frank saw. "I asked my parents for membership in the ACLU for my Hanukkah present," she concluded.

CULTURE OF SEXISM

Frank arrived at Princeton in fall of 1976, already with the goal of being politically active and drawn to the School of Public and International Affairs. While Frank knew a few people at Princeton from her high school and from the Jersey Federation of Temple Youth, Princeton presented itself as a challenging new environment for her, as it does for many students today. "I felt academically overwhelmed and socially a bit overwhelmed, especially my first semester." Coming from a large public high school, Frank felt disconnected from the prep school culture of Princeton at the time, recalling one incident with her freshman year roommate. "The roommate I was assigned to called me when we got our room assignments. She told me that she was going to try to switch rooms because she wanted to be where all the other preps were."

Of course, Princeton was also undergoing a massive shift in the makeup of its student body because it had recently become co-educational

in 1969. Instead of introducing women in an even ratio with men in that year, the school chose to increase the number of women undergraduates gradually. This meant that men outnumbered women at a three to one ratio while Frank attended Princeton. The negative aspects of Princeton's boys' club culture were still present, especially in the three all-male clubs, Ivy Club, Cottage Club, and Tiger Inn.

"I felt like the club radiated sexism onto the campus, especially the whole concept of imports." Frank went on to tell me of the eating clubs' strategy of busing women in from schools in the area for their parties. "That was both kind of a disgusting thought and a worry for some feminists on campus. What if the women come here, and they don't find a man they want to spend the weekend with? Where do they stay? What happens to them? Is there anything we can do to be of assistance to a woman who came?" While the all-male clubs would not allow women to be members, they encouraged them to come to their parties.

Frank wondered about the long-term impact of America's future leaders normalizing such discriminatory practices during a formative time in their lives. "What's going to happen in 20 or 30 years when you're employing people?" she mused. "Not that they would actively be anti-woman, but when it comes down to the final three candidates and who they are most comfortable with, it's not going to be the woman. I didn't have the word for it then, which I have now—unconscious bias."

Frank was not afraid to confront members of the all-male eating clubs to engage in dialogue about changing their exclusionary policies. In fact, this was how her fight began in fall 1977, when, as a sophomore, Frank went to a party at Cottage for students planning to bicker there that spring. Even though she knew she'd be the only woman at the party, she hoped to discuss her problems with their admission policies with the members. The experience did not go well:

"I'm sitting talking with someone and suddenly beer is poured over my head. Then, about 20 to 30 guys start chanting, 'Let's throw Sally into the fountain!' I waited until it was quiet because I didn't want them to see I was intimidated and totally freaked out. I called some other activist friends, and they walked me back to my dorm room. I locked the door, which I had not normally done. Maybe an hour later, there was somebody going through the hall, and then I heard someone say 'The door is locked.' I obviously know what I think, but I don't know who it was. I didn't look, so I can't be sure. I called [my friends] and spent the night in a different person's room."

The school did take disciplinary action

against the officers of Cottage and the Cottage members who poured beer on her. However, the root of the problem, Princeton's culture of sexism, remained and was actively being upheld by the all-male eating clubs.

That spring in 1978, Frank, along with a couple of other female students, proceeded to sign up to bicker at the all-male clubs. Frank simply wrote her name down as "S.B. Frank" and checked "male" on the sign-up form. "That got people upset," Frank said. "They didn't want to talk to me, and of course I was dropped the first day."

THE LAWSUIT BEGINS

Frank didn't realize she could bring her issue to court until her internship with the ACLU office in Newark in the summer after her sophomore year. "At one point I was complaining about how terrible eating clubs were, and the executive director said, 'Well, why don't you sue?'" Frank assumed that because the clubs were private entities separate from the university, they had the right to be selective about their membership. However, he was able to convince her that she could convincingly argue that the clubs were public accommodations, subject the Civil Rights Act's prohibition of discrimination in public accommodations.

Frank bickered again her junior semester to build her case. "I still did S.B. Frank, but I didn't give a gender. It made a better foundation for filing a lawsuit than me lying and saying I was male." Unsurprisingly, the all-male clubs were still largely unwelcoming. "Cottage said I couldn't come, and if I came, I would be physically removed. Tiger Inn said don't come. Ivy said that I could come, but I'd only be talked to if there were no men waiting to talk to somebody, and I had very good discussions with Ivy members."



Sally Frank at Princeton

Frank filed a complaint with the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights, the body responsible for upholding civil rights laws in New Jersey, in February of 1979. Her council was Nadine Talb, a lawyer working at Rutgers Women's Rights Litigation Clinic. Legal clinics are programs part of law schools that allow students experience with public interest cases under the direction of a clinical professor. Frank accused the eating clubs of discrimination on the basis of her gender and accused the university of abetting them because of the special relationship the university had with them. This relationship included programs like meal exchange and intramural sports. The university denied that this rela-

tionship existed, and the eating clubs likewise pushed back, claiming that they were private clubs not subject to laws applying to public accommodations.

However, Frank had to jump through a few legal hoops before the Division would even consider her complaint:

"At the time, the anti-discrimination agency had a humongous backload. What they decided to do to eliminate the backload is to dismiss complaints without investigating, so they dismissed the complaint fairly quickly." The ACLU recognized that the Division hadn't fully considered the case, so they advocated for the Division to hear it again. In January 1980, the second semester of Frank's senior year, the Division finally relented. While the case stalled as the Division spent two years investigating, Frank's experience as a Princeton student was quickly altered by her lawsuit.

THE CAMPUS REACTION

Initially, Frank believed her case wouldn't get much attention, "I thought that the only people who would care would be the Prince and PAW [Princeton Alumni Weekly]." Frank knew that the Daily Princetonian would report on the story because many Prince reporters were in the same co-op with her in Brown Hall. However, the co-op members had an off-the-record agreement about everything they discussed at the dinner table together. Tensions had run high in the co-op during Frank's sophomore year when a Prince reporter leaked information about a sit-in at Nassau Hall to compel the university to divest from apartheid South Africa a week before it was set to occur.

The Prince broke the story only after Frank officially filed the complaint with future Supreme Court Justice Elena Kagan writing the article. The paper would continue to follow the story closely throughout Frank's time at Princeton and afterward. "I'd be the filler piece in the Prince," Frank joked, "I'd see an article that says, 'Still no news in the Frank case.'"

National news outlets also became interested in her story. "The next day [after the Prince broke the news]," Frank explained, "my phone was ringing off the hook from reporters all over the country. There was worldwide interest in the story, and I was shocked. I didn't think that anybody outside Princeton would care. There were nights where I had to put my phone in a drawer so I wouldn't hear it ringing."

Frank also continued to receive the ire of the members of the all-male eating clubs who resented that she was trying to change their exclusivity. "One time when I was standing in front of an eating club for a newspaper photo, a student walked past the photographer and told me he hopes his camera doesn't break. It was sort of a day-to-day harassment kind of thing."

At the same time, throughout the duration of her legal fight while she was a Princeton student, Frank received support from her fellow activists on campus. Frank was involved in Princeton's anti-apartheid movement, helping to organize the sit-in on Nassau Hall her sophomore year. Frank was also involved in the Women's Center, newly created in 1971, and was part of the organization's push to increase their funding.

At the same time, Frank felt that her legal work was different from her activism, which was part of her rationale of why she felt she should carry out her work alone. "Part of why I did it by myself was that I didn't want to take away from any of the other campus activism. It was something that could be done by one person, whereas a sit-in isn't going to be very impactful with one person."

Frank also went onto explain:

"I thought the activist metaphorically, not actually, would rather burn down the clubs rather than actually join, and you had to be willing to join if you're going to bring the suit, I felt. The people who would generally have wanted to join the club wouldn't challenge them. I think that's part of why it took seven, eight years before anybody did, and I consciously decided I was interested and willing to join the club if somehow I won. So the activists definitely supported me in terms of advocating that I shouldn't be harassed and remaining friends, but I think it took more years for them to get why it was an important issue."

However, those who were against Frank's lawsuit did not draw the same distinctions between Frank's activism and her legal work. Frank explained how the "day-to-day harassment" from the all-male club members continued during her involvement in social movements on campus.

"I think the one I got angriest at was in an African American Studies class. We were passing around a petition on divestment [from South Africa], and one of the club members wrote, 'asshole' with an arrow going to my name." Frank was angry that the other student was mixing issues.

Incidents such as these made Frank want to demonstrate that she was more than the negative caricature created of her. Her senior year, she made an effort to show that her fight with the clubs was not malicious. She called the presidents of the eating clubs to inform them of developments in the case before they would hit the Daily Princetonian so they wouldn't be blindsided. She also went through the bicker process again.

"My senior year, I bickered Tower and Cap and Gown. The first night I could just tell they were all extraordinarily nervous. I worked in food service with somebody in one of the clubs, and I asked if they could let them know that I had no intent of suing. I was coming because people always say that bicker is a way to get to know other people, and I wanted to diminish the caricature of me. The next night was so much more relaxed. I knew they weren't going to give me an offer. But it was like, okay, she's not preparing a lawsuit, so it was just sort of a way to let people get to know me beyond my caricature."

Frank even made friends in unlikely places like with Ivy Club president, William Ford. Ford is the great-grandson of Ford Motors founder, Henry Ford, and is currently the executive chairman of the company. He was responsible for Ivy permitting Frank to bicker at the club. The two also found themselves on opposite ends of campus politics because Ford Motors had operations in South Africa while Frank was involved in Princeton's own anti-apartheid divestment movement. Nevertheless, the two remained friendly, doing a meal exchange together. Frank explained why maintaining this connection was important to her:

"While on the feminist side, the personal is political, there's also a difference between interpersonal relationships and political relationships. He helped me separate the two and not generalize that all members of the all-male clubs were evil or something to that effect because I was being harassed a lot. I don't know if I could have gone to Ivy or not, but I know having somebody being friendly towards me through a political disagreement helped to reinforce that part of me that tries to keep the two spheres separated."

StaytunedforthenextarticlecoveringFrank's post-graduation involvement in her legal battle and her lifelong commitment to protecting the rights of protestors as a legal observer. ○

THE FIGHT FOR A MORE INCLUSIVE CAMPUS: An Interview with Activist and Lawyer Sally Frank '80 (Part II)

Mary Alice Jouve

AT THE END OF MAY, Princeton had its first Reunions since COVID caused the event to be canceled, bringing together multiple generations of Princeton alumni for the first time in more than two years. In town for her 42nd reunion, Sally Frank sat down with me in Jammin Crêpes to discuss her experiences as a student activist both at Princeton and later on in her career.

