

ALSO INSIDE THIS ISSUE:
A NEW ERA FOR COLLEGE REPUBLICANS

THE PRINCETON TORY

FEBRUARY 2010

DEBATE OVER CAPITALISM:

IS FAIR TRADE
"FAIR" OR "FOUL"?

FAIR!

FOUL! SHOULD CONSERVATIVES
RETHINK CAPITALISM?

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LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER FIXING THE DISCOURSE

THIS MARKS MY LAST ISSUE AS PUBLISHER, AND accordingly my last "Publisher's Letter." I have thought quite a bit about what sort of parting remarks I'd like to make, and it seems appropriate to end with some final reflections on a topic I have often discussed in this column—namely, the broken state of ethical discourse on this campus. My previous entries have focused primarily on specific instances in which I felt the conservative cause was being criticized on illegitimate grounds. For this last letter, I'd like to propose what it is that makes the response of our liberal counterparts so unproductive for discourse and propose a means for how conservatives might overcome the often-garbled responses of our poor debating partners.



It is not difficult to find instances of the poor state of ethical discourse on this campus, and the current "debate" on sexual ethics is perhaps the most salient example of this futility. Representing a—though by no means only—conservative opinion, the Anscombe Society has published numerous articles, essentially mini-manifestos of their basic philosophical principles. The responses to these arguments have been marked by an unwillingness to engage with the principles or reasoning they contain. Instead, coherent philosophical arguments are met with pronouncements of the corrupted individual motivations of those providing the argument. I have in mind such "responses" that have accused Anscombe of being "heteronormative," "bigots," "minions of Professor George," and/or "religious fanatics."

It is clear to me that each of these labels is incorrect, but for the purposes of this piece it is more important to see how the conversation is at a stalemate before it can begin. If we wish to pursue a dialogue on this matter, then it is imperative that both parties are talking about the *same things*—which, clearly, they are not. One side makes claims about the nature of sex, while the other responds to the motivations behind those claims. That is not to say, however, that an Anscombe skeptic can never make the argument that Anscombe is biased. It is simply to say that if one wishes to establish this argument as part of a dialogue, then it must be directly related to the substantive arguments Anscombe has provided about sexual ethics. One might, for example, show that Anscombe's premises do not reasonably lead to the conclusion and thus must be motivated by some other impetus, and here is where we might look for "clues" of bigotry. In short, we should argue about sex itself before (or at least at the same time as) we talk about normative influences on perceptions of it and how one ought to engage in it.

This task, unfortunately, is one our liberal counterparts seem most unwilling to do. This reluctance occurred most recently in an entry posted on a Princeton feminist blog in response to an article published in the last issue of the *Tory*. In an apparent attempt to disrepute the author's argument, the blogger simply made a laundry list of certain arguments that were to her disliking, labeled them as clearly bigoted, and signed off. Her message was clear: the perspective printed in the *Tory* article was so obviously illegitimate that it simply needed to be pointed out to be disproven.

What is one to do in the face of such opposition, when one is speaking to someone who has shut his eyes, covered his ears, and refuses to engage with the actual principles of one's argument. There can only be one answer: Anscombes, and all other conservatives who experience this juvenile name-calling, must remove the covers from their opponents' ears and actively show why their positions are not attached to their personal motivations. Instead of simply pointing out the poor form of our counterparts, we must respond to the accusations they so clearly fail to make. It is work we should not have to do, but, for the sake of campus discourse, we must.

It is the *Tory's* great privilege to be one means by which this task might be accomplished, and it has been my great honor to lead it. I entreat next year's staff, headed by the eminently qualified Aaron Smargon, to take due concern for this, our greatest responsibility.

Sincerely,
Robert Day '10

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THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION RECENTLY ANNOUNCED THAT IT would not support NASA’s planned space mission to the moon. The *Tory* has mixed feelings about this; on one hand, we are saddened that the U.S. will not soon send another man to the moon. On the other hand, we agree that the moon is not a good target for NASA; instead, it should aim for Mars. Why, you might ask? Well so the Soviets don’t get there first, of course! We must do everything in our power to make sure the Red Planet does not end up in the hands of the Reds! Indeed, with the right stuff (from Sherwin-Williams), NASA can turn Mars into the Red, White and Blue Planet.



PRINCETON STUDENTS BROWS-
ing GoodCrush.com in hopes
of finding a date need search
no longer. Newly elected Senator
Scott Brown (R-Massachusetts) has
announced to the world that his
lovely young daughters are single. To
which he added the important caveat:
“**unless you’re Levi Johnston.**”

BUT IF BROWN’S GREATEST
fault is his over-eagerness
to play matchmaker for his
children, that’s news to MSNBC’s
Keith Olbermann. The bombastic
commentator recently referred to
the Senator as an “irresponsible,
homophobic, racist, reactionary, ex-
nude model, teabagging supporter of
violence against woman and against
politicians with whom he disagrees.”
Wow. That’s a pretty strong indict-
ment. The charges range from the
accurate (Brown did, in fact, pose
nude for *Cosmo* in his college days)
to the wildly unsubstantiated (just
about everything else). Consider-
ing that Brown is actually a fairly
moderate Republican, one wonders
what Olbermann might have to say
about more conservative figures. Of
course, if we wanted to find out, **we
could always watch his show, but we
take a firm stance against torture.**
Besides, with his ratings in the tank,
Olbermann is bound to be off the air
soon anyway, and we wouldn’t want
to delay the inevitable termination of
his abominable program.

