

THE PRINCETON

TORY

Also: POINTS & PUNTS
and The Last Word by Will Scharf

Anscombe's Proposed Chastity Center

Point/Counterpoint:
Is it necessary?

THE PRINCETON TORY

April 2008
Volume XXV - Issue I

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The Princeton Tory accepts letters to the editor. Direct correspondence to: P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, NJ 08542; or by e-mail: tory@princeton.edu. Advertisement rates for *The Princeton Tory* can be found on the magazine's website at www.princeton Tory.com. Donations to *The Princeton Tory* are fully tax-deductible. Please mail donations to: P.O. Box 1499, Princeton, NJ 08542.

The Princeton Tory is a member of the Collegiate Network. *The Princeton Tory* gives special thanks to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, Princeton Alumni Viewpoints, and The Bachman Foundation.

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Letter from the Publisher

The Importance of Perspective

Lewis Black, whom I consider to be one of the most astute and hilarious comedians today, once remarked on the importance of humor in political discourse. As Black sees it, one of the most fundamental differences between Americans and the terrorists we face is that we have the ability to step back and laugh at very serious political and social problems. As Black puts it, the terrorists "have no sense of humor," and when a group of people get so caught up in their ideology that no one dares to make fun of it, "[they]'re screwed."



I'm not quite sure I would go as far as Black in saying that a lack of a sense of humor is among the fundamental differences between Americans and Islamic terrorists, but I certainly agree with the general premise that the ability to make fun of one's own cause as well as that of one's opponents is essential to healthy political discourse. I would, however, add an essential corollary: it is equally important to have some distance from one's own political movement and to avoid the intellectual paralysis of political correctness. It is vital to maintain a sense of perspective in regard to political debates.

To that end, starting with this issue, the Points & Punts section will make an effort to inject much-needed humor into campus issues while taking aim at both the right and the left. As our loyal readers will see, we do not hesitate to mock both those with whom conservatives would traditionally agree and those from whose ideas they would normally demur. We are quite aware that some of the humor is irreverent, but we firmly believe that making fun of those things that are usually politically offlimits is essential to achieving the important goal of getting ideologues not to take themselves too seriously.

The *Tory* firmly believes in debating and reevaluating conservative ideas, and the cover story to this issue, a point-counterpoint on the proposed Chastity Center, speaks to this element of my proposed corollary. It is vital that we debate the major issues on campus and across the nation rather than getting bogged down in political wars of attrition over such topics as the Francisco Nava affair and the politically correct wording that should be used to refer to one group or another when the common diction is widely accepted.

Unfortunately, the Princeton campus is not the ideal place to seek perspective on important issues. Far too often, the student government leadership and the *Daily Princetonian* are focused on the banal and the trivial as opposed to the urgent and the momentous. It is altogether too common to hear political correctness gone amok and intellectual debate stifled because some issues are offlimits and conservative points of view are relegated to the gutter by liberal elites. The *Tory*, as well, should take care not to plunge headlong into self-righteousness and blind ideology.

We hope that the *Tory* can help set a new standard in which the important issues are front-and-center and no point of view is immune from debate. As importantly, we hope that occasionally our readers and others will take a moment to step back and poke fun at themselves, their beliefs, and those of their opponents, for it is only by maintaining a sense of perspective on these issues that we achieve a substantive campus conversation.

Best,
Joel Alicea '10

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www.princeton.edu/~tory

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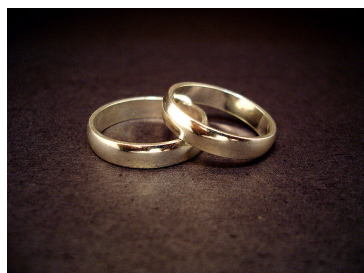
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Will Scharf '08

POINTS & PUNTS

Unsupervised members of the Tory drink themselves into oblivion, then opine gaily about toilet paper quotas, the “No, We Can’t!” crowd, and the guy who spoke after Antonin Scalia

The *Daily Princetonian* editorial board has proposed limiting the number of pages that students can print from university clusters. According to the board, “our excessive consumption of paper wastes energy and trees and comes back to students in the form of higher tuition and manpower hours spent trying to fix the printers.” The *Tory* wholeheartedly applauds the *Prince’s* sentiment, but we think don’t think it goes far enough. After all, the average Princeton student probably uses as much toilet paper in a day as he prints pages from the printing cluster. We think the editorial board would do better to propose a one-square-per-visit quota on toilet paper. As to whether that would apply to one-ply or two-ply toilet paper, perhaps Josh Weinstein can set up a committee to examine the matter.

The *Daily Princetonian* reported in January that “Wilson School Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter ‘80 [...] donated \$2,300 — the maximum amount allowed by law during the primary season — to Clinton. Curiously, Slaughter also donated \$1,500 to Obama’s campaign.” **Curious? We think not.**

Democratic Senator Barack Obama has made it a point of his campaign to rekindle hope among the American people. From reforming healthcare to bridging the divide between Democrats and Republicans, Obama continues to inspire Americans with high rhetoric about what we as a country can accomplish. Oddly enough, the senator from Illinois does not extend his optimism to the War in Iraq, and continues to serve as a source of cynicism and defeatism in regard to our success there. Our question for Senator Obama and his supporters is simple: **where’s the hope?**

In addition, we’ve lately heard the Obama camp whining about how it would be undemocratic if Hillary went into the convention with fewer pledged delegates but won on the strength of superdelegates. It now appears, however, that based on the convoluted Texas and Nevada systems, Hillary got more votes in those states but will receive fewer delegates.

Undemocratic? Obama isn’t complaining. What is particularly strange about the Democrats’ complaint is that they have had this same nominating system for years, yet nobody has objected. Suddenly the Dems don’t like a system run by party bosses?

Francisco Nava – Anscombe initiations gone horribly wrong?

It’s possible that the Anscombe Society is destroying the image of conservatives, especially social conservatives, with its strong protest of the University’s distribution of free condoms. Many people on campus now peg Anscombe as a radical organization and lump together all who might be sympathetic to Anscombe as insane lunatics who are against contraceptives. While its heart might be in the right place, this effort to ban condoms will only hinder the organization’s efforts on issues that are seen as legitimate by a large portion of the student body. If they want to make any sort of a difference, they should tackle those more popular issues first and save the harder battles for a later day.

In early February, a bombshell was dropped which will forever alter this magazine’s usage of English vocabulary. In a guest column in the *Daily Princetonian*, sophomore Jacob Denz informed the world that “the term ‘homosexual’ is itself offensive because the psychiatric community originally used it to pathologize people with same-sex attraction.” Although we, along with most of the literate population, saw the word as an objective, descriptive term, the *Tory*, ever-sensitive to the desires of campus minorities, is happy to strike the word “homosexual” from our pages. But we are baffled as to what to replace it with. Particularly among our age group the term “gay” is used pejoratively more often than “homosexual,” so that’s out too. **What are we left with? Homophile? Bugger? Sodomite?**

On the subject of language, we at the *Tory* would like to collectively announce that we are (say it loud, say it proud) gay. Very, very, very gay. In any case, in the tradition of “The Vagina Monologues”

taking back the c-word and universities across the nation re-appropriating “queer,” we at the *Tory* are taking back “gay.” That’s right, folks: gay now means “happy” again. So next time you get a good grade on a problem set or score a date with that hot guy, girl or otherwise in your econ lecture, just admit it: **you’re gay.**

Time and again - from fascism doctrine to communist ideology - governments have proven a fundamental point: planners creating utopian schemes behind closed doors cannot successfully impress upon the brow of society their purely rational edifices. And yet once more we see this liberal impulse seize our University administration’s top minds. We refer to, of course, the new alcohol policy. Originally detailed in secret, without student input, this farce of a plan was surely devised by souls who could not drink their way out of a brown paper bag. Indeed, it is evident from their proposals that they lack sufficient exposure to the drinking scene on campus to even realize the dangers of forcing drinking practice further into secret. A society - even one so small as a university’s - is far too complex to successfully manipulate in any grand manner. And yet it is precisely the rationalist impulse to do so, unchecked by any reference to reality, that so wracks today’s institutions, from university administration right on up to over-zealous federal government.