Previously, I explored Frank's experiences as a Princeton student forging ahead with her legal case against the all-male clubs and the university. I encourage you to read the prior article to understand the narrative. Now, we will pick up with the developments in Frank's case that occurred after her graduation.

POST-GRADUATION: THE CASE DRAGS ON

After graduating from Princeton in 1980, Frank explained that the case affected her life differently: "[While I was a student], I was living with it continuously when there wasn't anything actively going on. Once I left, it was only when action was required that it would become big or when I came back to Princeton." Additionally, Frank's own involvement in the case was changing. In fall 1980, she entered the New York University School of Law and would graduate in spring 1983, allowing her to become co-counsel on the case.

Unfortunately, in January 1982, the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights dismissed Frank's case again. Previously, they had dismissed the case to free up a backlog, and even though they promised to investigate the case again upon the ACLU's insistence, on the second go around, it was clear they weren't taking Frank's claims seriously. "[The Division] spent about 8 hours investigating over two years and dismissed [the case] without even findings of fact," Frank supplied. The NJDCR agreed with the Ivy, Cottage, and Tiger Inn's assertion that they were not public accommodations but private clubs. This meant that the NJDCR had no jurisdiction over them, and the all-male clubs were allowed to exclude women from their membership.

Undeterred, Frank appealed this dismissal to the New Jersey Superior Court. Frank argued that she did not receive a fair trial from the NJDCR because they had only allowed her to submit evidence for the investigation without the ability to have a hearing, so she could cross-examine university and eating club officials. In fact, the NJDCR reversed the case because it had been dismissed with no findings of fact. Frank explained, "I missed that when I appealed the appellate division, but that was the grounds they reversed on. If they didn't make any findings of facts before they dismissed it, then it has to be arbitrary, right? You dismiss something

because the facts don't make a case, but they didn't have facts."

Therefore, in 1983, the NJDCR tried her case with hearings. First, they would rule on whether the eating clubs themselves were public accommodations subject to anti-discrimination laws. After two years of fact-finding, the NJDCR ruled affirmatively that the clubs were public accommodations. Services the school provided for the clubs such as snow removal, as well as programs like Meal Exchange or intramural sports, were indicative of a significant connection between the school and the clubs. The NJDCR hoped that Frank and the clubs would be able to come to a settlement out of court, but otherwise, there would have to be another hearing on whether the clubs had actually discriminated on the basis of gender.

Cottage Club voluntarily went coed after the NJDCR ruling on public accommodations, opening up spring bicker of 1986 to women and settling the lawsuit with Frank. The Cottage Alumni Board made an effort to end its legal battle with her on a positive note: "When Cot-

However, Ivy and Tiger Inn weren't going to settle. Instead of waiting for Administrative Law Judge (ALJ) Robert Miller to rule on whether discrimination occurred, Ivy and Tiger Inn filed a countersuit in the U.S. District Court in Trenton, challenging their designation as a public accommodation. The case was put on hold but would be weaponized by Ivy and Tiger again in the coming years. The ALJ, however, would not prove to be hostile to the all-male clubs. In 1986, the ALJ at the District Court ruled that instead of being required to extend membership to women, the clubs could simply sever ties with the university (i.e., end programs like Meal Exchange) and thereby put an end to all accusations of being public accommodations. This ruling was non-binding and was delivered as a suggestion to the Division.

As it was no longer named in the lawsuit, the university helped Frank oppose this ruling. Frank remembered Princeton's president at the time, William Bowen, as being a key player in the University's decision to publicly stand in support of Frank after the ALJ's rul-



"Ivy Club from Prospect Avenue" by Smallbones on Wikimedia Commons

tage's Alumni board felt it should settle, three members of the board came down to Washington, took me out for dinner and let me talk to them about all the harassment and everything, which was helpful towards healing." Frank settled with the University soon after, and the institution agreed to pay her attorney's fees.

ing. "Bowen got the university board to object to what the ALJ had done," Frank explained. "Bowen wrote an appendix to the brief himself. He said that you can't sever the relationship between [the] university and the clubs." Shortly after Frank's graduation, Bowen had made a point of reaching out to Frank and

staying on good terms with her. Bowen nominated her in 1990 for the Alumni Council Award for Service to Princeton as the court case dragged on.

With Princeton's administration coming around to the idea that the all-male eating clubs should change their policies, the Division rejected the ALJ's non-binding ruling, asserting that discrimination on the basis of sex had occurred in the clubs and that Tiger Inn and Ivy must go coed. In 1987, the clubs responded by appealing this decision to the New Jersey Superior Court. Meanwhile, Tiger Inn moved to cut ties with Princeton, ending its involvement in the Meal Exchange program and intramural sports.

In 1988, the case had another twist when the appellate court stayed the NJDCR's order for the clubs to go coed, sending the case back down to the administrative law court. The court ruled that because the Division did not conduct an official trial of the case back in the early 80s, only an informal investigation, they had not given the eating clubs a fair trial. Significantly, however, the appellate court did not overturn the 1987 ruling that discrimination had occurred at the clubs. Therefore, it was likely that the Tiger Inn and Ivy would still be forced to go coed after another round of court cases. However, in their comments to the Daily Princetonian after the decision, the eating clubs' lawyers chose to frame the case around whether their constitutional freedom of association was violated by being designated a public accommodation, rather than the more pressing issue of discrimination. At the same time, Ivy and Tiger Inn would make no promises concerning when they would allow women into their clubs.

At this point, university administrators were solidly pushing for the clubs to go coed voluntarily, seeing this latest decision as an unnecessary delay of the inevitable. University Vice President Thomas Wright commented in the Daily Princetonian in October 1988: "I'm not saying anybody should forfeit their constitutional rights. I'm saying that I hope members of these clubs will conclude voluntarily that they will change their policies."

IVY AND TIGER INN RELENT

Always persistent, Frank appealed the decision of the appellate court to the New Jersey Supreme Court in January 1990. In July 1990, Frank was delighted to learn that the NJ Supreme Court ruled in her favor, forcing Ivy and Tiger Inn to go coed. Women were first able to bicker at Ivy in fall of 1990.



Sally Frank returns to campus in the early 90s to take part in student protests

Tiger Inn, however, had not yet given up the fight. They petitioned for a writ of certiorari asking the US Supreme Court to hear the case. As Frank recounted, "On the day the US invaded Iraq in January '91, the Supreme Court denied cert. So a nice little celebration

Women in Law course at Drake University. Having earned her master's in Clinical Legal Education at Antioch University, Frank is a clinical legal professor herself, working primarily on family law cases. Frank reflected on the connection between her case and her later

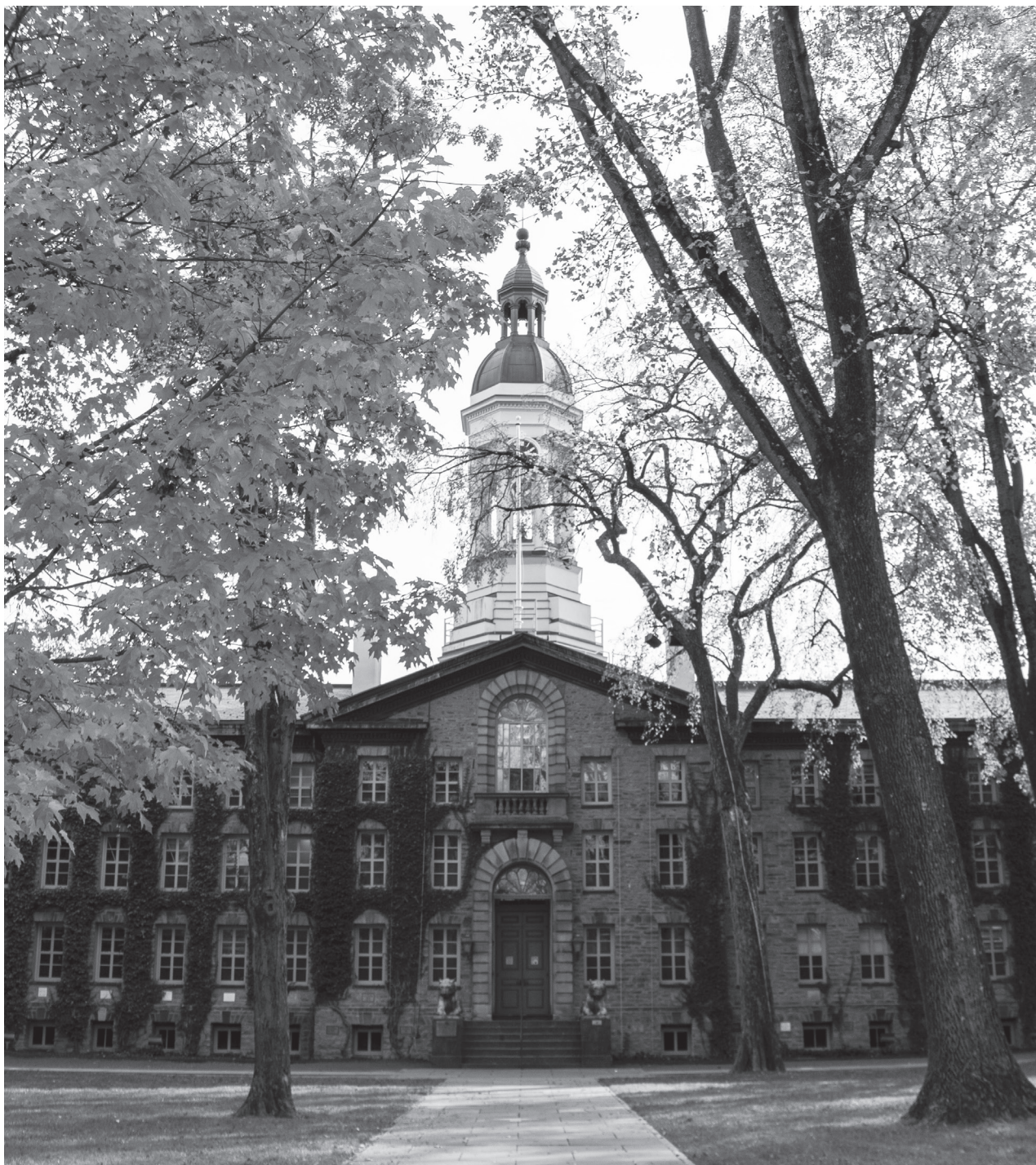


Photo by Roxana Crusemire on Unsplash

there, but I couldn't really celebrate because I was busy protesting that the US invaded Iraq." Tiger Inn changed its policy soon after the Supreme Court's decision with women bickering in Spring 1991.