Good Crush



IN A MOMENT OF INSPIRED SENSITIVITY, OBAMA Education Secretary Arne Duncan had this to say about Hurricane Katrina's long-term effects on New Orleans: "This is a tough thing to say, but let me be really honest. I think the best thing that happened to the education system in New Orleans was Hurricane Katrina. The education system was a disaster, and it took Hurricane Katrina to wake up the community to say that 'We have to do better.'"

This not only reminded the *Tory* of the good-ol' days when the Department of Education didn't exist, but caused us to think of the **silver lining** in other destructive events:

DISASTER: Sherman's March to the Sea

General Sherman's March to the Sea, despite leaving the city of Atlanta in ruins, happily inspired the classic book and seminal film *Gone with the Wind*.

DISASTER: The Johnstown Flood of 1889

The Johnstown Flood of 1889 remains the third greatest disaster in American history. More than 2,000 people were killed, including 400 children. But, according to Wikipedia, outrage over the failure of the dam led to progress in American tort law. Hooray!

DISASTER: Pittsburgh Flood

About 40 years later a lesser-known flood devastated the Pittsburgh area, killing several dozen. But at least those damnable steel mills stopped spewing carbon-based emissions for a few days!

DISASTER: Paris Hilton's Birth

On February 17, 1981, Paris Hilton was born. Actually, we can't find a silver lining for that one.

DISASTER: Destruction of Home Tree

Finally, in the most striking parallel, it is a little-known fact (and it was ignored in the film) that the system of secondary education among the Na'vi of Pandora was a shambles. The destruction of Home Tree, despite being putatively genocidal, actually allowed reformers to break the inflexible teachers' union – the Na'vi Education Association (NEA) – and inaugurate a new era in which no Na'vi is left behind. Thank Eywa!

SPEAKING OF CHICAGO POLITICIANS MAKING STUPID remarks, Chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel is now accusing liberal Democrats who oppose the Obama administration's health care plan of being "fucking retarded." In the ensuing frenzy of demands for Emanuel to apologize for his insensitive remarks, **no one has disputed his claim that liberal Democrats suffer from severe mental handicaps.**



Points & Punts, representing the opinions of individual writers, were compiled by the editors.

A NEW ERA FOR COLLEGE REPUBLICANS

TIERNAN KANE, CR PRESIDENT, DISCUSSES HIS PLANS TO USE SEMINAR SERIES TO UNITE CONSERVATIVE STUDENTS

Tiernan Kane '11

THE TRIANGLE MUSES SING THAT “Princeton is like an old-folks home,” which seems true in many respects. But in at least one respect—center-right political activism—this comparison rings false. For the “old folks” who inhabit old-folks homes are part of the larger political class known as “elderly voters,” many of whom comprise a powerful voting bloc within the Republican Party. They are not merely informed; they are active. They mobilize to exert political pressure and to realize their political goals. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of right-leaning Princeton students, at least not in regard to their on-campus political activity.

Of course, there are media, such as the *Tory*, through which those on the political right may express their ideas, and there are activist groups such as the Anscombe Society, Princeton Pro-Life, and Tigers for Israel that count many center-right students among their members. What there is not, however, is an organization that successfully pulls together right-leaning Princetonians of every stripe and empowers them politically. We at College Republicans believe that we can become that organization, and that is what we plan to do over the course of the next year.

It is only natural that College Republicans should take the lead in organizing center-right students politically. We are, after all, an affiliate of the Republican Party, which performs that role nationally. The fact that it is natural for us to lead, however, does not mean that we always have, and

we must admit that College Republicans has not been a strong presence on this campus in recent years. We have struggled with maintaining programming and failed to create an identity as an organization. As such, we do not claim to continue a tradition as

by reasons and arguments. By offering diverse yet consistent opportunities to enter into discussion about Republican principles and policies, we hope first to draw together many different right-leaning students on campus, and then to create greater unity and understanding among them. Through this unity and through the arguments developed in these debates, we hope to achieve an additional goal of empowering center-right Princetonians politically.

The centerpiece of the educational programming we are planning is a panel discussion series entitled *The Lincoln Seminars: Debating the Future Policies of the Republican Party*. Each focusing on a particular political issue, such as health care or tax reform, the seminars would feature panels of scholars with policy ideas for the Republican Party. At each seminar, the scholars would present and debate their ideas in a discussion led by a prominent Republican public figure. College Republicans is already in discussion with a few such figures, and we are working hard to bring them to campus. Importantly, these discussions would not be mere political exercises or defenses of past decisions; they would be fresh debates over real policy differences. If we succeed in hosting this ambitious series, every center-right student at Princeton would stand to gain something from the policy proposals and debates, not to mention the wider effects they could have off campus.

The Lincoln seminars would be signature events, but they would be spread out throughout the year. In between, College Republicans will continue to invite other important speakers to campus. On Thursday, February 4, we hosted Mike Halfacre,

The centerpiece of the educational programming we are planning is a panel discussion series entitled The Lincoln Seminars: Debating the Future Policies of the Republican Party.

the leader of the center-right coalition at Princeton, but rather propose to take up that mantle of leadership in a new way. We invite cooperation with and participation in this movement not on the basis of past achievements but of new ideas.