Not to whine, but we at the *Tory*, being borderline winos all, feel the need to distill some more criticism of the new alcohol policy. By discouraging openness about drinking habits, the policy encourages private consumption of alcohol to the detriment of larger gatherings. Not only has this been noted to increase occurrences of what is defined as “high risk” drinking, but it creates an interesting gap between those who can provide for themselves beverage-wise and those who cannot. When large room parties splinter in more private sessions, the sources of alcohol consolidate among those who have the means of procurement. Obtaining alcohol may be no problem for Ashton FitzRandolph IV, who has the ancestral bankroll to binge on Bacardi any time he please; however, for those self-made men among us who as of yet lack the financial wherewithal to afford booze, it presents a serious problem. The university claims it does not discriminate based on economic background (a claim we already knew to be false, truth be told), but this certainly is a new tenet: **the poor don’t deserve to get wasted as much as the rich do.**

Across the pond, Dr. Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Canterbury, has brewed up a tempest in a teapot with his recent comments about the place of Islamic Sharia law in Britain. In the interest of accommodating British Muslims who may feel out of touch with the Western legal system, Dr. Williams suggested incorporating aspects of Islamic law into British law. Currently, he said, the law does not sufficiently recognize that residents of Britain may have “other affiliations [and] other loyalties which shape and dictate how they behave in society.” Since his speech, Dr. Williams has faced sharp criticism. Even erstwhile supporter Prime Minister Gordon Brown has strong misgivings, and Labour MP Khalid Mahmood called Dr. Williams’ comments “incredibly crass and naïve.” On the other hand, the *Tory* finds it rather nice to see a religious leader actually advocating religion, rather than seeking to make it “relevant” and “uplifting” for those who affirmatively reject it. Dean Boden, take note.

On Saturday, March 8, independent presidential candidate Ralph Nader delivered a lecture in McCosh 50. Really. He was here. At Princeton. On this campus. The only student the *Tory* could track down who witnessed the visit explained that she could not opine on his speech, as she had trekked through the rain to McCosh only to discover that Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia had spoken the day before. She left dejectedly.

But seriously, Ralph, this whole business makes us positively gay (see above). The *Tory* whole-heartedly supports, nay, encourages* your campaign. We wish you the best of luck in your quest for as many disenfranchised Democratic votes as possible. In fact, we would like to offer you whatever support the *Tory* can render. Just give us a ring.

* Unfortunately, due to tax restrictions the *Tory* cannot actually “endorse” a presidential candidate. Sorry, Ralph. You’re still our bff.

“Oh, get over it. It’s eight years ago.” Justice Antonin Scalia, responding to a question on *Bush v. Gore* during his recent visit to campus.

Eliot Spitzer...we’ll pass.

POINTS & PUNTS, representing the opinions of individual writers, were compiled by the editors.

EMBRYOS AND SCIENCE

IN SEARCH OF RATIONAL BIOETHICS

Aaron Smargon '11

I have never thought of myself as a fundamentalist. Having witnessed two successive clerical scandals in my youth, I now harbor skepticism toward organized religion and the proverbial “holier than thou” routine. Lack of religious inclination has hardened me into a secular-minded prospective science major.

Religious views, then, had no bearing on my decision to be a social conservative; I independently oppose research on human embryos and abortion in a majority of cases. And yet, according to geneticist and Princeton Professor Lee Silver, this position is not possible.

Professor Silver, who teaches WWS 320: Human Genetics, Reproduction and Public Policy, believes that any opposition to human embryonic research or destruction is chiefly motivated by irrational, fundamentalist religious beliefs, obsolete in this rational, modern world.

In response to a 2008 question from EDGE magazine, which asked prominent intellectuals what they have changed their minds about, he wrote that, “[I]rrationality and mysticism seem to be an integral part of normal human nature, even among highly educated people,” from whom “...there is often refusal to accept scientific implications of rational argument.”

So what exactly is this “rational argument?” I sat down with Professor Silver to investigate his views on human bioethics and to search for a place for mine.

As in all discussions, it is important initially to define one’s terms. I wanted Professor Silver to give me his concrete definition of what it is to be a member of the human species, a pivotal point from which his rational case would surely follow. But, rather than proposing his own hypothesis, he began by explaining that, “I try to probe ideas people have to see if they are logically con-

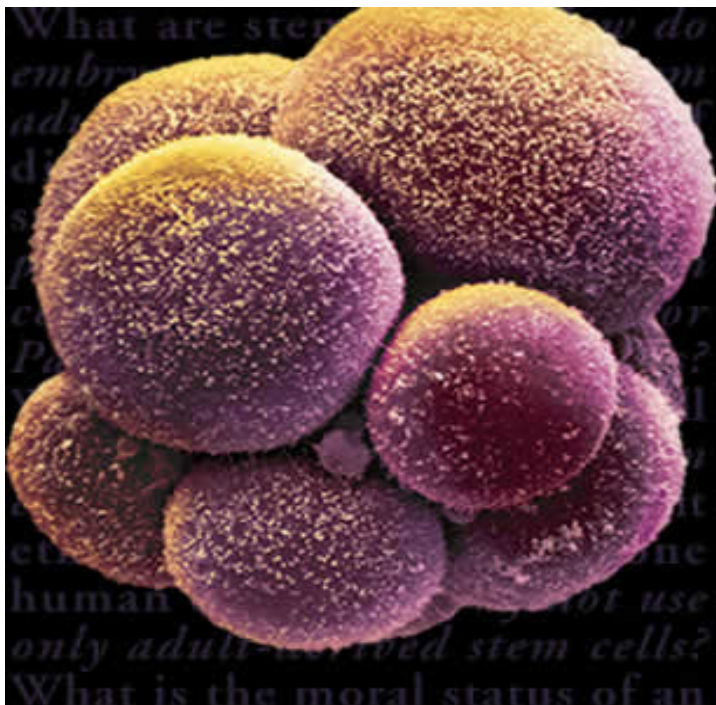
sistent.” So I offered him the argument which one of his primary intellectual opponents, fellow Princeton Professor Robert George, outlines in his new book, *Embryo: A Defense of Human Life*: Any self-regulating entity capable, given the right conditions, of developing on its own into a mature organism of the species *Homo sapiens* should be considered human. This would include (in reverse order of development) a human adolescent, child, infant, fetus, blastocyst, and embryo.

Silver was quick to dismiss this notion, countering with, “That opinion was unchallengeable 30-40 years ago, but has now been superseded by science.” He clarified by noting that today, with hybrid organisms grown in laboratories, we cannot as easily differentiate between species. The definition of the human species has surely evolved with scientific knowledge. Therefore, I can understand

why Silver was cautious about concretely defining a human.