Despite Frank having won the fight to make all the eating clubs coed, Ivy and Tiger Inn continued to contest the case against Frank. "I thought they were mostly fighting over not wanting to pay the ACLU's attorney's fees," Frank supplied. Ivy and Tiger Inn revived the case that had been on hold since 1986 over whether their freedom of association had been violated by the NJDCR's 1985 ruling which designated the eating clubs as public accommodations. This final leg of the fight ended in June 1992 when all parties finally came to a settlement. Frank related her impressions of the day she found out that her long legal battle was finally drawing to a close:

"It settled while I was at Reunions in June '92, and I was staying an extra day or two because there was maybe a deposition schedule. I remember I went to New York and Man of La Mancha was playing. I went and saw it, and the end song is 'To Dream the Impossible Dream'. And I'm thinking, you don't even know what impossible dream just occurred. I was dreaming that impossible dream on a whole different level beyond what Don Quixote was thinking about."

Frank presently teaches her case in her

career, saying: "I am a rare clinical professor who not only took clinics, but I also am a long term clinic client."

CONCLUSIONS

Frank's case marked a turning point in Princeton's campus culture, in that it was a pivotal part of the process of transforming Princeton's student body from a white, male, and bourgeois clique into a more inclusive community—a process which is still ongoing today.

The eating club system as it currently exists still deserves our scrutiny. The bicker clubs particularly are still implicated in other forms of exclusionary practices in their selection process. Already, social groups at Princeton are broadly separated on racial and class lines, and these divisions are only exacerbated in clubs where members can screen in an opaque process for whom they like best. Bastions of wealth and privilege like Ivy and Cottage still largely pick members who come from the same socioeconomic backgrounds.

At the same time, Frank's case does show us what is possible when we as students question and contest the harmful aspects of this campus' culture instead of accepting them as facts of life. Throughout her life, Frank has clearly understood that the law can serve as an important tool to support social movements. Such tools are an essential part of activists' arsenals that we—like Frank—can not be afraid to use. ○

STRUGGLE AND OPPORTUNITY: Student Publications in the COVID Pandemic (Part I)

Austin Glover

THIS ARTICLE IS THE FIRST IN A FOUR-PART SERIES ON THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FACED BY PRINCETON'S STUDENT PUBLICATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COVID PANDEMIC.

WALKING INTO ROMA dining hall on a rainy April evening last semester, I passed through the common room and by the table where student groups would leave their various announcements and advertisements for everyone to see. Like most students, I typically pay little attention to the many dance group flyers, lecture series posters, and student publication broadsheets strewn across this table, but on that particular day I happened to glance down and notice a small stack of the Daily Princetonian whose headline, “Break Up the Prince”, was striking and unexpected enough to interrupt my razor-sharp focus on getting to dinner. I stopped and read the front-page editorial, which argued that the Prince had ballooned to such proportions, and become so monolithic and ubiquitous on campus, that it constituted a monopoly and thus ought to be busted like the trusts of old.

Of course, it was immediately apparent that the editorial, along with the entire issue, was a satire; aside from the unlikely content of the article itself, the date of the edition was April 1st and the next article was a piece detailing the introduction of Frist Early Meal as yet another means to satiate this student body's endless hunger. In fact, I would later come to find out that the paper wasn't the Prince at all, but rather an edition of TigerMag called the “Prince Parody”, which runs only once every four years.

Despite the fact that the piece was a satire, I found myself thinking seriously about the points it raised over dinner that night. After all, another article by Danielle Jenkins in that same parody edition of TigerMag asserts that satire “exists at the intersection of truth and lie” and depends on a set of “acknowledged truths between the jokester and the recipient.” If a piece on satire in a satire magazine can be trusted as at least somewhat authoritative, one must admit that the acknowledged truths which “Break Up the Prince” relies on are quite remarkable. In recent years, the Daily Princetonian has undergone astonishing growth in terms of both the size and the breadth of the publication; from the 2018-19 school year to the end of 2021, the Prince fully doubled in size from approximately 200 staffers to more than 400, which amounts to around 1/13 of Princeton's total undergraduate population. Over the same period, the Prince saw the creation of two new sections, Puzzles and Satire, and four new podcasts, as well as the makeovers of the Prospect section and the Daybreak podcast. To say, as TigerMag has, that the Prince has “swollen” thus seems to be a bit of an understatement.

While the question which TigerMag's satire piece attempts to engage with—that of whether

the Daily Princetonian's growth should be regarded as a positive or negative force on campus—is an important one to consider, that night I found myself thinking of another question entirely. How could it be that the Prince had seen such success and expansion in the same time that many other student publications, and student groups more broadly, had taken a large hit in terms of membership and interest due to COVID-19?



Social distancing sign from from 2020-21

It's no secret that COVID-19 has had a dramatic effect on campus life ever since the first Princeton student was tested and put into isolation on March 11, 2020. Aside from perhaps the invention and development of the internet, there has been no other event in the history of modern education that has so drastically altered the lives of students, as well as the very form and structure of education and extracurriculars, as the COVID-19 pandemic. The effects of the pandemic on student groups specifically are well-recognized among most students, many of whom have witnessed COVID's consequences firsthand as they have attempted to navigate membership in or leadership of a student group during a period of near-constantly shifting CDC guidelines, university policies, and local health risk levels. For instance, Sullivan Meyer '24—current President of the College Democrats—summarized the general impact of COVID on student groups during a recent interview with the PROG, saying: “across the board, maybe save dance groups and the Prince, participation in extracurriculars is down, and that's definitely true for us. It's harder to get people excited about doing what is, really, work.”

This is especially true of student publications, where participation (writing, editing, and design) can often resemble the experience of a first-year Writing Seminar instead of something ordinary people might do for fun. Student publications have truly struggled over the past five semesters to retain interest among members and readers alike, with one glaring exception: the Daily Princetonian. Why has this been the case?

Pursuing the answer to that question has led to

the creation of this four-part article series on the experiences of Princeton's student publications throughout the COVID pandemic. The series will examine the challenges and opportunities that the PROG, TigerMag, and the Daily Princetonian have each faced from Spring 2020 up until the present day in adapting and reacting to the various circumstances they have found themselves in. The adjustments that each of these publications have undertaken in response to the pandemic have changed them immensely and permanently, for better and for worse, though there is a striking amount of continuity hidden in that change as well.

In telling the stories of these student publications, there is no better way to illustrate the reality of their struggle and the extent of the changes they made than to tell their stories through the eyes of those who personally lived and navigated through them. That is why each article in this series will focus on the personal experience of one of these publications' previous or current leaders—spotlighting those who have direct frames of reference for what their publications were like both before and during the pandemic and who took active parts in shaping the trajectory of their publications through it. Part Two will showcase the journey of Mary Alice Jouve '23, who joined the PROG as a staff writer at the beginning of the Fall 2019 semester, was made its Managing Editor at the start of 2021, and has served as its Editor-in-Chief for all of 2022. Part Three will present the story of Amanda Vera '22, who started as a writer for TigerMag in Fall 2018, rose to the positions of both Editor-in-Chief and Chairwoman just as the pandemic broke out in Spring 2020, and remained as Chairwoman until just before her graduation in Spring 2022. Finally, Part Four will highlight the rise of Emma Treadway '22 through the ranks of the Daily Princetonian, from a first-year opinion columnist who began writing for the Prince in Fall 2018, to an assistant opinion editor in Spring 2020, and then to Editor-in-Chief for the whole of 2021.

The combined personal experience of each of these leaders will be used throughout this series as a lens to understand the broader trajectory of campus publications over the past three years. In depicting that trajectory, I hope to give accurate testament to the struggles and opportunities that these student groups, and others like them, have faced in adapting to and recovering from a global pandemic which has taken so much from so many, but which has also given much to those who had the vision to see what could be. While I would have greatly preferred that such testimony had never been needed, COVID has irreversibly changed us as people and as publications—and it is time that we acknowledge how and why, exactly, that change took place so that we can understand what it means for us as writers, editors, and readers alike going into the future. ○

The Unintended Consequences of Putin's Attack on Ukraine

Maryam Ibrahim

IN THE WEEKS leading up to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, senior US intelligence officials warned of imminent advancement into Ukrainian territory as Russian forces continued to assemble along its border with Ukraine. Many closest to the conflict, including Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, saw the possibility of an imminent invasion as unlikely. In late January, Zelenskyy encouraged the public to remain calm, offering reassurance that the military build-up was not any more alarming than what had been witnessed in the past eight years due to ongoing border tensions with Russia. However, on February 24, in spite of Zelenskyy's optimism, US intelligence was proven correct as Russian troops advanced into Ukraine, creating the largest refugee crisis in Europe since World War II.

Only a few months following initial reports of explosions in major Ukrainian cities such as Kyiv and Kharkiv, Putin's invasion has forced an estimated 7 million Ukrainians to flee the country and has left millions more internally displaced. Because of his brisk success in annexing and reclaiming Crimea and due to Russia having one of the strongest militaries in the world, Putin likely expected his siege of Ukrainian territory to be a quick and easy victory. However, days have turned into weeks and weeks have now turned into months with no end in sight. Despite many expensive losses and miscalculations, Putin is still relentless but has narrowed his focus primarily on the Donbas region. Now, dozens of countries, including the US, UK, and Canada, have sent billions of dollars of military aid to Ukraine, making Russian forces face even more unanticipated resistance. The initial skepticism surrounding an invasion was rooted in the implausibility that Putin would initiate a conflict that would clearly result in an immense number of economic sanctions, the severing of Russia's relations with most of the world, and the loss of tens of thousands of lives. In addition to these consequences, the military occupation will likely result in less evident outcomes that have dire implications on future geopolitics between Russia and the Global North.