College Republicans is a political organization, but our politics are based on principles and policies, not personality.

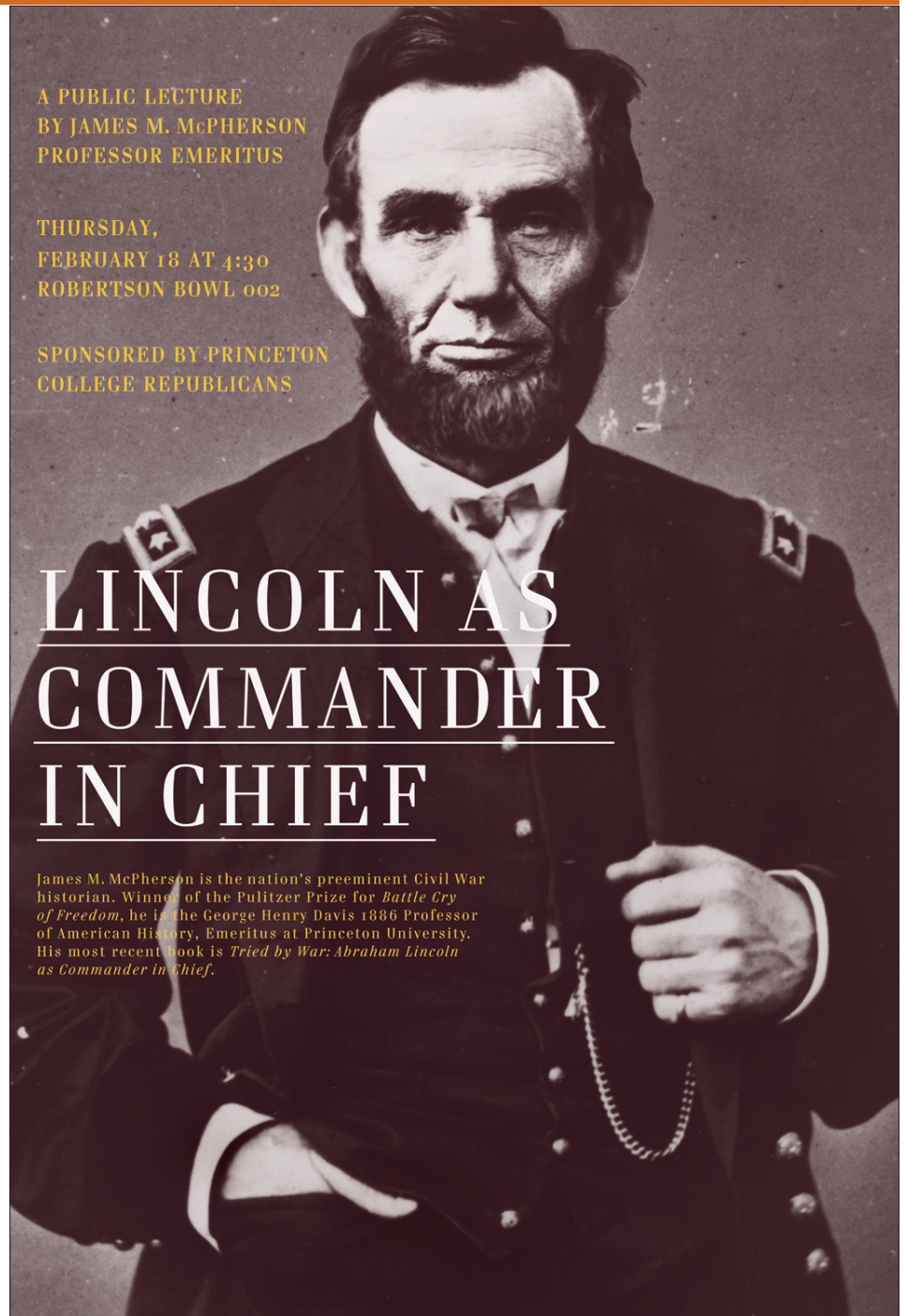
To complete the diverse array of opportunities for political education and interaction, we will offer various events, such as watching movies or TV shows, reviewing news developments in an important week, or discussing canonical texts in conservative political thought.

Furthermore, as is fitting of a student group at Princeton, we do not view these principles and policies—whether the principle of the right to life of the unborn or the policy of a flat tax—as fixed or unquestionable. Rather, they are open for debate and must be proven

the current mayor of Fairhaven, New Jersey and a candidate for the Republican nomination for this district's seat in the House of Representatives. Two weeks later, Professor Emeritus James McPherson, the nation's preeminent Civil War historian, spoke on Abraham Lincoln's legacy as commander-in-chief. Both of these events will feature opportunities for listeners to ask questions, as College Republicans will always seek to make its events opportunities to participate in discussions, and not simply to attend them.

To complete the diverse array of opportunities for political education and interaction, we will offer various events, such as watching movies or TV shows, reviewing news developments in an important week, or discussing canonical texts in conservative political thought. These supplementary activities will not interfere with other events, and College Republicans will rarely, if ever, have more than one event in a week. We will, however, host events consistently in order to provide as many opportunities as possible for center-right students at Princeton to strengthen their relationships with one another and to strengthen their arguments for their political positions. All levels of political interest and expertise will be welcome, and although most of these events will invite active participation, none of them will demand it. We will seek to structure events so that consistent involvement will be beneficial both socially and intellectually.