In spite of his apparent objectivity and repeated insistence that, “I am not a bioethicist,” Professor Silver had a conclusive position of how humans should be treated. He openly opined on the matter of human individual rights, saying that “a free-living organism that can feed itself and was born by human parents deserves human rights as described by the United Nations’ Universal Rights.” I asked Silver what made him, like these parents, hu-

man, and at what point in time he became human. Much to my surprise, he replied that there was no definitive moment at which he became human and that human-species life, just as human-individual life, is continuous. Professor Silver, on the one hand, could not conceivably distinguish between a human and non-human state in the develop-



Do these cells deserve an inherent right to life? Prof. Silver says no.

ment process, and yet, on the other hand, had no qualms in determining that these heretofore-undefined humans deserve rights.

Given his previous statements, it came as no shock to learn that Professor Silver is unconditionally pro-choice – for the entire duration of a pregnancy. Silver’s definition of what deserves individual human rights does support his pro-choice stance, but are his abortion views completely supported by science?

I asked him whether, as a scientist, he feels that structure determines function, and thus definition. He replied affirmatively. I then inquired whether there was any biological or structural difference between an almost-born fetus and a newborn baby. He said that there was not.

This inconsistency between an ethical judgment on abortion and the accompanying science raises several important questions that would seem to confound Professor Silver’s attempt at “rationality.” What makes the newborn baby any different or more deserving of human rights than the fetus, especially given that an almost-born fetus is capable of breathing on its own? And what about babies born unable to breathe unassisted or born with disabilities rendering them incapable of self-feeding? Should they also not be protected by human rights? Ultimately, is an infant’s dependence on a guardian for survival that different from a fetus’ dependence on its mother’s womb for survival? If so, why punish irresponsible parents for child negligence when a baby is perfectly “free and able to feed itself?” Insofar as Professor Silver has presented his “rational argument,” I find his definition of human individuality logically inconsistent.

Despite the aforementioned contradictions, Professor Silver does make a logical argumentative point with respect to stem cell research. Like many conservatives, I oppose embryonic stem (ES) cell research but support research with induced pluripotent stem cells (iPSCs), that is, stem cells derived from human skin cells. Silver notes, however, that iPSCs are capable of developing into human embryos, albeit with technological intervention. In fact, as was demonstrated by engineering mouse “tetraploid” embryos from mouse ES cells, any human stem cell is capable of developing into a human embryo, and thus into a mature human organism.

Professor George’s counterpoint is that these stem cells lack the intrinsic definition to develop into mature

human organisms on their own, and they produce only disorganized tissue when allowed to proliferate. Instead, stem cells must be programmed in order to develop into a human organism. While this distinction easily applies today, I tend to agree with Professor Silver that, as technology progresses, it will become increasingly difficult to determine if stem cells, when programmed to generate organs and body parts, will, at the same stage, not also

be capable of developing into humans. And then, perhaps, Professor Silver’s refusal to define a human being or organism will not seem as so counterproductive to his supposedly rational argument.

But, for now, I primarily concur with Professor

George’s assertion in an October 3, 2006 edition of The National Review Online that it is an “indisputable scientific fact that each embryo is a complex, living, individual member of the human species.” Unlike previous generations, today we understand that the intrinsic properties of human life begin at and develop from the embryonic stage. Far from “superseding” bioethical standards derisively attributed to religious superstition, science may have indeed validated some of them.

Still, I wonder, am I somehow irrational or mystical if I find fault with Professor Silver’s views or if—God forbid—I side with religion? I cannot accept that assessment. It is truly a fundamentalist accusation, which serves only to infuse bioethical debate with even more irrationality. After my discussion with Professor Silver, I must concede that the debate over the ethics of embryos is complicated and that educated people, when presented the same evidence, can have reasonable, scientifically valid disagreements. Sometimes, however, they can also be so overwhelmed by their convictions that they look past even the principle of scientific falsifiability. And so my search for rational bioethics continues. **F**

Far from “superseding” bioethical standards derisively attributed to religious superstition, science may have indeed validated some of them.

Aaron Smargon is a freshman and prospective Molecular Biology major. His non-academic interests include taekwondo, reading, freedom, fighting terrorists, and ‘Merica.

THE STUDENT BILL OF RIGHTS

WHY THE USG MUST KEEP IT RELEVANT

Emma Yates '11

During freshman week, the Class of 2011 was educated on a variety of topics. From the availability of extracurricular activities and the importance of making informed decisions regarding alcohol, to issues of diversity and sexual health, my class was shown, formally and informally, what being a Tiger entails. Yet it would seem as though we were educated with a mind towards the extracurricular factors of Princeton life, rather than the substantive content of a Princeton student's academic rights and responsibilities.

Amidst the assemblies and packets of information with which the university greeted the freshman class, not a word was spoken of the Student Bill of Rights. The Student Bill of Rights (SBOR) was passed by referendum on the USG Ballot on April 26th, 2006 with 51.8% of the vote. The Bill seeks to "further promote an intellectual environment of free inquiry and free speech without intimidation of any given set of beliefs." The text of the Bill itself recognizes that, "While we have not the power to declare [these principles] binding or irrevocable... any act in violation would contravene the 'fundamental principles of free discovery' to which Princeton University is Committed."

The idea for a Student Bill of Rights was popularized by David Horowitz of Students for Academic Freedom, now the David Horowitz Freedom Center. When the College Republicans drafted the Bill, they "consciously departed" from the Horowitz model. According to Will Scharf '08, then press secretary of the College Republicans, this was because aspects of Horowitz's model were "not well-suited" for Princeton.

Even marginal affiliation with David Horowitz, however, was enough to raise voices of dissent in spring 2006 when the student body began discussing the issue. In fact, Asheesh Siddique '07 created a new student group, Free Exchange at Princeton, in order to challenge the "bill of restrictions." The College Democrats echoed these

challenges as well, claiming that the SBOR seemed narrowly tailored toward protecting a conservative ideology.

One of the more controversial aspects of the bill is its provisions directing classroom discussion. According to section two, "Teachers are entitled to freedom in teaching

their subject as they see fit, but not to the point of political, ideological, religious, or anti-religious indoctrination, or to the exclusion of other opinions or viewpoints. Such actions represent a violation of the principles of a student's academic

freedom and the principles of free and open sharing of ideas." Professor David Botstein, director of the Lewis-Sigler Institute for Integrative Genomics, expressed the concerns of many of the department heads, saying, "I think the faculty is the faculty, and the students should use their own good judgment. We can't make believe everything is a debate... A philosophical debate distracts from the reason students want to learn the science."

Wyatt Yankus '09 echoed Scharf's comments that some of the motivations for passing the SBOR were instances of students being unfairly graded and criticized for expressing unpopular viewpoints. Though both Yankus and Scharf declined to comment on the precise nature of these allegations, Scharf cited "anecdotal evidence." The text of the SBOR in no way implores professors to refrain from presenting their scholarly points of view, no matter how controversial they are; Yankus recognized the fact that there are necessarily "two academic freedoms involved" here.

It would seem that all that is being asserted by the SBOR is academic freedom of thought. Professors as scholars, and fundamentally as persons, possess the freedom to believe, disseminate information, and educate their students as they will. It is only when such "education" becomes condescending and patronizing that students' freedom of thought is abridged. Professor Botstein is surely correct that it would be difficult to conceive of a circumstance in which an organic chemistry

The SBOR is not a merely a project of the College Republicans: it represents the official position of the Princeton student body and the USG.