One of Russia's major justification for the invasion of Ukraine is the spread of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) into Eastern European countries. In the months leading up to the military advancement, in December 2021, Putin laid out a list of demands to NATO. His conditions included a written agreement for NATO to rule out membership for Ukraine and for the cessation of all military activity in Eastern Europe. Originally created during the Cold War to deter the Soviet Union from Western expansion, NATO

has continued to expand further and further east, accepting members from Eastern European and former Soviet nations. With the presence of NATO troops throughout Eastern Europe, Russia claims that the eastward expansion of NATO threatens the country's security. The draft treaty was quickly turned down by NATO officials, citing the alliance's "open-door policy", which extends membership to any nation that gains unanimous consent from the 30 member states and meets a strict set of criteria. While NATO refuses to definitively bar Ukraine from the alliance, Ukraine does not have a clear path to joining NATO. While Ukraine has expressed strong interest in joining the military alliance and applied for membership in 2008, several NATO member states rejected their request due to fears of escalation from Russia. In addition, in March 2022, Zelenskyy expressed that he is no longer pushing for NATO membership for Ukraine in efforts to slow down or halt the destruction of Ukraine, marking a major concession to Putin. Despite this concession, Putin's military occupation

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Vladimir Putin

continued to expand into nearly three sides of Ukraine. With the country's past failure to enter NATO and Zelenskyy's admission that joining the alliance is out of the picture in the near future, it becomes increasingly apparent that Putin's fear of the eastward expansion of NATO is only a minor impetus for the in-

vasion. Because Putin likely knew that his rigid set of demands to NATO would never be fully met, his insistence acts as a diversion from the Russian leader's true intentions. While NATO's expansion has contributed towards undermining the power and influence of Russia in Eastern Europe, Putin's continued attack on Ukraine is to reassert Russia's former political and military dominance in the region. Unfortunately for Putin, although Ukraine is not protected by NATO's collective defense and has a significantly smaller military than Russia, the Russian leader's objective to reclaim authority is looking bleak as the country has faced expensive losses and high casualties. And now, any chance at NATO's presence retreating from Eastern Europe is lost because of the invasion. Despite Russia's supposed desire to impede NATO influence on neighboring countries, the violent conflict is having the exact opposite effect. Finland and Sweden, countries that have largely remained neutral in international conflicts, are now seeking NATO membership. The countries' leaders point to

nation, neighboring countries are seeking the military security and protection that NATO provides. Only a few years ago, the strength of the military alliance was being called into question by world leaders, with Emmanuel Macron asserting that NATO was experiencing “brain death” as President Trump rolled back US financial support to the alliance and threatened to withdraw. However, Putin’s military intervention has given the alliance increased international support and possibly two new members. Regardless of Putin’s desire for NATO troops to withdraw from Eastern Europe, member states have promptly deployed more troops into Russia’s sphere of influence and upgraded their military weapon supply, making the alliance more unified than it was only a few years ago when its strength was questioned.

Putin has also justified the invasion on the basis of “demilitarizing” and “denazifying” Ukraine. In a television address on February 24, Putin announced the commencement of a “special military operation” that would protect and defend Russian aligned separatists that he claims are facing genocide and violence in the Donbas region of Ukraine: “I decided to launch a special military operation. Its goal is to protect people who have been subjected to abuse and genocide by the regime in Kyiv for eight years. And for this we will pursue the demilitarization and denazification of Ukraine, as well as bringing to justice those who committed numerous bloody crimes against civilians, including citizens of the Russian Federation.” Tensions and violence between the Ukrainian military and pro-Russian separatists emerged in Donbas following the Euromaidan Uprising. The uprising was sparked by Russian aligned Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich refusing to sign an agreement associating the country with the European Union, prompting mass demonstrations and his removal from the presidency. However, Putin’s allegations of genocide committed against the Russian speaking residents of the breakaway regions of Eastern Ukraine have been called into question. Since the start of the conflict in 2014, human rights violations have been attributed to both sides, and the accusations surrounding targeted violence towards Russian speakers in the breakaway regions has been found to be baseless. Because of his inability to produce any evidence for a genocide against Russian speakers in the Donbas region, Putin’s assertion of genocide only acts as a rallying cry to gain Russian support to openly send military forces into Ukraine in order to capture more territory from a nation he believes inherently belongs to Russia.

In the same vein as most other European nations, extreme right-wing political movements have experienced a resurgence in recent decades in both Ukraine and Russia. However, far-right extremism in Ukraine has been thrown into the limelight in recent years. For instance, the Azov Battalion, is an often-cited far-right extremist faction of the Ukrainian national guard that became incorporated into the Ukrainian military following their success in recapturing Mariupol from Russian-backed separatists in 2014. Although a spokesperson of the regiment has claimed that only between 10% and 20% of the Azov militia hold far-right views in 2015, the group has used symbols associated with fascism such as the black sun and the SS symbol. Because of the Azov battalion’s notoriety from defending Ukrainian territory from pro-Russia rebels, the regiment serves as more than just a volunteer militia. The nationalist group has branched off into a far-right political party called the National

Corp, has a summer training camp for children, organizes MMA tournaments, and even puts on music festivals. The reach of the battalion has also transcended national borders, as they have fostered ties with other extremist groups in Europe, the United States, and New

tremism problem compared to other nations is to contrive a justification for invasion that is difficult to challenge. The leader frames his position as a fascist versus anti-fascist issue, or, to Putin, a Ukraine versus Russia issue where the entirety of Ukraine and its



Vladimir Putin marked with Public Domain Mark 1.0.

Zealand. According to former FBI agent Ali Soufan, over the past seven years, the battalion has recruited over 17,000 foreign fighters primarily through websites such as Facebook, where they share racist and anti-semitic conspiracies to rally support from the far-right international community. Now, Russia’s assault on Ukraine may result in even more radicalization and recruitment efforts. Just as the rise of Russian-backed separatists in Donbas created a necessary condition for increased far-right nationalist sentiments due to a clear external threat to the country, Putin’s attack on Ukraine results in a similar condition. In almost parallel circumstances, the battalion and other right-wing nationalist militias may experience a resurgence as Russia’s attack on Ukraine is likely to galvanize both Ukrainian nationalists seeking to defend their homeland and the international far-right community who view the war as an opportunity to gain combat skills to bring back to their countries.

While the presence of far-right extremist groups undeniably exist, Ukrainian public support for these groups is often overstated. Unlike many other European countries, extremist parties in Ukraine have not experienced consistent political representation, as far-right political parties have failed to reach the 5% threshold for gaining parliamentary seats during every election cycle with the exception of the Svoboda party in 2012. As a result, Putin’s false insinuation that Ukraine has a disproportionately rampant far-right ex-

citizens are being characterized as fascists. This simplification creates a false dichotomy that makes it seem as though those who object to the invasion are right-wing sympathizers. However, the chances that an invasion of Ukraine will diminish the influence of right-wing ideology in Ukraine is very slim. The destruction of residential homes, theaters, hospitals, and other urban infrastructure as well as the damaging of the Babyn Yar Holocaust memorial, which commemorates the nearly 100,000 Ukrainian Jews that were massacred under Nazi Germany, is more than likely doing very little to “denazify” Ukraine and instead targets the average civilian. Regardless of whether Putin actually intends for the invasion to “denazify” Ukraine, the occupation is more likely to further radicalize and embolden the very extremists he claims to want to suppress, just as his seizure of Crimea and the pro-Russian separatist movement gave rise to the Azov regiment.

While much of the world was in disbelief and horror as Russian troops advanced into Ukraine, in retrospect, the possibility of a Russia’s invasion appears even more high-stakes after evaluating the drastic consequences of launching a full-scale attack. With the probable strengthening of NATO and the possibility of emboldening the ultranationalist minority in Ukraine, the consequences of the war are likely to have an exceptionally higher cost to Russia than the supposed justifications that Putin put forth. ○

Macron Reelected — Now What?

Michael Lenoir

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ON APRIL 10 AND 24, France held its presidential elections. As per the Fifth Republic's Constitution, elections are held in two rounds every five years. The second round only takes place if no candidate obtains an absolute majority of votes during the first, typically allowing for the two candidates with most votes from the first round to face off. While, unlike in the States, French presidential terms last five years, the office of the president is similarly the highest office in France and constitutes the French army's Commander-in-Chief.

As with the 2017 elections, the second round of votes pitted Emmanuel Macron against Marine Le Pen. It was a standoff that polls and media had long prepared for between a right-wing president — even if he refuses to present himself as such, preferring to call himself “progressive” — and his rival on the far-right — even if she rejects the term, and if her campaign focused on social questions like purchasing power.

Again, like in 2017, the first round of votes eliminated everyone who is considered left-wing in French politics, and the bourgeois candidate, Macron, was reelected.

MACRON'S FIRST TERM

Macron's presidency has never been that of the rich; after all, the rich people's president was already Nicolas Sarkozy. Rather, Macron's presidency has benefitted the super-rich. Notably, the first measure passed was the replacement of the “Solidarity Tax on Wealth” with a flat tax, i.e., the “Single Lump-Sum Payment.” Where the former was a system of progressive taxation of assets exceeding 1.3 million euros, the latter taxes capital returns uniformly at 12.8%. The Solidarity Tax's rate for the lowest echelon was 14%. Such hand-outs to the wealthy have become characteristic of the Macron era.

Moreover, Macron has also presided over the violent targeting of the most oppressed workers. In particular, Macron has been steadily chipping away at France's Labor Code since he was François Hollande's Finance Minister. He has viciously attacked retirement benefits, which resulted in a large social movement in the winter of 2019-2020. Macron also slashed unemployment benefits at the end of 2021. Meanwhile, during his devastating five-year service, the Minister of National Education Jean-Michel Blanquer has put in place a school system that generates ever-increasing social segregation. He has increased his personnel's workload at all levels,

dismantled measures aimed at decreasing historic and ongoing inequalities in education, and attacked our equivalent of the CORE curriculum. As for immigration, Macron's “progressivism” has meant nothing but police violence against undocumented migrants and a “tougher” policy of deportation against these travelling workers, the most vulnerable members of the working class.

a lack of strategic perspectives and ferocious repression foiled the movement and contributed in a large part to diminishing numbers of protesters. Police brutality was widespread, no matter how much the ruling classes and their media deny it. This time saw suspicious deaths — despite the government's refusal to accept responsibility and an obstructionist bureaucracy (See, for instance, the death of



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It was always clear that Macron would support the rich in social struggles, which became all the more clear on November 17th, 2018, when a vast social movement arose. The uprising of the Gilets Jaunes, or “Yellow Vests,” swept through the country for a number of months, occupying roundabouts and other transit hubs and staging more or less spontaneous protests. The Gilets Jaunes mobilized disparate parts of the proletariat, oftentimes those that are situated the most precariously and those that are largely non-unionized and politically unstructured. The revolt, which was triggered by a legislated rise in the price of gasoline, was quickly politicized by the left. They integrated social demands such as the reinstatement of the Solidarity Tax, and democratic ones, such as the “Referendum of Citizens' Initiative,” a tool for direct democracy. Granted, their unorganized nature and lack of revolutionary leadership made it impossible to draw up programmatic demands beyond these broad points of agreement. Ultimately,

the 80-odd year old Zineb Redouane on December 2nd, 2018, who was killed by a tear gas canister being thrown at her face as she stood by a window in her own apartment just outside a Yellow Vest protest in Marseilles). Some thirty people had their eyes gouged out by rubber-coated bullets, or else suffered serious amputations of their feet and hands. There were also mass arrests, and as a result, hundreds faced imprisonment.