These informative, intellectual, and interactive events will form the body of College Republicans programming in the spring. As they aim to bring a broad range of right-leaning people together, they also work toward the complementary goal of empowering people politically by providing them with arguments to defend their views and knowledge to motivate their action. We can empower center-right Princetonians even more directly during the upcoming 2010 mid-term elections, which could be pivotal in American politics. The Republicans stand to make dramatic gains in both houses of Congress, and in doing so, to redirect government back toward the policies favored by our still center-right nation. Through our panel discussions, we seek to make Republican victory both more likely and more deserved, but the electrifying 2010 elections will also call for old-fashioned campaigning. College Republicans will enable and encourage such campaigning, but mindful of the already strenuous commitments



A PUBLIC LECTURE
BY JAMES M. McPHERSON
PROFESSOR EMERITUS

THURSDAY,
FEBRUARY 18 AT 4:30
ROBERTSON BOWL 002

SPONSORED BY PRINCETON
COLLEGE REPUBLICANS

LINCOLN AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF

James M. McPherson is the nation's preeminent Civil War historian. Winner of the Pulitzer Prize for *Battle Cry of Freedom*, he is the George Henry Davis 1886 Professor of American History, Emeritus at Princeton University. His most recent book is *Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief*.

Princeton students face, we will focus only on important races in which we can make a real difference and contribute to the common good.

Coming near the end of 2010, the elections will hopefully serve as the climax of a year of revival for center-right activity at Princeton. We will have prepared for them in the spring with strong speakers, most prominently in our Lincoln seminars, and with other engaging, helpful events. We will have continued with a similarly engaging schedule in the fall while striving to display increased political activism through our campaigning efforts. In everything, we will have worked to build a wide community

of politically active center-right students at Princeton, and we will be able to count the year successful if students can sincerely claim at its end that, in respect to center-right political activism, Princeton is like an old-folks home. Triangle, this one's for you. **PF**

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ECONOMICS FOR CONSERVATIVES: IS FAIR TRADE “FAIR” OR “FOUL”?

FAIR MARKETS WITH MORALS: WHY CONSERVATIVES SHOULD EMBRACE FAIR TRADE AND RETHINK CAPITALISM

David Pederson '12

HOW SHOULD CONSERVATIVES THINK ABOUT ECONOMICS? For most conservatives today, this question has been settled almost definitively: capitalism and the free market provide the ideal system. However, as I shall attempt to show, such a system not only violates justice generally, but also undermines the traditional social values that conservatism upholds. If this is the case, then we as conservatives, out of fidelity to our central principles, need urgently to reconsider our economic practices. To see this, let us consider the issue of Fair Trade, a movement recently embraced by Princeton in its choice of bananas at student dining halls.

Aimed at developing countries, Fair Trade is motivated by a desire to help workers and producers attain greater sustainability, better wages, and more humane conditions—and such a desire seems quite admirable. Nevertheless, conservative critics of Fair Trade contend that the movement subsidizes inefficient industries, rather than allowing the free market to bring about the best outcome for all. Such critics, then, would allow current market conditions to remain. This criticism, however, is unsound, and is motivated implicitly by two common but specious conservative defenses of capitalism. Let us examine these in turn.

First of all, there is the argument that, through the natural competition of the market, capitalism ensures that a producer (regardless of his motivations) always acts justly and unselfishly so that his workers and patrons, who might otherwise work or buy elsewhere, are satisfied. Though *prima facie* plausible, this argument fails on closer scrutiny. In the first place, problems of individual action prevent justice from being ensured, particularly in the non-union conditions that Fair Trade seeks to remedy. For instance, while workers could effect change by refusing collectively to work for an unjust employer, it is not in the interest of each individual *qua* individual to refuse to work: someone else will surely take the refused job. Exploitation, pitiful pay, and squalid conditions thus come to be accepted as social givens.

But if injustice is not mitigated by capitalism, neither is selfishness. From the considerations above, it should be manifest that, since producers can be unjust almost with impunity, there are essentially

no restraints on selfish behavior. Coupled with the fact that the profit motive serves as the impetus for production in the free market, this means that greed and selfishness are given free rein, engendering grave injustices. As is clear in the case of many developing countries, capitalism thus turns into a form of tyranny. This is why movements such as Fair Trade are needed to regulate the market.

Now, a conservative capitalist may in fact agree that injustice and selfishness are not ameliorated under capitalism. While granting this point, however, he may yet advance the second argument implicit in the above criticism of Fair Trade: capitalism is the most efficient system and leads to the greatest material prosperity. This might well be true as a factual claim. But when it is invoked as the normative claim that the end of economics *ought to be* increased efficiency (and hence material prosperity) *alone*, deep problems arise. Why is this so?

Considerations of efficiency, it must be noted, should be taken into account only if the end pursued and the means to that end are not

There is the argument that, through the natural competition of the market, capitalism ensures that a producer always acts justly and unselfishly so that his workers and patrons, who might otherwise work or buy elsewhere, are satisfied. Though prima facie plausible, this argument fails on closer scrutiny.

in themselves morally wrong. But conservative criticisms of Fair Trade fail to meet either requirement. First, to posit efficiency alone as an end is at best misguided, at worst immoral. Human trafficking, for example, may represent a very efficient market, but that fact does not overcome the utter depravity of the industry: in fact, it *contributes* to it. Likewise, even if the end of an industry is good, the means employed can vitiate that end. In relation to Fair Trade, then, we must ask: Are the present

economic conditions of many developing countries—conditions instrumental to the end of production—unjust and hence immoral?