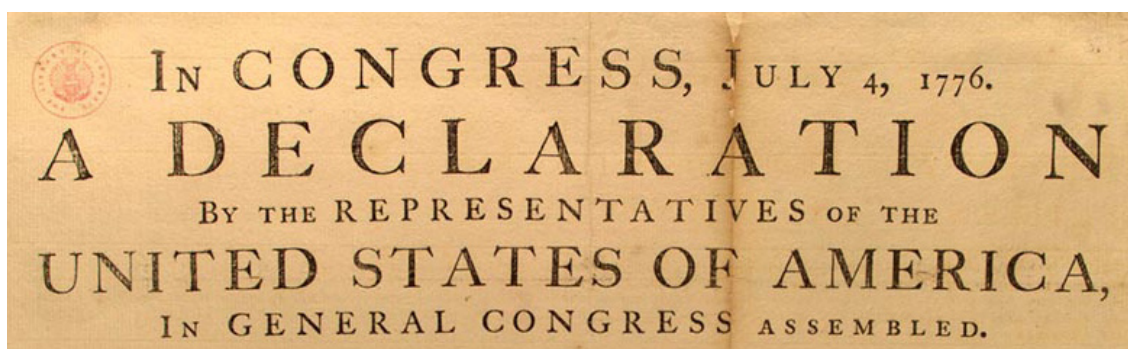
professor reprimanded or graded down his students because of the content of their beliefs. It is difficult to imagine a “gradient of belief” in undergraduate organic chemistry. However, if on an exam a student argued against a professor’s purported scientific evaluation regarding affording human embryos moral protection and was graded down for it, then that student’s freedom of thought is necessarily being infringed.

Yet according to Yankus, the reception from the faculty department heads was generally poor. It seemed that many academic departments viewed the Bill as a violation of their freedom to teach, perhaps concurring with sentiments that the Bill was crafted to protect specific viewpoints.

According to Scharf, the current status of the SBOR is “the same as it was a day after it passed -- it is a document endorsed by a voting majority of Princeton students.” As the evidence of academic malpractice was anecdotal upon formulation of the bill and remains anecdotal today, it is impossible to attribute any decrease in unfair grading practices to the passage of the Bill.

The College Republicans cite anecdotal evidence such as the fact that students have responded with respect and thoughtful comments at controversial lectures and have not defaced posters put up by other student groups in claiming that the Bill has perhaps been successful in facilitating “an environment conducive to the civil exchange of ideas.”

Such tolerance was surely a desired end in passing the SBOR, yet it seems that both the College Republicans and the USG have dropped the ball in publicizing and realizing to the largest extent possible the remainder of its more central points. Former USG President Rob Biederman ’08 claimed that because of the explicit recognition in the Bill that it cannot be enforced, there is nothing for the USG to do in reference to it. Further, Biederman commented that, “the responsibility falls more to the College Republicans, as the USG doesn’t even go out of its way to publicize every position it itself has ever taken.” This might have been true in the past, but it should not be the case this year: the USG has recently created a Communications Committee with a dozen members,



The fact that a document is unenforceable does not make it irrelevant.

with the goal of publicizing the USG’s activities. Furthermore, the SBOR is not a merely a project of the College Republicans: it represents the official position of the Princeton student body and the USG. As Alex Lenahan ’07, the USG President at the time that the SBOR passed, explained to me, with the passage of the bill, “the referendum becomes the position of the Senate as a representative body of the undergraduates of Princeton University.”

One very easy way of publicizing the SBOR would be to put a copy of it—along with other bills passed by the student body—on the USG website. Nobody in the USG that I contacted—including President Josh Weinstein ’09 and Communications Director Andrew Malcolm ’09—could comment on this idea.

The College Republicans and the USG have undoubtedly tackled many new and pressing projects since April 2006. Though it would be unrealistic to assert that they should continually press this one issue, the ease with which the Student Bill of Rights has been forgotten suggests that both groups are guilty of negligence. The responsibility for publicizing the Student Bill of Rights falls both with the College Republicans, as they proposed the SBOR, and with the USG, as the elected representatives of the student body that passed the bill. The SBOR, originally a brilliant publicity coup for the College Republicans and now the official position of the USG, is quickly sliding into irrelevance. It deserves greater deference and publicity from both organizations. **P**

Emma Yates is a freshman who intends to pursue an independent concentration in bioethics. Emma is from South Florida and is involved in Anscombe, Princeton Philosophical Society, Princeton Pro-Life, Princeton Bioethics Society, Aquinas, and PEF.

THE YALE TORY

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR. 1925 - 2008

Matt Schmitz '08

When Bill Buckley made a long-shot run for mayor of New York City, he was asked what he would do if he won. Buckley responded, "Demand a recount." Those contemplating his career in the year of his death are faced by a host of unlikely numbers: 55 books, 1429 episodes of his program *Firing Line* and some 5,600 columns. Add to that 225 obituary essays, or 227 if you count the role he played in writing the obituaries for communism abroad and collectivism at

home. He is also, perhaps, the one man most responsible for the existence of the *Princeton Tory*. Before him, it could not have existed; after him, it was merely the local outworking of an intellectual sea-change.

The conservative philosophy that Buckley championed—one marked by individualism—was best displayed in his personal life. Buckley's leisure hours, spent sailing, playing the harpsichord and skiing at Gstaad, were the undeniable expressions of what David Schae-

gold '07 aptly described as Buckley's "aesthetic exuberance." His philosophy was never a merely negative opposition to communism or to the New Deal. He fought his battles against statism because he believed in the individual: in caprice, adventure, friendship, and love. It was a faith he lived. Buckley's youthful hell-raising at Yale marked him as the first child of the sixties, a rebel before the age of rebellion. On campus he became known as an unrelenting critic of Yale's administration and faculty. Within a few years of his graduation, Buckley wrote *God and Man at Yale*, an indictment of Yale's bias against religion and free-market economics that became the blueprint for conservative campus activism.

In 2007, the need for conservative political action on Princeton's campus has never been more acute, and it is worth returning to Buckley to remember how and why the campus conservative movement came to be. Today at Princeton, most institutions that have any real chance of challenging Nassau Hall are controlled by it. Trustees are either appointed by the administrators they are supposed to oversee, or chosen by sham elections in which campaigning is not allowed. The *Daily Princetonian* and the USG should be the two student organs for holding the administration accountable, but the administration has a history of bullying both groups.

In the spring of 2005 Leslie Bernard-Joseph's USG was presented with a student-initiated referendum that called for barring



*In his book *God and Man at Yale*, Buckley laid the foundation for modern conservative criticisms of school administrations.*

ROTC from campus because of the “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy. Bernard-Joseph told President Tilghman that there would have to be a vote on it. By 4 o’clock that afternoon, Bernard-Joseph and USG Vice-President Jesse Creed were summoned to a closed-door meet-

ing with Bob Durkee where the two students, cornered by a powerful and persuasive administrator, were “strongly” encouraged to quash the measure. To do so would have required violating the USG constitution and overturning the will of 250 students

engaged in an expression of—admittedly profoundly misguided—civic concern. In the end the petition was withdrawn by its backers. Princeton kept ROTC, and it kept an administration willing to secretly bully our elected representatives while publicly claiming that they take no stand.