Then, the pandemic arrived. Just as the social uprising against the attacks on retirement were burning out — smothered by union leaderships' policies — Macron found himself in charge of managing a health crisis, which he did less than brilliantly. Of course, he had to fight against repeated, dangerous lies: that masks did not work or that children were not contagious. However, we must not forget his paternalistic, authoritarian approach to containment; his pro-business policies; the chaos in educational facilities; the overflow of hospitals; and his continued destruction of public

health programs like reducing the number of hospital beds.

Macron's neoliberalism is thus characterized by its authoritarianism. This was evident in the renewed police brutality not only against the Gilets Jaunes. For example, union protesters were also attacked when they campaigned against the President's retirement "reforms." Macron relies upon the State of Emergency's exceptional measures, which use the health crisis as pretext. The police believe themselves to be above the law, and Macron and his Minister of the Interior Gérald Darmanin encourage this attitude. The grim so-called "Law of Total Security" initially sought to outlaw the filming of police operations. Mass protests in 2020 forced them to abandon this outrage. The law that was ultimately passed on May 25, 2021, did not even mention filming the police; it did, however, attack basic freedoms in regard to: municipal police, private security firms, surveillance apparatuses (pedestrian cameras, video surveillance, etc), and the protection of the forces of "law and order." Meanwhile, the law passed later that year on August 24, "Against Separatism," infringes upon public freedoms of religion, association, and education under the pretense of fighting political Islam.

In terms of the environment and the struggle against global warming, Macron's record is a complete failure. His work has amounted only to posturing and "progressive" greenwashing. As a result, the media announced the departure of the only Minister of the Environment who wanted to believe in the President's good intentions, Nicolas Hulot, after one year and three months. As for the 150 people randomly chosen to constitute the Citizens' Convention on Climate (in November 2019), their work was largely buried. The executive branch rejected around 90% of their proposals, and the citizens' referendum that Macron promised to hold on the ecological disaster never took place. The President's collaboration with the French oil and gas giant TotalEnergies, notably for their operations in Uganda, clearly demonstrates the hypocrisy and irresponsibility that characterize his policies. Furthermore, the French State has twice been condemned for inaction in fighting ecological disaster by the administrative tribunal of Paris, a decision that NGOs then echoed.

Without even discussing the affairs and scandals often swept under the rug that have proliferated over these past five years, nor the growing mediocrity of political figures and their consequently revealed entanglement with the business world — it is evident that given such a record, a large part of the electorate, especially among the lower classes, would never vote for Macron under any circumstances.

FIRST ROUND CANDIDATES

As in America, French political life is regulated by electoral politics; that is to say, there are few autonomous workers' movements. As a result, elections provide valuable insight not into the political system as a whole but into its decay. A brief overview of the recent elections will demonstrate both the increasing lack of faith in the status quo and the absence of a viable revolutionary leadership.

For the majority of the Fifth Republic's presidential elections, the second round of voting has pitted two kinds of candidates against each other that have formed two opposing political blocs. There are, on the one hand, the classic, traditional right, "republicans." On the other, is the social-democratic "left wing." They represent the reformist left, even if they propose fewer and fewer reforms and more and

more counter-reforms. However, it seems that this pattern has changed irrevocably. Progressively, however, a third bloc has arisen and then developed: the far-right, in the form of the National Front party, now called "National Rally." Obviously, one of these three blocs must be weeded out in anticipation for the second round. Therefore, the degree to which elections can even claim to represent the people's views is lessened, and thus, their legitimacy.

In 2017 and 2022, Jean-Luc Mélenchon was the most popular left-wing candidate. Albeit with its own characteristics, Mélenchon's party, Unsubmissive France, represents a French neo-reformist current seen around the world: in Greece with Syriza, in Portugal with the Bloco de Esquerda, in Spain with Podemos, etc. The party seeks institutional and electoral solutions to change the political landscape, including instituting a Sixth Republic. Unsubmissive France gathered a vast swath of the left in a group entitled Popular Union. Their program, "The Future, Together," announces a series of desired progressive economic and social reforms: policies that favor public services, guaranteed minimum income, a minimum wage increase to 1,400 euro per month, the return of the age of retirement to 60, eco-

lar measures in particular. Firstly, he wanted to raise the age of retirement to 65, under the pretext of aligning France's policies to those of Central Europe. Secondly, he proposed making unemployment benefits accessible only to those who work 15 or 20 hours a week. Behind the flimsy arguments against "handouts" and in favor of "putting France to work" is, of course, the funneling of wealth to the richest few. Macron, assured of his victory by the polls, arrogantly thought he could get away with these two intended policies at the forefront of his campaign. Macron was also trying to win over a conservative, moneyed electorate. However, as the vote approached, opinion polls indicated a tighter race than previously expected, with Macron losing his base and Marine Le Pen gathering strength. The very last polls, while still favoring Macron, were open to the possibility of Le Pen gaining the upper hand. Projections for the second round were even closer. Still, Macron's lead on Le Pen for the first round (around 1.7 million votes and 4.7 points) turned out to be stronger than predicted. Opinion polls between the two rounds saw a renewed increased gap between the two finalists.

After the first round, most of the eliminated candidates threw their weight behind a spe-



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logical planning, etc. However, all of that is meant to be achieved without a major confrontation with the bourgeoisie and without any expropriation. For a long while, polls only had Mélenchon as likely to win 8 to 10% of the vote. Although he obtained around 15% in the final days before the first round, he was still far behind Macron and Marine Le Pen.

FIRST ROUND CANDIDATES

Throughout the weeks that preceded the first round, Macron did not hesitate to make severe blows to social safety nets central to his campaign. He highlighted two deeply unpopu-

cific candidate. However, opinion polls clearly demonstrated a big divide between the eliminated candidates' exhortations and their supporters' votes. It became all the more apparent that Mélenchon voters would hold the key for the second round. However, this electorate seemed largely hesitant and divided. They oscillated between abstentions, protest votes, and Macron, with a slim minority going over to Le Pen.

Unsurprisingly, both candidates attempted to woo former Mélenchon voters. Hoping to please them, Le Pen focused on social issues. Macron, meanwhile, was quick to appear



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“conciliatory,” talking about only raising the age retirement to 64, and of organizing a debate with a referendum on the question. Macron’s cynicism took no time at all to reveal itself: the day after his victory on April 24th, his Minister of the Economy Bruno Le Maire claimed that it was not out of the question to employ Article 49.3 of the Constitution in order to push the intended counter-reforms through parliament without debate. This is one of many insults to those who voted for Macron to block the National Rally.

Ultimately, Macron was reelected largely thanks to left-wing voters, Mélenchon’s in particular, who were worried by the thought of Le Pen in power. Indeed, in non-European France, Mélenchon supporters overwhelmingly turned to Le Pen in order to defeat the President. Ultimately, however, a majority of Popular Union supporters decided to vote for Macron, albeit holding their noses. Indeed, the idea that a vote for Macron would defeat “fascism”— a term incorrectly thrown around, as a separate and much longer article would have to demonstrate — was put front and center from the moderate Right to sectors of the far-left. The fear of National Rally and “fascism” in power once again aided Macron, even if less than it did five years ago. The reelected president referenced this point in his victory speech, the evening of April 24: “A number of our compatriots today voted for me, not because of my ideas but in order to block the far-right.”

What can the left hope to gain from this election? Can we expect concessions, fewer “tough” policies, fewer slashes to public budgets?

Small chance! This is because, contrary to appearances, Macron’s project does not answer to his voters but to the bourgeoisie, who need political power to augment their profits and continue to attack social progress. Certainly, Macron claimed to want to be “President for everyone,” meaning not only his supporters, but also those of Le Pen and Mélenchon. But he said the same sort of thing in 2017, while his policies have been nothing but a continued affront to left-wing voters. Bruno Le Maire’s declarations on retirement, referenced above, indicate that Macron 2.0 will be just as brutal and contemptuous as the original.

AND NOW?

There are a few other points to consider in the wake of the recent election. Firstly, as far-left candidate Philippe Poutou sharply observed, Unsubmissive France’s compromises drag their line further and further to the Right, away from radicalism. Establishment politics has already led us to expect this kind of development. This is not Lenin’s democratic centralism, as the far-left New Anti-Capitalist Party attempts to claim, but rather a rallying around the most reformist tendencies of the Popular Union. That said, even if precise studies are lacking, it would appear that the push to centralize is effective, especially amongst the working classes. Many seem to want the various left parties to unite in the hopes of winning more legislative seats and, to a certain extent, undoing the Presidential Elections.

However, this task is mired in confusion. Even if the media refers to Unsubmissive

France as “the radical left,” it is important to remember that they are in fact a neo-reformist force in politics. They want to change society — not in any anti-capitalist sense, but rather in the neo-liberal understanding: by way of institutional powers, not revolutionary struggle and insurrection. It is important to remember how this “radical left” has failed miserably around the world: Syriza, Podemos, Bloco de Esquerda, Rifondazione, etc. What these neo-reformist currents all have in common is that they either do not know or do not wish to know what the bourgeois state is and who it serves. Moreover, they forget that the bourgeoisie is willing to do anything to defend its power and privileges, no matter what the cost for the rest of humanity and the planet.

Speaking on the issue of French debt being attacked by international finance, Mélenchon said, “Well, we’ll see.” His interviewer asked more precisely, “How do we fight international finance?” Mélenchon’s response: “We fight, we defend. But I have good weapons.” He added, “I don’t think it’s reasonable for France to be attacked... The results could be disastrous for everyone... I think that people are reasonable. They won’t do anything too stupid. But I do not suggest that anyone attack France if I’m the one in charge!” And that was it. Mélenchon does not want to understand and express that direct conflict with the bourgeoisie and their expropriation in the most important sectors of the economy are absolutely vital.