There is good reason to answer affirmatively. Just transactions between individuals, or groups of individuals, hinge upon the ability of those making trade agreements to reasonably accept the terms of those agreements. While such ability may exist within local economies, it becomes practically nonexistent when both prices and the ends of production are imposed by factors external to those economies. Such an imposition robs producers of information about the market, decreases their ability to change the ends or techniques of production in response to market variations, and, if their products are no longer demanded, can force them to either accept low prices or go bankrupt. Since all of this is so, conservative appeals to the

inefficiency of Fair Trade and to the efficiency of the free market carry no weight. No amount of efficiency can remedy pervasive structural injustices.

In responding to these conservative defenses, what I take to be the intrinsic problems of capitalism have begun to emerge. Let me now enumerate these briefly. First of all, capitalism is exploitative. This is so not because it creates a division between rich and poor (which it arguably does), but because it systematically provides an advantage to the rich over and against the poor. The more perfect capitalism becomes, the more workers become mere instruments of production. Second, capitalism is unjust. As we have seen, this is because the replacement of local economies with global markets subjects trade agreements to external impositions, thus precluding truly free decisions. Third, the very success criterion in capitalism is immoral, for it involves the valorization of greed and the accumulation of wealth. Consequently, even those who are not exploited are themselves locked into an unethical way of life.

This has ominous implications for traditional conservative values. In the first place, the logic of capitalism tends towards the atomization of society, and with it the destruction of shared values. As a society comes to possess no conception of the common good over and above personal preference, the formation of communities becomes nearly impossible. Seeing themselves as divorced abstractly from traditions, individuals start to view society (and other people) as a mere instrument for their personal satisfactions, rather than as

a locus of shared meaning. Fragmented and individualized, society becomes in reality nothing more than just such an instrument. Moreover, this lack of a common good leads to political impotence, for it becomes extremely difficult for individuals to forge effective political purposes in common. What results from this fact is that the state increasingly takes control. Capitalism leads to atomism, and atomism leads to statism.

For conservatives, these structural and consequential problems of capitalism should be cause for an urgent reconsideration of current economic practices, both at home and abroad. This requires not just critical, but also constructive thought. While such considerations are beyond the scope of this article, the arguments for Fair Trade advanced thus far may point toward a more humane economics based upon local communities, widespread individual ownership of the means of production, worker cooperative organizations such as guilds, and productivity defined not as profit, but as doing good work. However inchoate at present, such a vision of economics is, I believe, not so much a flight from conservatism as a return to a fuller and truer embodiment of it. ■

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FOUL

WHY FAIR TRADE IS FOUL: HOW FAIR TRADE PERPETUATES UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND STAGNATION

Matthew Sanyour '11

PRINCETON'S FAIR-TRADE BANANA PROGRAM IS THE LATEST product of a movement that has been assuaging the troubled consciences of guilty Westerners for the last half-century or so, with increasing visibility and intensity since the 1990s. The fundamental assumption of the fair-trade movement is that developing economies merit greater payment for their goods than market prices would indicate and that only certain producers merit certification for this price increase. Rather than fairness, the practice advantages certain producers over others, often giving healthy profit margins for everyone but the producers it is supposed to help. Like the mendacious Ministry of Truth in George Orwell's 1984, it is almost precisely the opposite of what it professes to be. Moreover, fair trade utterly fails to address the root causes of the poverty it seeks to alleviate; the inefficient practices that have led to a lack of competitiveness in the first place. The patronage of fair trade is a misguided, paternalistic attempt to insulate a handful of producers from the world market that locks its recipients into a dependency trap, rather than equipping such producers to compete in the marketplace on their own

Moreover, fair trade utterly fails to address the root causes of the poverty it seeks to alleviate; the inefficient practices that have led to a lack of competitiveness in the first place.

through sound investment in innovation and development.

The criteria for inclusion as a fair-trade producer have varied over time, but have been standardized in recent decades by the authorities of the Fair-trade Labeling Organization (FLO), now the industry standard in the US market. The FLO requires inspections of production facilities and farms to guarantee such things as a minimum age for workers, workplace safety, the right of workers to unionize, and other provisions based upon the UN charter of human rights. In addition to all this, the FLO stipulates that whatever prices it sets must not only reflect the cost of production but also facilitate "social development" and the conservation of the environment. As wonderful as this sounds, in practice it largely fails, simply advantaging larger and more politically-connected agricultural producers over small farmers who are likely unaware of the peculiar trend among certain Westerners to willingly overpay for goods. Even if enforced perfectly, it would ignore the realities of production, unfairly advantage certain favored producers over competitors, and create an artificial price floor that hurts consumers and non-favored producers alike. In sufficiently large scale, it destroys the comparative advantage of a small economy and stifles development, reducing

the unfortunate victims of such policies to a welfare colony, utterly dependent upon the largesse of its supposedly socially-aware customers.