The *Daily Princetonian* provides a far weaker voice for student concerns. The staff of Princeton’s campus paper faces Cass Cliatt, the famously adversarial communications director who has brought student journalists to tears with her accusatory emails. Administrators seek to influence the content of both the news and editorial sections of the paper. A *Prince* reporter faces the constant risk that offended administrators will permanently refuse to talk to him. Unlike Creed and Bernard-Joseph, *Prince* editors have consistently refused to challenge the administration. The *Prince* seems unaware of the leverage it has as the University’s only newspaper—administrators have nowhere else to go. Rather than risk the disapproval of administrators, the *Prince* has taken on the glib boosterism of a community bulletin. We have a small-town paper for a small-town campus.

Princeton’s culture of complacency is not very different from the one Bill Buckley encountered at Yale in the 1950s. Instead of defending the New Deal and anodyne Unitarianism, the modern powers-that-be do what they can to preserve the gains of the sexual revolution. What are conservatives to do? In the form of the *Tory*, Princeton enjoys the probably unwelcome privilege of having an institutional Buckley, the permanent opposition and perennial gadfly. Conservatives wondering what they have to contribute to their fellow students and the school they love can find one modern interpretation of Buckley’s legacy, exemplified by *The Virginia Informer*. *The In-*

former, William and Mary’s well-run conservative paper, has perfected the art of grievance-mongering by decrying instances of anti-conservative bias. Its outrage over the removal of a cross from the school’s chapel precipitated the resignation of the university’s president. Conserva-

tives should realize that this route, pioneered by Buckley in *God and Man at Yale*, must be broadened. So long as Shirley Tilghman is writing grad-school recommendations for leaders of the USG and threatening members of the student paper, the *Tory* is the only source for journalism un-

saddled by anxiety over what the overlords think. Consequently, conservatives have a responsibility to liberals and conservatives alike to criticize the administration, even when it is not apparently in the interest of conservative causes.

The *Tory* has always had the privilege of being the sole conservative voice on campus. Due to its unique independence it also has the task of providing non-partisan criticism of the administration. Even when conservative interests are not directly at stake—when no member of the Trinity is being blasphemed and the memory of Milton Friedman is properly honored—the *Tory* has a duty to speak up. In the ROTC case, the Pride Alliance’s petition drew the strong opposition of member of the *Tory*. Nonetheless, it should always be conservatives who speak first against strong-arm tactics such as those the administration employed.

Conservatives must remember that they are not only a minority that must protect its interests. They also hold a public trust to report to expose those things no one else does, such as McCosh’s failure to report STDs. In the year of his death, the movement Buckley founded must look beyond itself to find its purpose. **P T**

Conservatives have a responsibility to liberals and conservatives alike to criticize the administration, even when it is not apparently in the interest of conservative causes.

Matthew Schmitz is a senior from O’Neill, NE. He is the Publisher Emeritus of the *Princeton Tory*.

IDEOLOGICAL ONE-SIDEDNESS

THE LGBT CENTER AND WOMEN'S CENTER

Sherif Girgis '08

The LGBT Center, the Fields Center, the Women's Center and the International Center serve prominent roles on campus. Against the marginalization that their constituencies might face, they lend institutional support and secure a central presence on campus, literally—with offices in Frist. Their full-time staffs use generous funds to organize and sponsor roundtables, lectures, discussion groups, screenings, and social events at a level of coordination among students, faculty, and administrators that no student group has the authority or power to match. They offer libraries of educational resources, counseling, and referrals. Unlike student groups, they can participate in RCA training and reach underclassmen by leading advisee study breaks in residential colleges.

Judging that matters of sexuality deserve special attention, the university has founded two administrative centers focused on such issues: the LGBT Center and the Women's Center. It is clear to any reasonable observer that both have an ideological one-sidedness that impedes their ability to help a significant number of Princetonians who themselves seek resources.

So the case for a center for traditional sexual ethics—by that or any other name—is rather simple. First, like LGBT students and women, students seeking to be chaste have needs for intellectual and social resources

and support that university centers are especially equipped to meet. Second, the ideological one-sidedness (“lopsidedness” would be generous) of the LGBT and Women's Centers on issues of gender and sexuality requires correction, both in fairness to morally traditional students and for the intellectual health of the university. Either of these considerations alone would support establishing the center. Together, they require it.

Which is more likely to earn you

is not an embrace of victimology—which conservatives rightly denounce for its learned helplessness and blind faith in top-down correction. This is rather a sober estimation of the *status quo* on Princeton's campus and a suggestion of one crucial step toward remedying it.

Thus, male and female students of *any* sexual inclination who want resources and support for living chastely deserve to be represented, but they are not by the LGBT or

Women's Centers. Conservatives might argue that no groups should get special institutional attention since this only aggravates their sense of being apart—that in an ideal world, Princeton would treat us all just as Princetonians. Of course, in an ideal world, no students would *need* more assistance.

The health of this university's intellectual milieu requires an even playing-field for all reasonable sides of contested moral and political questions.

soft derision from Princetonian peers or even professors—coming out as gay, or coming out as chaste? Being a woman, or being a virgin? If asking these questions appears somehow unseemly, it is only because ranking plights is always so. But that is the point: the position of the virgin or the student committed to chastity *isn't* easy. Through mandatory programs like “Sex on a Saturday Night” and “Sex Jeopardy” advisee study breaks, as well as one-sided educational resources and events (see the events calendar of any center, or even the events on sexuality sponsored by the Office of Religious Life), the University confirms as normal (and perhaps normative) the libertinism that makes it difficult to live chastely. This

In the real world, some do. Even if you disagree that administrative centers are the *ideal* solution, the reality is that they are likely here to stay. Since they are, and given the ideological commitments of current centers on every contested sexual and familial question, establishing a center representing the other side is imperative.

The health of this university's intellectual milieu requires an even playing-field for all reasonable sides of contested moral and political questions. Student groups do not tilt that playing-field, and fairly chosen but disproportionately liberal faculties do so only incidentally; one-sided administrative centers tilt it unjustly. There is simply no record of a single

administrative center ever giving a fair hearing to (much less defending or helping students live out) traditional sexual or marital ethics. Many LGBT Center programs distort and ridicule such views (e.g., the “Religious Right’s Obsession with Gay Sex” panel). Others—with the curious support of an Office of Religious Life meant to represent Catholics, Evangelicals, Muslims, and Orthodox Jews—excuse and dismiss the sexual mores of these great faith traditions (as occurred at the recent “Religion Symposium: Religious Texts, Sexual Orientation, and Gender Identity”). The LGBT Center’s aggressive promotion of libertinism—the view that any consensual sex is morally permissible or good, and that all sexual unions are on the same moral plane—alone provides a conclusive reason for founding a chastity center.

Such a center would not open the door for a center for every student group; it would only make consistent the university’s current institutional assistance for sexual minorities. This proposal does not presuppose a relativistic relegation of chastity to one “lifestyle” among many equally good ones. It is not a proposal to found many centers, one of which would be pro-chastity. It is a proposal to found a center that responds to real needs, prepares students for a significant aspect of their flourishing—marriage—and corrects an unjust imbalance. It presupposes instead, then, the value of marriage as it shapes our sexual choices throughout life, as well as the objective moral principles of fairness and intellectual virtue. On these values, conservatives and liberals alike can come together to support an effort to make Princeton more hospitable to everyone. **P**

Sherif Girgis ‘08 is a philosophy major from Dover, Del.