Growth in Unsubmissive France and its broad left-wing alliance is possible, though it’s too early to predict with any confidence. This new configuration of the left certainly seems to irritate the commentariat who are always keen to protect the bourgeois order. Mediapart, an online journal, has even spoken of a “wave of panic.” The same article reads: “As the possibility of an agreement that could unite the left and the environmentalists before the legislative elections on the 12 and 19 of June grows more and more concrete, the politico-media ‘voice of reason’ draws closer to a nervous breakdown. The political importance of the Mélenchon current since April 10 (winning 22% of the vote) and its potential capacity to strengthen the left do not sit well with zealous defenders of the status quo.” These upholders of the existing order, for whom the developing “radical” left is a thorn in their side, recruit amongst the politicians of the establishment parties, as well as amongst the mediocrity of the media. Their ranks will probably grow if Unsubmissive France’s project develops any further. The political situation will certainly be different depending on whether allies of Macron or Mélenchon win a majority of legislative seats. However, Mélenchon’s victory is far from likely, and if it were to happen, a political and maybe even social storm would be sure to ensue.

Workers must have some significant worries about the situation described above. What the Popular Union proposes is not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but merely an electoral coalition of “the left” embedded in the establishment, which includes forces that have in the past shown their willingness to betray working. It is indeed a revolution that we need to prepare for, and for that, a revolutionary party is necessary. Unfortunately, the French left is clearly lacking. Between the New Anti-Capitalist Party that allows itself to be bogged down by Unsubmissive France and Workers’ Struggle, which stands its ground better but offers no concrete proposals, there is no political alternative capable of posing a real class analysis of the struggles that are underway, nor of facing up to the disillusionment that is just around the corner. ○

The Editorial Board Should Know Better Than to Blame “Both Sides.” Activism for Palestine Lost Out.

Celine Pham and Braden Flax

THIS ARTICLE WAS ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN THE DAILY PRINCETONIAN AND IS POSTED HERE WITH PERMISSION FROM BRADEN FLAX AND CELINE PHAM.

THE DAILY PRINCETONIAN Editorial Board recently called on “both sides” of the Caterpillar referendum to “put their ideological goals aside” for the purpose of ending threats to student safety, which have been issued by groups opposing the Referendum.

The appeal suggests that the Palestinian struggle is a self-indulgent thought experiment and not an urgent humanitarian concern. The Editorial Board states, “If a revote will end this controversy, we’re fully in support. There may be many ways to end this specific situation fairly, and we won’t weigh in on which one is appropriate.” In other words, the Board hesitates to weigh in on how the vote should be settled. It did not hesitate, however, to equate Palestine activists with their opposition in actions for which only the latter are responsible. The Board is unsure of what measure would be just, but it does not hesitate to validate the idea of a revote — a position that has not been taken for any previous passing referendum among the student body.

The Board obscures the fact that only one side was responsible for the attacks that it condemns — groups aligned against the Referendum, including organizations that have run thousands of dollars worth of ads encouraging students to vote “No.” By contrast, organizers supporting the Referendum built a strong, diverse coalition of students on campus who tabled in Frist Campus Center and spent no money on ads. The campaign in support of the Referendum focused on Palestinian rights and

the opposition that denies Palestinians those rights. And the Referendum passed.

The Editorial Board should recognize its biased judgment in stating that a revote would be a fair solution for Palestine activists. Palestine activists used safe and grassroots means to reach the student body and achieved a passing vote according to the constitution of the Undergraduate Student Government (USG). They should not be blamed for acts of counter-protest and have their successes annulled on the grounds that they are equally to blame for the resulting controversy. Such an argument is barely coherent in the context of any campaign.

For Palestine activists, demands for sovereignty and the right to return have always brought “controversy” to campus. A Board that represents a community paper would do well to defend their right to do so.

The USG’s suppression of the referendum results is an example of its functional inability to communicate a stance on the Palestinian cause and the reticence which even “liberal” institutions display on dissociation from the Israeli occupation. In the language approval session prior to the campaign, USG’s DEI chair motioned to vote on whether the referendum protesting the demolition of Palestinian homes could be considered “frivolous.” After the referendum passed, an executive “remedy” was exercised to curb the single function of the referendum, which was to communicate the will of the student body to the administration. We now live with the absurdity of a referendum which “passed” but on which USG “will not make a statement on behalf of the student body in favor of or against.” Such a move, held

by secret ballot among 24 students, is a stunning erosion of the democratic process.

The paper that the Senate resolved to send to the administration now includes four entire statements delegitimizing the referendum but excludes the referendum sponsor’s rebuttal.

The Editorial Board’s “both sides” fallacy obscured what should be done to ensure the safety and humanity, as well as a just process, for all members of our community and in the world at large. Its opinion amplifies the double standards that Palestinians face in attempting to achieve just coverage and action through so-called democratic institutions. We watched while Israeli soldiers in riot gear stormed Al Aqsa Mosque, injuring and arresting hundreds of Palestinians, as they have for decades, and will continue to under the violent and unbearable status quo. It is difficult to believe that we are still deciding whether we can tolerate protesting corporations and governments for their role in the military occupation of a people, subjecting them to permanent abject poverty and destroying their homes, institutions, and lives. We should pay attention to the attribution of violence in these narratives and whose interests we are willing to sacrifice with inaccuracy and neutrality. ○

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Princeton breaks ground on Lake Campus Development with Caterpillar machinery

An Interview with Eric Periman '23 President of the Princeton Committee on Palestine

The Editorial Board

WHAT ARE THE GOALS OF THE PRINCETON COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE? WHAT WORK DOES THE COMMITTEE ENGAGE IN ON CAMPUS?

The Princeton Committee on Palestine has been around for a very long time. It used to be known as the Princeton Divestment Coalition in 2002, which was the earliest push to pressure the University to divest from companies that contribute to and profit from the oppression of the Palestinian people. Since then, it's sort of morphed and changed as the situation in Palestine has also morphed and changed. It was revitalized in 2015 following the war in Gaza in 2014. In 2015, there was a referendum on divestment, and there was a lot of energy in the Princeton Committee on Palestine then.

We're a diverse group of Princeton students, faculty, community members and staff who come from different religious backgrounds, come from different nationalities, different faiths, different ethnicities, different racial backgrounds, united by our solidarity with the Palestinian people and our vision for a free Palestine. That's our mission statement, broadly speaking.

IN THE FALL, THE COMMITTEE CO-ORGANIZED AN EVENT WITH THE ALLIANCE OF JEWISH PROGRESSIVES IN WHICH YOU DISPLAYED CHILDREN'S ARTWORK OUTSIDE OF FRIST. LAST SPRING, YOU ORGANIZED DONATIONS TO THE PALESTINE CHILDREN'S RELIEF FUND. COULD YOU TALK ABOUT THESE?

Personally, that was my favorite event this past fall. It was a collection of portraits drawn

by children in Gaza following Operation Cast Lead, which left hundreds of Palestinians dead, including men, women and children. In 2009, following the war, the Middle East Children's Alliance did a tour of the Gaza Strip, and they visited a classroom of children who were doing art therapy as a means to deal with the trauma that they experienced. The Middle East Children's Alliance decided that the paintings that these children drew, depicting these horrible experiences they endured, could be a tool for awareness, particularly for folks in the West who don't really know what's happening to Palestinian children in Gaza. They brought these portraits back and they tried to display them in 2011 in California, in a children's museum in the Berkeley area, and they were blocked from doing so. That's when Jewish Voices for Peace got a hold of the collection.

We were contacted by the Jewish Voices for Peace Central New Jersey chapter. They wanted to display these portraits somewhere, and we had the space on campus to do so. We did an outdoor portrait gallery in late November, early December 2021 in collaboration with JVP and the Alliance for Jewish Progressives on campus. They were incredibly helpful in creating the event as well as bringing viewers. We had well over 50 community members, students, and faculty members come to view the portraits.

Then we also did a fundraiser. We hope to do more in order to raise awareness about the awful toll that the conflict has had on Palestinian children.

COULD YOU EXPLAIN THE COMMITTEE'S RECENT ACTIVITIES REGARDING KEFFIYEH THURSDAYS?

This is something that came from the Palestine Solidarity Committee at Harvard, which does Keffiyeh Thursdays regularly. It's a way to raise awareness as well as create a community of advocates and allies on campuses and in communities. On February 1, 2022, Amnesty International, an international NGO that works to document human rights abuses around the world, released a report documenting the ways that Israel has instituted and facilitated an apartheid rule over the Palestinian people. That was the impetus for the first Keffiyeh Thursday, and since then, we've made it a regular event. Every Thursday we wear keffiyehs or, if someone doesn't have a keffiyeh, the colors of the Palestinian flag, which are red, white, black, and green.

HOW HAS THE PRINCETON COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE BEEN RECEIVED BY THE CAMPUS COMMUNITY?

It's definitely been mixed. I mean, it's no secret that in the US, particularly, this issue is incredibly contentious. But since I have been a member of PCP and since its inception, we've never been an organization that looks to drive controversy on campus or to make anyone uncomfortable. We genuinely are just speaking out about a topic that is underdiscussed in the U.S. and in the West, which is the oppression and the daily human rights abuses experienced by Palestinian people. There are groups on campus that have targeted us because of the activism we do with bad faith claims of bigotry or anti-Semitism. That is something that we reject outright. We don't want to stoop to the level of personal attacks because we don't think that's productive. We're focused on Palestinians. We're focused on speaking out about Palestinians and protecting Palestinians, and we don't have any interest in engaging in bad faith arguments, if that makes sense.

IF PEOPLE ARE INTERESTED, HOW CAN THEY LEARN MORE ABOUT THE SITUATION?

The first thing I would say is to come to our events. We're going to be hosting a lot of great events this semester. We hope to bring well-educated speakers to campus to speak about their personal experience as well as the broader topic. There are classes on the Middle East and on Palestine specifically at Princeton but not as many as we would hope for there to be. And that's something that we're hoping to advocate for and pressure the administration to expand.