The first of fair trade's intrinsic problems is its imposition of blanket Western standards on producers whose practices may deviate from the letter of the law while still adhering to the principles of human rights. Not long ago in this country, it was common practice on small family holdings to have children help with the tasks of cultivation and harvesting; the summer school vacation is an artifact of this largely bygone social norm. Although the practice has diminished to only a few rural communities in the US today, no reasonable person would allege that a family farm is a violation of human rights. It is absurd to impose the same standards of labor-capital relations seen in a unionized economy on a small kinship-based workforce in a village that has never even heard of Karl Marx and are frankly much better off for it. Where the so-called capitalist is working alongside his employees, under the same conditions, it is an irrelevant and ridiculous imposition to introduce the divisiveness of "the right to unionize." Of course, this does not detract from the condemnable and highly exploitive nature of actual abuses, but it certainly suggests the need for a more nuanced approach than the high-handed decrees of UN potentates. Ultimately, those in the best position to prevent labor abuses are local authorities, and absent the domestic political will to improve conditions, conditions will not improve.

The effect of fair-trade subsidies economically, meanwhile, is to draw increasingly inefficient producers into production. If a farmer has soil best-suited for cultivating papaya, but finds that he can make more money with the subsidized banana even though the new crop would yield less food per acre than papaya would, he will grow bananas instead even though he is a more inefficient producer than the farmers whose land is suited for bananas. Without the subsidy, he would have made more money with papaya crops, but thanks to fair trade, he can produce bananas inefficiently and make more money from the fair-trade consumers. The non-certified banana producers compete for a reduced demand from the remaining free-trade consumers with the same supply, lowering prices. Thus, by their own account, the FLO is hurting the non-certified farmers who are supposedly suffering the most due to their dearth of UN-decreed wonderments.

To be sure, fair trade subsidies have not yet impacted free trade prices; fair trade still accounts for a miniscule market share, and one can expect it to stay that way. While expansion of the fair-trade markets would create a price distortion among non-certified producers, the growth of fair-trade depends upon the continued goodwill of a small subset of consumers; fair trade as it currently stands is little more than a trend among the progressive elite, and fair-trade producers and retailers will be hard-pressed to convince the mainstream to overpay for the same goods. Absent government coercion, rational actors seek the best value for their money. That is why, despite liberal ire, Wal-Mart is the retailer of choice for many Americans—even some Princetonians. In the end, it is difficult to envision such a market distortion expanding itself beyond coastal elites in the US, or surviving the world market as consumers in India and China, two developing countries that have lifted millions out of poverty by the ability to compete in the free market, account for an ever-increasing proportion of global demand. The new Asian powers rose up out of poverty through their own merits in the free market, and will not be keen on paying the rest of the developing world to do what they did on their own.

The Fair Trade debate on campus was sparked by a referendum on this winter's USG elections. It asked voters to select "yes" or "no" in response to the following statement:

"The USG will make a formal recommendation to UDS on behalf of the undergraduate student body to replace non Fair Trade bananas with Fair Trade bananas at all retail locations, which will cost an additional 25 cents per banana for consumers."

The results were:

- **Yes: 1130 (66.82%)**
- **No: 561 (33.18%)**

Far more distressing than the distortive effect of fair trade in the world markets is its effect on the developing countries it aims to help. The degree to which fair-trade price hikes actually help the producers themselves is debatable: the UK-based Adam Smith Institute conducted a study in 2006 suggesting that the vast majority of the premium of fair-trade goods goes to retailers and supply chain, not producers. Fair trade is more a cynical marketing tactic to fatten retail profits by preying on the misguided consciences of consumers than it is a genuine effort to aid the developing world. Even to the degree that fair trade does impact producers, it merely perpetuates inefficient agricultural practices and removes the incentive for innovation. It utterly fails to address the real cause of rural poverty, namely the lack of agricultural mechanization and industrial development that would make producers efficient and competitive in the free market. If labor-intensive agriculture is subsidized, local governments and capitalists are less likely to invest in the long-term benefits of development and innovation that would maximize the national comparative advantage because agriculture is being artificially supported vis-à-vis costly investments in agricultural machinery, or a transition to a new sector like tourism. If nineteenth-century American whalers had been subsidized so that they could outcompete the then-nascent petroleum industry, then the bright lights of Broadway would seem a bit dimmer, as they would still be illuminated by Shamu's innards.

The perverse end result of fair-traders compassion is the perpetuation of underdevelopment and stagnation among the people they are trying to help. There are far more effective market-oriented strategies, such as micro-loans to developing world entrepreneurs that could pay for the irrigation and mechanization farmers need to compete on the world market, or private donations that bypass corrupt local governments and go directly to charity groups building schools and hospitals. We should seek to foster development and build economically sensible growth rather than undermine and retard innovation. If one is truly interested in the uplift of the developing world for the long-term, the best way is through market principles and maximization of their comparative advantage, not well-intentioned interventionist schemes that perpetuate dependency by rewarding maladaptive practices. **P**

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DISPATCH FROM THE MARCH FOR LIFE

*Katie Fletcher '10*

ON JANUARY 22ND—THE 27TH ANNIVERSARY of the infamous *Roe v. Wade* decision—Princeton Pro-Life sent a delegation of students to participate in the annual March for Life in Washington, D.C. The estimated 200,000 protesters were not just holdovers nostalgic for the days before *Roe*, but they also included many young people who grew up in the age of permissive abortion laws. The overwhelming participation of people born well after the decision in *Roe* was handed down shows that abortion remains a controversial topic that is far from settled. Despite growing up in an age in which abortion as a legal right is taken for granted, the presence of so many children, teens, and young adults at the March proves that not all young people embrace the “progressive” concept of reproductive rights.