ANSCOMBE’S CHASTITY CENTER

JUST WHAT ARE WE GETTING INTO?

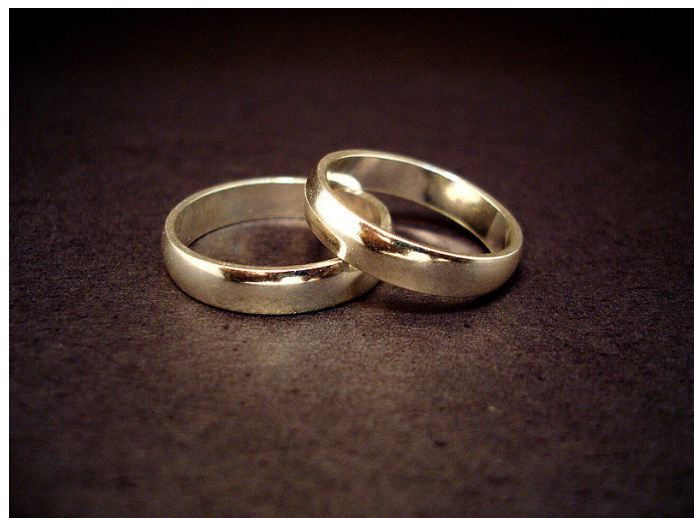
Andrew Saraf ‘11

Upon founding *National Review* in 1955, the late, great conservative patriarch William F. Buckley, Jr. famously announced that his magazine would “stand athwart history, yelling Stop.” He was not renouncing pragmatism; indeed, he accepted that one must “make the allowances to reality that reality imposes [and] take advantage of the current when the current moves in your direction.” But he recognized, and founded a movement on, the fact that it was the role, the unique role, of conservatives to resist the tide. As a Republican president presides over the largest expansion of government since the Great Society, as the leader of the Anglican Church in the birthplace of liberal democracy advises the adoption of sharia law, as the leader of that nation’s Tory Party kowtows shamelessly to the Left, this lesson is all the more prescient.

We must thus ask whether, in calling for the creation of a chastity center, Princeton’s social-conservative hub has gone from standing athwart history to riding its coattails. The proposal is, put simply, a capitulation to identity politics. In the February 29, 2008 issue of *The Daily Princetonian*, Tom Haine writes that Princeton’s

“[Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender] Center and a center for chastity ... should be understood as two sides of the same coin ... By providing an LGBT center, the University lent institutional support to those LGBT students in navigating the difficult social waters of Princeton. Similarly, by establishing an official center for chastity, the University would offer necessary institutional support” for traditional students. This argument has been repeated in several other pieces by Anscombe members, including Brandon McGinley’s Feb. 18 op-ed on “Double standards on a divided campus” and Alexander Hwang’s Feb. 19 response letter.

There is a fundamental problem here. Whatever their absurdities, such institutions as the African-American Studies program, the Women and Gender Studies program, the Women’s Center, and the LGBT Center are founded on “identities”—aspects



of the self that are not the product of conscious thought. Women and African-Americans were, of course, born female and black; calling homosexuality a “choice,” meanwhile, has become a form of modern heresy. The same cannot, and should not, be said of traditional sexuality. It is, by definition, a *lifestyle*. But it is not, in the Anscombe conception, a lifestyle based on heredity or on environmental influence. It is the product of certain values—values that Mr. Haine rightly calls “eminently reasonable” and that Anscombe, one would think, hopes to make the norm at Princeton.

Rather than disputing this fact, members of Anscombe confuse their message by simultaneously playing the identity game and arguing that the aforementioned institutions are as ideological as a chastity center would be. While calling chaste students a “sexual minorit[y],” Mr.

Haine argues that the LGBT Center and the chastity center would serve “different ideological demographics.” While arguing that the proposed center, like the current institutions, would serve “communities with histories of marginalization,” Mr. McGinley chides Princeton for the “recognition of only certain moral viewpoints.” These arguments attempt both to make a misleading comparison—chastity as *an identity* like

homosexuality or blackness—and to point out a genuine inconsistency—that while Princeton does not officially recognize the *ideology and ethics* of chastity, it recognizes identity-based institutions that embrace ideological commitments. The two claims—chastity as identity and chastity as ideology—ultimately conflict, throwing the argument into disarray and sending an incoherent, amorphous message to the Princeton community.

This argument, however, is not just problematic on an abstract level. If it is successful, it will profoundly relativize Princeton’s political dis-

es an unequal outcome, the “victim” is guaranteed a subsidy. All one needs to do is claim oppressed status, even in the vaguest terms—to claim that (in Mr. Haine’s words) “the prevailing winds” are not “blowing” one’s way.

There is nothing appealing to conservatives about these prospects. Social conservatives should cringe at the notion of chastity as a mere “identity” among many; libertarians ought to be appalled by the entitlement mentality and the opportunistic claims to victimhood on which the proposed center is based. What Anscombe’s gambit amounts to,

ultimately, is a “me too!” game. The politics of identity has created campus institutions for gays, blacks and women; these institutions have begun spouting left-wing ideology; therefore, in the interest of fairness and equality, the Right deserves an institution as well. But fairness is

not the real issue here. The issue is the use of campus resources to provide bully pulpits for ideological causes; the issue is the shameless use of “identity” and “victimhood” to promote these causes and insulate them from criticism; the issue is the group-based mentality that lies at the heart of these trends. Anscombe’s commitment to chastity may override these considerations, and the establishment of a chastity center will no doubt be a tactical victory in the realm of campus politics. But if conservatives are to follow Buckley’s dictum, if they are to honor his visionary legacy, then they must recognize that some victories are worth putting off. **P**

Social conservatives should cringe at the notion of chastity as a mere “identity” among many; libertarians ought to be appalled by the entitlement mentality.

course. This result flows from both of the argument’s contradictory elements. If a chaste lifestyle is, indeed, merely an identity, then it is not subject to rational debate; like other “identities,” it can neither be disparaged nor promoted on philosophical grounds. If, meanwhile, “marginalized” ideologies need support by virtue of their marginalization, then no ideology is better than any other; when the free market of ideas produc-

Clarification

In the Points and Punts section of the March 2008 issue of the *Tory*, a paragraph discussed a proposed student group called Taft’s Tub, sponsored by Professor Paul Muldoon. The paragraph raises the possibility that the group is exclusionary and that its formation “has occurred in the shadows.” We stress that there is no hard evidence to support these rumors, and that they were mentioned in the P&P section precisely because they were unsubstantiated and were merely points of interest. We ask our readers to take the rumors for what they’re worth and not to prejudice the student group or Professor Muldoon without clear evidence of mischief.

Andrew Saraf is a freshman from Chevy Chase, Maryland. He is a Managing Editor of the *Tory*.

GLOBAL WARMING

A CONFLATED ORTHODOXY

Shivani Radhakrishnan '11 and Brendan Lyons '09

Global warming has become the catchphrase of our generation. The Kyoto Protocol, *An Inconvenient Truth*, and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change have all targeted the issue, and echo the message that global warming is the inevitable result of human action. Surely, one infers, this too must be the consensus of all among the scientific community. Yet, the question remains: is it? In reality, there is no consistent agreement among all scientists on the global warming issue, and in fact, many espouse a skeptical view of the media's inflammatory portrayals of the situation. Among them are Professor Bob Austin and Professor Will Happer, prominent faculty members of the Princeton Physics department.