Moreover, though, and I'm now speaking to my personal experience as an American



Members of the Princeton Committee on Palestine



Members of PCP campaign in Frist for their referendum last semester

citizen, as someone who has never been to Palestine, the first thing is just engaging with it. I think the most common response we get from new people is, oh, I don't know enough, so I'm not going to get involved. That, to me, is no longer a viable excuse because I know from my own experience that if you care enough, you can become educated, immerse yourself in the topic area, and get involved. And even then, no one is ever going to be an expert on the topic. It is a conflict that spans centuries, and none of us purport to be experts either. But it's a case where not speaking up just isn't an option anymore. I would urge people, even if you don't feel like you can get involved with the activism part, to at least get educated and use the plethora of resources online, Jewish Voices for Peace being one of them, to learn about the topic, see what's happening now, and see ways that you can help via donating, going to a protest, or coming to a PCP event.

COULD YOU TALK ABOUT THE PARTICULAR PLACE OF PRINCETON STUDENTS IN RELATION TO THIS ISSUE?

I think Princeton plays an incredibly important role in the oppression of Palestinians. That may not sound intuitive, but when we look at the investment structure at Princeton University, we find that a whole lot of companies that are profiting from and contributing to Palestinian oppression have a direct link with Princeton. Also, the institution of Princeton upholds anti-Palestinian values such as through its trips to Israel, which are discriminatory against Palestinian Princeton students

because Palestinian Princeton students are denied entry to many areas of Israel. Whereas I, with a U.S. passport, could enter Israel as part of one of these Princeton-sponsored trips, a Palestinian Princeton student would not be able to. In these ways, Princeton upholds discrimination against Palestinians.

WHAT DOES THE COMMITTEE PLAN TO DO IN THE FUTURE?

As the new President of PCP, I have some big ideas that I'm hoping to accomplish during my time leading the group on campus. Everything we do is collaborative, and one of my favorite things about PCP is that every new member brings their own new ideas. Keffiyeh Thursday is something that is driven by our entire group, for example, and we had a right of return panel in the fall that was organized by a lot of our members.

We're going to be launching a divestment campaign and putting a referendum on divestment in front of the undergraduate and graduate student body. So that's going to be a big event for the spring semester. We're going to do cultural events as well. We're hoping to bring a Palestinian-American artist who works in tatreez, which is an embroidery technique, to campus to teach this form of embroidery. It would be an artistic outlet where we can bring people in, and she is also going to talk about her experience as a Palestinian-American woman. Also, I'm really excited about creating an affinity space for PCP and for Palestinian students generally, where we can feel safe on campus, where we can have events,

where we can create an enduring pro-Palestine community on campus. Those are some of the things that I'm really excited about this spring with PCP that, even after I graduate, I hope will carry over for the next generation of pro-Palestine advocates at Princeton. ○



Campus construction using Caterpillar machinery

SDS Protesting the Vietnam War at Princeton: A Conversation with Movement Strategist Jimmy Tarlau

Mary Alice Jouve

AT THE END OF MAY, Princeton had its first Reunions in two years since COVID caused the event to be canceled, bringing together multiple generations of Princeton alumni for the first time in more than two years. In town for his 52nd reunion, Jimmy Tarlau '70 sat down with me during the P-rade to discuss his experiences as a student activist at Princeton during the Vietnam War.

"I come to reunions every so often because I feel I have this as part of my heritage, too," Tarlau explained. "But I won't go into the P-rade because the P-rade is this kind of celebration of elite privilege in our society. I mean, it's changed a little bit in terms of who's there. But for my year, it's just horrendous."

At first, when writing this series, I thought I would just focus on Tarlau's recollections and thoughts on this turbulent time in Princeton's history. However, after reading William Tucker's *Princeton Radicals of the 1960s, Then and Now*, a book on the activities of Princeton anti-war activities that Mr. Tarlau kindly gifted me, I wanted to dig deeper. Using Tucker's research as a jumping-off point, I took advantage of the *Daily Princetonian's* article archive and the meeting notes of the Board of Trustees during the time period to reconstruct the SDS's anti-war activities more broadly. I hope you enjoy!

PRE-PRINCETON

Tarlau grew up in New York City on the Upper West Side. "My father was a lawyer. We weren't red diaper babies," he admitted. "My father was what they called a Stevensonian Democrat, which is like a very intellectual Democrat, wasn't a John Kennedy kind of person." Stevensonian democrats took their name from Adlai Stevenson, who was the Democratic Party nominee in 1956 and 1960.

Tarlau attended Elizabeth Irwin High School in the early to mid-1960s, the Little Red Schoolhouse's school for upper grade levels. Located in Greenwich Village, it is well known for its politically progressive curriculum and notable alumni ranging from activists to members of the entertainment industry who have haunted its halls. "It had a lot of lefty professors," Tarlau told me. "Woody Guthrie's kids were in my class. Angela Davis went to my high school and Kathy Boudin." Boudin was part of the Weathermen, a militant left-wing organization that perpetrated multiple bombings targeting banks and government buildings.

At the same time, Tarlau himself was not a radical while he attended. "I was one of the more conservative persons in my high school," he explained. Tarlau was committed to electoral politics and volunteered for the re-election campaign of William Fitz Ryan, a progressive

Congressional candidate for the Upper West Side. Tarlau would go on to work for him in Washington over successive summers.

Surprisingly enough, it wouldn't be until he got to Princeton that his left-wing political beliefs truly took shape. Tarlau's reasoning for going to Princeton was like many students today. "I applied to a number of schools, and Princeton was the one Ivy League school I got into. I didn't want to go to Columbia because it was too close to home. I was attracted to the Woodrow Wilson school."

The tumult in American politics, which shattered trust and hope in political leaders and the American government, was also an important factor in shaping Tarlau's and other young student's political identity:

that kind of made me move more to the left."

In fact, Tarlau was sure his life would have taken a different path if he hadn't been molded by the blatant atrocities of the time period:

"For me, if I was five years young or five years older, I would have been a lawyer, probably for some Senator or been in administration or something like that. But just because of Vietnam, there was this whole sense that the people who I honored were the ones who were screwing up the country both in the racial riots in the late sixties and that something more fundamental was wrong in the country."

There were also specific aspects of the Princeton experience that propelled Tarlau towards the left: "One was the culture shock. I went from a co-ed high school in Greenwich



Nearly 400 marchers displayed opposition to Vietnam in orderly protest

"My heroes growing up were people like Kennedy and Johnson and Humphrey, and the Democrats who were in leadership were the ones who were perpetuating what we thought was a genocidal war. So, it became like something is wrong with the system, and

Village to the all-male obnoxious attitude here [at Princeton]." Additionally, there were no groups on campus who held Tarlau's more liberal political views. "The only thing to the left of the Republicans was SDS. There were really no kind of progressive, I mean, liberal

organizations on campus. You still had Whig-Clio, but that's kind of stupid stuff, debate, that kind of stuff. That's for people who don't have a real sense of beliefs. And so, I got attracted to SDS because they were also the brightest people on campus."

Tarlau is referring to Students for a Democratic Society. The organization began in 1960 as a national left-wing group that organized college students to participate in social movements and agitated against the problems plaguing America like poverty and racial injustice. Ideologically, the organization was committed to a reformist program of making America more democratic so all could have real power in governance. The SDS was active in the early 1960s, working with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to organize sit-ins for civil rights; however, it was still fairly small with only 2,500 members nationally in 1964. When President Johnson instituted the draft to send soldiers to Vietnam, the SDS came out strongly against the war, increasing their national profile and membership. The organization also became more willing to agitate against US policies and more committed to fundamentally restructuring the institutions of the US government, following various Marxist tendencies. Despite the multiple left-wing contingencies in their ranks, the organization still convened for annual national conventions.

Princeton's chapter of SDS formed in fall 1965, holding an anti-war demonstration when President Johnson spoke at Princeton and protesting against military recruiters on campus. Tarlau joined the group in fall 1966. Tarlau remembered his first public involvement with social movements on campus was when he wrote a letter to the Daily Princetonian defending Stokely Carmichael's recent speech at Princeton. The common belief on campus, as Tarlau explained, was that "Black power was an anti-white thing." Tarlau recalled his position saying, "It wasn't an anti-white thing. [The Black Panthers] were trying to make African Americans come together to have a more political clout."

The Princeton SDS was trying to stay in-step with other student anti-war protesters across the country. In early November of 1966, SDS, in partnership with other anti-war groups including the Princeton Ad Hoc Committee to Bring About Negotiations in Vietnam and the Princeton Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam, held a march and demonstration at a Princeton football game. Tarlau, who was the spokesperson for the march's planning committee, cited protests happening nationwide at the same time as a reason for demonstration that day, saying "It is in tune for Princeton to do the same thing."

Another example of SDS's early activities was picketing army recruiters stationed in Frist Campus Center in March 1967. During lunch, they marched around the cafeteria and held up large color photos of Vietnam War victims. In a quote he gave to the Daily Princetonian that day, Tarlau explained, "We are trying to dissuade people who might want to enlist. Our pictures are designed to bring home what the war really means."

However, the group had some growing to do before it reached the organization and militancy it attained a few years down the line. "The first year I was there it was kind of lame organization. Not bad," Tarlau explained. "We had, I think it was called the Cellar, underneath where the Princetonian was [for] our office. And they only had seven or eight people there, and not much happened." In comparison to the years to come, not much might have happened, but SDS still managed to

hold people's attention with demonstrations, events, and press.

As Tarlau's political fervor grew, he contemplated whether Princeton was the best place to contribute the most to left-wing organizing. "I thought about dropping out of college my freshman year and joining what's called VISTA." VISTA is a US government program that sends members to work with anti-poverty organizations around the country, akin to a domestic peace corp. However, Tarlau cites his modern European history course with one of his mentors, Prof. Arnold Maier, as a reason why he remained at Princeton, also no doubt solidifying his decision to concentrate in history. "I decided that my job was not to leave, but actually to change what I was doing," Tarlau concluded.

CHANGE IN TACTICS

During the summer of 1967, the SDS made plans for their new direction in the coming school year. As a group, they realized that aesthetic acts of protest weren't having any material effect on the issues they cared about. In many cases, Tarlau knew that the audience for any shocking stunts at Princeton would be people not receptive to their message in the first place. "One of our planned activities in June of 67 was to put posters of Napalm Babies all over campus before reunions just to kind of shock people, but we weren't trying to organize the alumni, so what's the point?" Tarlau mused. The same went for their sports game demonstrations. "We actually decided that the people who go to those games, they are not the people who we want to try to attract," Tarlau added.