Of course, children do not gain their values in a vacuum. Doubtless, many of the children and teens at the March for Life were inculcated with pro-life views by their parents and other adults, such as teachers and clergy. It’s perfectly natural for parents to pass on their beliefs and values to their children, values that, in the case of pro-lifers, include teaching children to have a respect for human life beginning at conception.

Since many religious sects and denominations encourage or mandate opposition to abortion, this pro-life upbringing is, in many cases, motivated by religious convictions. This was obvious at the March for Life, with many of the groups and individuals present displaying religious messages or symbols. While some children and teenagers were there with their families, many of them seemed to also be affiliated with churches, youth groups, or parochial schools.

There’s nothing inherently wrong with

religiously motivated opposition to abortion. At the same time, though, pro-life advocates need to recognize that religious arguments won’t necessarily hold water on the national political stage. It’s crucial that the pro-life movement continues to encourage not only religiously motivated concern for life issues, but also to embrace secular arguments which incorporate philosophical and scientific approaches. If the pro-life lobby wants to be taken seriously, simplistic points like “Your mother chose life, and so should you” must be replaced by, or at least supplemented with, more substantive and intellectually rigorous arguments.

Young activists cannot settle for parroting pro-life catchphrases like “It’s a child, not a choice.” One of the most widely distributed signs at the March for Life featured a picture of an infant’s face and the message, “Face it... Abortion kills a person.” While this type of tactic may be emotionally appealing on a certain level, it simply won’t cut it in a serious discussion. Preaching to the choir is never a politically effective strategy, and neither is failing to address your opponent’s best arguments. Many pro-choice advocates dispute that a fetus is a person, so continuing to base arguments on that undefended premise is not going to be a particularly helpful way of convincing them otherwise. Similarly, a pro-choice atheist isn’t going to change his mind because he’s told God loves babies or because a Bible verse suggests life begins at conception. While these beliefs frequently reinforce some people’s commitment to their pro-life values, they are not enough to convince those who disagree.

Those who truly believe in their pro-life convictions should be confident that their views can be vindicated not only on religious grounds, but also by medical evidence and secular philosophical reasoning. This may

be one reason why the Princeton and Yale delegations were greeted with hearty cheers by their fellow activists at the March for Life: having two secular universities represented at the march demonstrated that the pro-life cause is supported not only by church youth-groups or grassroots organizations, but also by academics and intellectuals.

The many young people seen at the March represent the future of the pro-life movement, and judging by both their strength in numbers and in energy and enthusiasm, it has the potential to be a very bright future. But while many of these young people have a basic (and often religiously based) understanding of the pro-life values passed on to them by their parents, teachers, or clergy, they may still have trouble communicating their instinctive and deeply rooted convictions.

As they grow up, they need to add a dimension of intellectual understanding to their pro-life beliefs. If the pro-life message is going to be politically palatable, pro-lifers need to be able to speak a common political and intellectual language. The kids and teens who so enthusiastically participated in the March for Life should continue their passionate defense of life, but they must also be sure to hone their best intellectual arguments in order to be taken seriously. Ultimately, the future of the pro-life movement lies in the hands of groups like Princeton Pro-Life, which must continue to passionately support their beliefs with a wide battery of arguments from many disciplines in order to engage and defeat the pro-choice lobby’s most challenging arguments. **P**

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BRINGING SOME HONEST SCIENCE TO THE GLOBAL WARMING HYSTERIA

A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING THE CLIMATE CHANGE DEBATE



Bobby Marsland '11

THE PAST FEW MONTHS HAVE SEEN a whirlwind of activity and controversy on the climate change front. In November, journalists hacked into the email accounts of prominent climate scientists at the University of East Anglia in Britain, finding messages discussing different ways to hide features in the data that disagreed with the hypothesis of man-made climate change. This generated the international scandal now known as “Climategate,” which led some conservative commentators like Rush Limbaugh to conclude that the whole climate change issue had been a hoax from the very beginning. In December, however, the world leaders convened in Copenhagen appeared completely unmoved by this development, as they proceeded to operate under the assumption that climate change was a scientifically certain and imminent threat and attempted (unsuccessfully) to reach a global consensus on plans for immediate action.

These events have further polarized

what was already a point of bitter contention in American politics. On the one extreme are politicians and voters who put complete faith in the scientists who prophesy climate doom, and who tend to dominate the mainstream of political life, while on the other are the “fringe” elements who use “Climategate” as an excuse to doubt the honesty of all climate scientists and ignore them altogether. These

These extreme positions attract the most attention in the media and the blogosphere, yet neither of them makes any effort to get at the real science behind the issue.

extreme positions attract the most attention in the media and the blogosphere, yet neither of them makes any effort to get at the real science behind the issue. While a detailed scientific description of all the factors that contribute to global warming is beyond the reach of the ordinary politician or voter, a basic understanding of the problem is quite

accessible, and is an essential prerequisite for a reasonable debate about the proper political attitude toward climate change.