Both professors acknowledge that the earth is facing a period of increasing temperatures. However, in interviews with the *Tory*, they adopted a skeptical view of the crux of global warming orthodoxy: the idea that man's pollution-producing activities have triggered the observable increase in climate change. Professors Happer and Austin believe that the root cause of this warmth and its relationship to human behavior is not as clear as other sources may have us believe. Professor Austin argues that although a warming trend exists, he is "not convinced that it is man-caused." Professor Will Happer is similarly unconvinced, explaining that the earth's climate has always been changing. He accounts for the current situation by describing the present era as a brief interglacial period amidst a 1 million year long ice age, a phase that is marked by fluctuations in temperature. Such variations in temperature have always occurred, and this slight warming is not nearly as

drastic as previous ones.

One of the most well-known arguments for the existence of anthropogenic, or man-caused, warming is that, beginning with the industrial revolution, humans have released a significant amount of carbon dioxide (CO₂) into the atmosphere. It would seem to follow that, as the quantity of greenhouse gases grows, the amount of heat trapped in the atmosphere grows proportionally. According to the professors, however, it is extremely doubtful that increased levels of CO₂ drive the warming that is occurring. Professor Happer



Al Gore in An Inconvenient Truth: The greatest acting of all time?

points out two major weaknesses with the conventional argument. It is true that, if one examines historical statistics, CO₂ tends to correlate with increased temperatures. However, it is crucial to note that there is a “phase lag” in the data: when a change in temperature occurs, it takes an average of 100,000 years for the CO₂ level to increase: increases in CO₂ levels follow increases in temperature, not the other way around. Happer concludes that, “Unless you’re willing to suspend the belief in cause and effect, they’ve got it completely backwards.” Evidence also indicates that most of the CO₂ emission lines, which actually affect heating and cooling, are saturated. Hence, doubling the amount of CO₂ in the environment does not necessarily double its effect. This, Happer says, would be viewed as a “big embarrassment for people who would like you to think there is an apocalypse coming.”

The desire to promote apocalyptic notions presents a significant impediment to scientific progress. Both professors agree that the research field is so politically charged that it hurts the crucial dialogue that needs to occur between the scientific and political communities. Professor Austin argues that it is “hard to publish results that don’t agree with the present view.” Indeed, Professor Happer has personally experienced bias in the field: he was employed as the Director of Energy Policy at the Department of Energy in the Bush Sr. Administration, and was fired by the Clinton administration for his views on the depletion of the ozone layer. Happer investigated whether the UV radiation on the earth’s surface was increasing, and found all the records to show that “UV levels were decreasing with

time,” which contradicted the notion that ozone was being depleted. Happer suggested replacing antiquated instruments, and Vice President Gore became upset as he sought a different answer. This anecdote is representative of a widespread phenomenon in which political bias and lofty rhetoric interfere with honest scientific inquiry.

It is highly troubling that rational, calm and analytical approaches are being replaced by what Happer calls a “mishmash of a little bit of measurement here and there and lots of ideology.” Although the anthropogenic account of global warming has achieved widespread acceptance, the debate is far from over, and independent-minded scientists continue to present challenges to the prevailing view. There may be large factions of the scientific community happy to sound the global warming alarm and capture research funding; but is our obligation, as informed citizens, to choose science and reason over amplified propaganda. **P**

Shivani Radhakrishnan is a freshman from Mt. Hope, NY. She is interested in philosophy, studies the classics, and hopes to become a polyglot.

Brendan Lyons is a junior Physics major from Nutley, NJ. He is a proud member of the Indestructible Princeton Charter Club.



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JOHN MCCAIN

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Will Scharf '08

After the longest contested primary in the history of the Republican Party, we emerged with Senator John McCain as our standard bearer. We chose, at the end of a process spanning months of deliberation, debates, and electioneering, the highest-profile dissenter within our party's senatorial caucus; a man who has not only failed to champion some of the conservative movement's most fundamentally important issues, but has actively worked against the GOP on them; a man whose principal endorsement, not even six months ago, was that of the hated mainstream media. From free speech issues to immigration to judicial appointments to tax cuts, John McCain has snubbed the Republican Party time, after time, after time. And yet we, the Republican Party, have now all but nominated him to serve as our spokesman and representative in what nobody doubts will be one of the most crucially formative elections of our time.

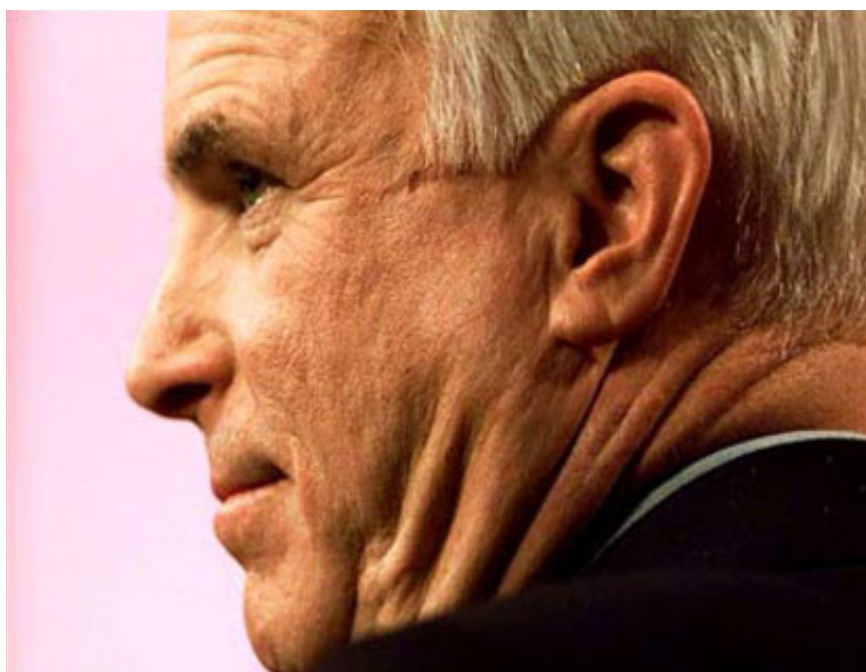
I do not intend to attack Senator McCain in this column. I recognize that from the point of view of any conservative, Senator McCain is a better candidate than either of the two Democrats on offer. Protest votes or abstentions are simply not a viable option when American servicemen are in harm's way abroad, and I have every intention of voting for Senator McCain next fall in my home state of Florida. I am, though, trying to seek closure on what has been for many conservatives a very disappointing primary season. A friend of mine perhaps said it best when he exclaimed several weeks ago, "I almost find myself wishing that Dick Cheney had thrown his hat into the arena." Cheney may have been the first sitting vice president since Aaron Burr to shoot a man, but at least he voted against

the establishment of the Department of Education.

So how did this happen? How did we end up where we are? I have seen various analyses suggesting why a given candidate failed or why a particular structural aspect of the primary cycle played against another. Rudy Giuliani was poorly advised, Fred Thompson entered the race too late

and was too lazy, Mitt Romney couldn't connect with the voters, Mike Huckabee was, well, a little too nutty for many Republicans. Giuliani bled momentum in early low-delegate states, Thompson was hurt by the expectation of hardcore retail politics in states like Iowa and New Hampshire, etc. This sort of drive-by analysis could itself fill the pages of this *Tory*.