Furthermore, Tarlau felt that protesting by itself wasn't effective. "We decided that just having a demonstration, people didn't treat it seriously here." Tarlau went on to say:

"Instead of just kind of writing a letter or going to a demonstration and then going back to your job, we fundamentally believed that we had to change our own lives and change the institutions we were in. So, we didn't believe that you could be a weekend protester. This is something that's fundamental. We had to actually bring the war home, meaning make people confront their own lives and confront the institutions, and the ties between Princeton and the military."

Tarlau went to his first national SDS convention in June 1967 and had the opportunity to strategize with fellow student activists from around the country about how they could have a material detrimental effect on the US's war effort. "The first activity was that we found out there was a defense institute called the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA)," Tarlau related.

The IDA was a non-profit created in 1956 at the behest of the Eisenhower administration. The government was in the process of investing in high-tech weapons like nuclear weapons to fight Communism worldwide. Composed of a consortium of elite universities, the universities' professors would advise on new technologies that could help the military attain its goals not only in defense but also in counterinsurgency and riot control. While not one of the founding members of the IDA, Princeton had a special relationship with the organization because it housed its Communications and Research Division in John von Neumann Hall.

Before this division of the IDA was housed in Neumann Hall, professors on Princeton's Research Board had expressed concern with the organization coming to campus. However, Princeton's Board of Trustees, who had free reign over the university's finances and building projects, had Neumann Hall built to house the IDA before the school became a member.

One notable member of the board of the trustees at the time was John N. Irwin, who had served as Eisenhower's deputy assistant secretary of defense. With Princeton's connection to the IDA literally set in stone, president of Princeton, Robert Goheen, ignored the Research Board and solidified Princeton as an official member in 1960, citing merely that the university already collaborated with the group unofficially. He even joined the board of the IDA himself.

The IDA's work was officially top secret, but their annual reports give a window into their objectives. An article published in the Princetonian in the following school year in fall of 1976 gives a comprehensive overview of IDA's activities. Tarlau explained to me some of their initiatives:

"The worst part of IDA were these research projects they would do, like if we drop a nuclear bomb in Vietnam, how many people would be killed? What are the ramifications of using tactical nuclear weapons? Those kinds of studies and the fact that university professors were getting money to fund that kind of stuff was unconscionable."

This sort of collaboration was not unusual for Princeton. Evidence for this can be found on the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library's (MML) website in the digitized Board of Trustee Records. According to a report to the Board of Trustees made by the Dean of the Engineering School, J. C. Elgin, in Fall 1957, collaboration with the government in military activities was an accepted part of the culture of Princeton's Engineering School during the time period and was considered essential to the faculties' "professional growth." Elgin cited a laundry list of points of contact specifically between the aeronautical engineering professors and the U.S. military (pg. 82 to 87 of the 1957-1958 Board of Trustees Records in Board of Trustees Records, 1746-2021 Collection):

"Aeronautical Engineering Faculty have continued their contributions to the Advisory Group for Aeronautical Research and Development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and they have acted in advisory consulting capacities to such other organizations like the Defense Department (Assistant Secretary for Research and Development); U.S. Army Scientific Advisory Panel; U.S. Navy (ONR); U.S. Weapon System Evaluation Group of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the United States Airforce; the Institution of Aeronautical Sciences, and to several aeronautical and aircraft companies."

When Tarlau went back to his congressional internship with Congressman Ryan, he used his government access to learn more about Princeton's connections with the US government. "These generals came in with these lists of these contracts they had with the University," he explained to me. "I used to get research on grants that the defense companies were giving universities." Ryan, who had known Tarlau since high school, was willing to turn a blind eye to Tarlau's snooping. Tarlau's findings align with the Board of Trustee Records available on the Mudd Library's website. According to the minutes of the Trustee's Committee on Finance meeting in January 1967, the University was contracting out its research facilities in Princeton and the Forrestal Campus about three miles away to the Department of Defense (pg. 571-577 of the 1966 to 1967 Board of Trustees Records).

Tarlau's research was the foundation of the Princeton SDS's campaign against the IDA in the Fall of 1967. With a precise target identified that allowed them to disrupt the war effort, the SDS spent the summer planning how it would deliver its campaign against the IDA. ○

An Interview with Divest Princeton

M.E. Walker

COULD YOU TALK ABOUT THE MISSION OF DIVEST PRINCETON? WHAT ACTIONS HAVE YOU ENGAGED IN ON CAMPUS?

Divest Princeton's mission is very simple: we want Princeton University to divest its \$37.7 billion endowment from fossil fuel companies and reinvest responsibly for a just livable future. Despite the pandemic, we have had an active presence on campus including protesting events with fossil fuel partners, speaking at meetings that deny the need for divestment, holding rallies, reading out our proposal, tabling to talk to students and give out stickers, putting up posters around campus and giving stickers and flyers to supportive local businesses.

COULD YOU TALK ABOUT THE MISSION OF DIVEST PRINCETON? WHAT ACTIONS HAVE YOU ENGAGED IN ON CAMPUS?

The Board of Trustees decides policy for the endowment and PRINCO (the Princeton University

are simply roadblocks to slow change and ideally derail. In the past, allowing attrition to work its magic has been an effective strategy for the university – waiting it out as students graduate and movement fall apart. The pandemic changed that pattern by moving organizing online and allowing many generations of alumni to participate actively in the campaign. Graduation is now just the beginning.

THERE HAVE BEEN OTHER DIVESTMENT MOVEMENTS AT PRINCETON, SUCH AS THE MOVEMENT TO DIVEST FROM SOUTH AFRICA DECADES AGO. HOW HAS PAST ACTIVISM AT PRINCETON INFORMED DIVEST'S WORK?

Divest Princeton has learned a great deal from the work of past activists. Most specifically, Divest Princeton stands on the shoulders of the students who championed fossil fuel divestment on campus between 2013 and 2016 through the groups Students United for a Responsible Global Environment (SURGE) and Princeton Sustainable Investment Initiative (PSII).

planet for profit and to slowly put the squeeze on the availability and cost of capital for this destruction. Over 1,485 institutions with over \$39.2 trillion of assets have committed to divesting from fossil fuels. The industry has underperformed for the last decade and while prices are high right now, this volatility is unattractive for prudent investors.

CAN'T PRINCETON USE ITS POSITION AS A SHAREHOLDER TO INFLUENCE FOSSIL FUEL COMPANIES TO OPERATE MORE SUSTAINABLY?

Shareholder engagement has failed at every turn. Princeton would never own enough shares to force any issue and concerted efforts have not been able to change the behaviour of companies like Exxon. We have run out of time.

RESEARCHERS AT PRINCETON CONTINUE TO INVESTIGATE NEW TECHNOLOGY TO FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE. WON'T DIVESTMENT UNDERMINE THIS WORK?

Princeton needs to listen to its own faculty who have been sounding the alarm on fossil fuels for decades. Unfortunately, while many faculty have done ground-breaking work contributing to our understanding of climate change and what needs to be done, Princeton has in parallel allowed BP and ExxonMobil to fund large areas of research into pipe dream technology like carbon capture and sequestration that if ever successful, would allow fossil fuel companies to continue emitting carbon. Unfortunately, CCS has failed to scale up anywhere in the world. Carbon needs to be left in the ground and Princeton researchers should be working on getting to real zero.

HOW CAN PRINCETON STUDENTS AND ALUMNI SUPPORT THE DIVESTMENT MOVEMENT?

All Princetonians can sign our open letter calling for divestment which has been signed by over 3000 people. An exciting new development which shows the seriousness of support for divestment on campus is the Faculty & Staff Petition for Divestment from Fossil Fuels launched at the beginning of February. While many staff and faculty have been supportive of divestment since 2013, this is the first public collective action by faculty and staff to tell the administration that its continued investments in the fossil fuel industry are unacceptable. And today, Divest Princeton filed a legal complaint with the New Jersey Attorney General, urging them to compel Princeton University to fully divest from fossil fuels. Everyone who cares about the future can sign on and show their support for the complaint at bit.ly/SignComplaint. ○



"Divest Princeton protesters meet outside of Nassau Hall"

Investment Company) is the University entity that manages the endowment. Following demands that the university divest from companies doing business in apartheid South Africa, the Council Of the Princeton University Resources Committee was created by the Trustees in 1970 to "consider questions of general policy concerning the procurement and management of the University's financial resources." The Resources Committee is made up of representatives of the faculty, undergraduate student body, graduate student body and staff and makes recommendations to the Trustees who then have the ultimate say. Many feel that the Resources Committee and the new committees that have been created this year

HOW HAS DIVEST ADAPTED TO THE CHALLENGES BROUGHT ON BY COVID-19, IN TERMS OF CAMPUS ORGANIZING?

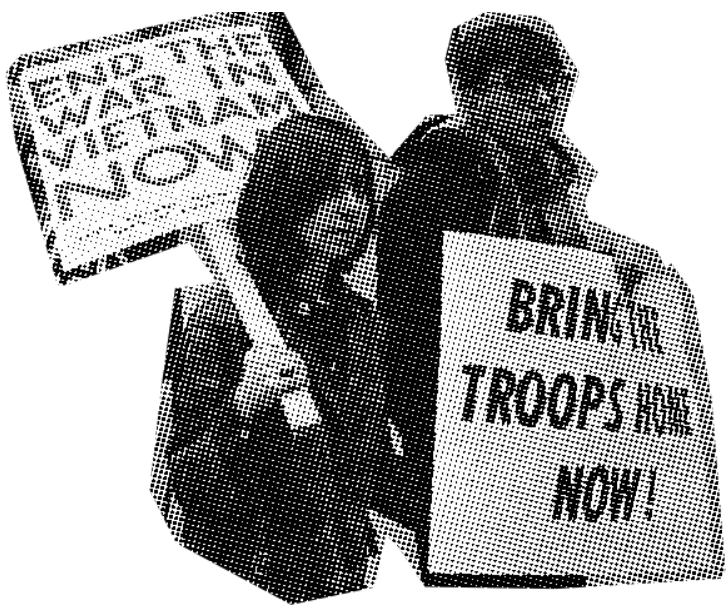
Divest Princeton quickly pivoted to online organizing and throughout the pandemic we hosted meetings, interviews and webinars online regularly. All of these can be viewed on our site.

IS DIVESTMENT EFFECTIVE? IF PRINCETON DIVESTS FROM FOSSIL FUEL COMPANIES, WON'T OTHER INVESTORS SIMPLY STEP IN?

Divestment from fossil fuels has two objectives – to remove the social license that allows fossil fuel companies to willfully destroy our

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