Taking a step back from the race, the basic fact with which we must all come



John McCain has a vision for America, but should conservatives fear it?

to terms is that not only did other candidates who were embraced at various times as presumptive nominees or conservative favorites in the race lose but also that Senator McCain won. And yet, the question remains: what happened?

First and foremost, it was certainly not because of his sheer electability. If all the GOP electorate wanted was a president with an (R) next to his name, Mayor Giuliani should have been our man. Polls showed a ridiculously modified electoral map with Rudy heading the ticket. New Jersey might have flopped red, New York and Pennsylvania would have looked fairly purple, Florida would have been shored up nicely, and a good vice presidential candidate would have allowed us to stay competitive in the Midwestern battleground states. McCain might reach out to independent voters more than the typical Republican, but Giuliani would have been a paradigm shift.

Second, regardless of Senator McCain's post-Florida rhetoric classing himself as Ronald Reagan's "foot soldier," his success was not through any association with Reagan or the brand of conservatism the Gipper represented. Fred Thompson's conservative policy *bona fide* outmatches McCain's handily. Thompson's campaign failed to catch on, though – some blame his laconic personal style, but I think his problems ran deeper. At its essence, Thompson's campaign was backwards-looking. Thompson represented 1990's Republicanism in this race; he was, in some ways, a more articulate Bob Dole. Republican voters were not looking for that sort of candidate. Even South Carolinian Republicans placed Thompson third, with Mike Huckabee, who finished second, almost doubling his vote tally. This same Mike Huckabee represents the brand of compassionate, cushy conservatism that, it could be said, arose in response to the perceived coldness of the true Reagan Republicans.

It is also clear that Republicans were not seeking to repudiate the policies of the Bush Administration. A clear break from Bush would have been signaled by a Giuliani nomination, or a stronger Huckabee candidacy. McCain was, down the line, arguably the most Bush-like of the Republican candidates, particularly on the big issues in the Republican primary. Immigration was perhaps President Bush's policy position that most alienated his conservative base; Senator McCain stood right with him all the way on it.

Ultimately, the key to understanding McCain's victory is in the answer to a question I have now heard asked any number of times at conservative commiseration sessions, once it became quite clear that Senator McCain would in fact be our candidate. Namely, if John McCain had not fallen, could he have risen?

John McCain's sudden resurrection in the polls was as much due to a well-told narrative as it was to any particular policy plank he embraced or differentiations with other candidates that he drew. What Senator McCain was able to do as a result of his early campaign woes was position himself as a candidate of "change" in an election season when everyone has been craving this ephemeral quality – of which Barack Obama apparently is master.

McCain's campaign began by representing the senator as the embodiment of the Republican establishment. McCain hit up Bush's fundraising lists from 2000 and 2004. He sent envoys to the elder statesmen of the conservative

movement, played up his pro-life stance to pander to the religious right, and generally attempted to acclimate the Republican electorate to the thought of him as the heir presumptive of the party. This strategy failed, and failed miserably. McCain's fundraising never picked up the way he had intended, he had to lay off staffers in July, and he was left running a guerrilla campaign for his political survival on a shoestring budget.

But McCain, to his credit, continued fighting. He refused to throw in the towel and waged the sort of campaign that had won him public accolades in 2000 – a hard-hitting, low-frills affair. He viciously cut into Mitt

Romney in televised debates, he played up his war hero credentials, and he engaged in the sort of knuckle-busting retail politics at which he excels. It was in this capacity that this year's Republican electorate could embrace him – the "Bush Jr. McCain" was nobody's cup of

This will, at the very least, be a very difficult campaign for us to win, and Senator McCain, for all of his good qualities, is also a very flawed man and one with many vulnerabilities.

tea, but the "battling McCain of old" persona is something that does have a strong appeal to the generally disenfranchised voters participating in this election. McCain had to swap hats to get his campaign back on track, and to do that he had to first suffer the humiliation of his campaign's early implosion. But he recovered nicely and was able to wage a campaign that appealed to the ranks of the fed-up – his core demographic, and one that has expanded dramatically in the last four years.

So John McCain is our nominee, but where do we go from here? I would not dream of predicting the outcome of a general election this early – suffice it to say that I want Senator McCain to win but have little clue as to whether I will be voting on the winning side. I would however like to caution Republicans and the conservative movement more generally against optimism. This will, at the very least, be a very difficult campaign for us to win, and Senator McCain, for all of his good qualities, is also a very flawed man and one with many vulnerabilities in what I am sure will be an exceptionally dirty race.

Don't believe the conventional wisdom that this will be a very civil race. Mitt Romney's Mormonism became an early election flashpoint, as did Hillary Clinton's wrinkled visage. Barack Obama's middle name is still drawing jeers from conservative talk radio, and the crypto-Muslim rumors are not going away as they should. Rudy Giuliani's wife-dropping habit certainly hurt his campaign. "Trophy-wife" slurs aimed at Jeri Thompson hurt Fred. Despite the talk of ending negative politics and restoring dignity to the

THE LAST WORD

electoral process, we have seen in this election some of the worst personal attacks in a campaign since 1988. Mark my words, the kick-off of the general election will see a return to the 527-politics of 2004 and enough dirt-slinging to muddy the Pacific. And Senator McCain will not come out unscathed.

Senator McCain has built his career on pork-busting and corruption-chasing – his landmark piece of campaign finance legislation (for which much of the conservative movement, myself included, still holds a grudge against him) defines his record in the Senate in the voting public's eye. Problematically, McCain is vulnerable on ethics charges himself. His involvement in the Charles Keating Savings and Loan scandal will be aired again, despite his innocence of any major offense in that case.

McCain's war hero status from his time as a POW in Northern Vietnam, where he was tortured brutally and subjected to the sort of treatment few if any of us could have survived, is unquestionable. McCain will, however, come under fire for his work on the POW/MIA Affairs Select Committee – other Vietnam veterans accused him of selling out on the POW/MIA issue, and the image of American servicemen rotting in North Vietnamese prisons long after the end of the Vietnam War is one that I think can still resonate. If this campaign turns nasty, McCain is vulnerable to this sort of Swift Boat-like attack, and there will be at least some veterans who will stand against him on these grounds.

Finally, for a candidate who has long peddled himself as a principled man who will not shift his positions with

the changing tides of opinion polls, McCain has a record of embarrassing flip-flops that in this Youtube-era election will come back to hurt him. His highly-publicized Confederate Flag flip-flop in South Carolina 2000 will reappear at some point if the Democrats decide to wage a real political war in the South. Senator McCain's recent movement towards the enforcement-first side of the immigration debate will also almost assuredly come up, as will his opposition to the Bush tax cuts, before his recent support of the same.

That having been said, McCain certainly has his strengths as well, and these are so well-documented I feel as though going into them here would really be a waste of column inches. My concern is not that McCain will be a weak candidate, because he won't be, but rather that he has been nominated by a conservative base for personality-based reasons, despite the fact that on many important policy issues he does not line up with us. Base mobilization saved President Bush in 2000 and 2004. Will Senator McCain be able to similarly fire up the GOP base, the massive GOTV machine that Rove built, once the maverick narrative runs out of steam? It's a question that only time can answer. **P**

William Scharf '08 is a senior in the history department from Palm Beach, Florida. He has held leadership positions in a number of political and religious groups on campus, and also served as President of Charter Club and of the Interclub Council.

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