Despite the Earth’s continuous heating from sunlight, it remains at a relatively constant average temperature due to the simultaneous release of heat to space via infrared radiation. Most objects on Earth and most atmospheric gases emit infrared radiation, with the amount of heat lost through radiation varying with the temperature of the source. This is clear to anyone who has looked through infrared goggles – living animals, car exhaust, and poorly insulated houses all look brighter than the surrounding environment because their temperatures are warmer. The simplest way of thinking about the Earth’s average temperature is to picture it

getting warmer and warmer from the sun’s light, until it finally is warm enough to lose the same amount of heat per second through infrared radiation that it receives from the sun.

To understand the “greenhouse effect,” it is necessary to note that the radiation is not all emitted from a single surface at a

single temperature, but rather it is emitted from every layer of the atmosphere. Since the temperature of the atmosphere decreases with altitude (until about 10 km), the radiation emitted from higher up is weaker than that emitted from lower down. “Greenhouse gases” are gases in the atmosphere that absorb certain frequencies of infrared radiation and thereby prevent it from travelling too far through the atmosphere. Radiation at frequencies that are affected by greenhouse gases will not escape to outer space unless it is emitted from a high enough altitude, where there are fewer gas molecules to block its escape. Since the radiation emitted from these higher altitudes is weaker, adding greenhouse gases reduces the amount of heat that leaves the Earth. This reduction means that the Earth no longer radiates enough heat to balance the amount it absorbs from the sun, and so it heats up until the radiation intensity returns to its original level.

The size of the reduction in the rate of heat loss that results from changing greenhouse gas concentrations (often referred to as “climate forcing”) has been calculated, and the results are widely accepted. Using these numbers, it is relatively straightforward to estimate the “climate sensitivity,” which is the temperature change that would result if human activity were to generate enough carbon dioxide to raise the concentration to twice the amount it was in 1750 (which could happen in the next decade or so). Professors Richard Lindzen and Yong-Sang Choi of MIT have calculated that this temperature change comes out to only about 1 degree Celsius, if all the other properties of the Earth’s surface and atmosphere are held constant.

This temperature change, however, produces other effects that can amplify or mitigate this baseline calculation. Clouds constitute one of the most important, but also unpredictable, effects. They block almost all the outgoing radiation from the surface and lower atmosphere, and emit weaker radiation at the lower temperature of the cloud top, thereby decreasing the amount of heat leaving Earth and tending to increase the temperature. On the other hand, they reflect much of the sunlight that hits them back into space, decreasing the amount of heat that is absorbed by Earth in the first place. It is difficult to tell which effect dominates, because the strength of the warming effect depends also on the height of the cloud tops, and the specifics of cloud formation are quite complicated.

Due to the magnitude and unpredict-

ability of the climatic consequences of clouds, Lindzen, Choi, and many other scientists are currently focusing much of their research on the effects of surface temperature upon cloud formation. According to many climate models, the total result of clouds and all the other feedback is to amplify strongly the original 1-degree temperature rise. But some scientists, including Princeton Physics Professor William Happer, argue that the models do a poor job representing clouds, and that on average clouds serve to cool the Earth. Based on a preliminary analysis of satellite data on the rate at which heat leaves the Earth, Lindzen and Choi have estimated that this cooling effect is strong enough to reduce the warming due to a doubling of carbon dioxide from 1 degree to 0.5 degrees Celsius.

This summary has been extremely brief and has left out many details; for a more quantitative treatment, check out the link in the *Tory* online edition at www.princeton.tory.com. Even from this simple account of the science, however, it is possible to see, first of all, that greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide do indeed form an essential part of the atmospheric warming mechanism, and, second of all, that the complexity of the Earth’s feedback mechanisms make it extremely difficult to predict the impact of a change in greenhouse gas concentrations on global climate. Although many of the most influential climate scientists (such as the members of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) deny the significance of these difficulties, it remains true that no one has yet been able to reach any reliable conclusions as to whether climate feedback effects amplify or diminish carbon dioxide-induced warming.

A proper solution to the issue is therefore much more elusive than either of the extreme positions would allow, for it requires an important decision in the face of uncertainty. On the one hand, it is most likely that the atmosphere’s feedback effects would tend to mitigate the effects of changes in atmospheric composition, thus stabilizing the Earth’s temperature. Most feedback systems in nature operate in such a way as to reduce the impact of small changes; this is what allows natural environment to remain so stable over such lengthy periods. On the other hand, modern technology surely grants us the ability to have an enormous impact on our environment, and therefore demands extreme care in its use. The very possibility of doubling the Earth’s carbon

dioxide concentration is astounding, and it would not be surprising if such a major change were to overwhelm the natural stability of the climate.

In the face of this uncertainty, it is tempting to maintain the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions as a top priority, because by the time the science tips the scales conclusively in favor one side or the other, irreversible damage may have already occurred. The reasoning behind the recent invasion of Iraq should serve as a much-needed reminder not to let overwrought speculation scare us into an imprudent course of action, as significant damage can be done by rash action. The time, money, and resources spent on fighting the vague and elusive enemy of climate change detract from our ability to deal with more pressing problems such as the economic crisis and national defense, and any global regulations of carbon dioxide emissions could cause serious damage to developing nations. These and other factors must be seriously considered and weighed against the likelihood of severe man-made climate change, and the likely effectiveness of proposed policies must be carefully evaluated.

None of this can happen in the current political and scientific climate, where imminent and catastrophic man-made climate change is generally accepted as an indisputable fact. Our brief outline above has indicated how complicated the question really is, and how much more work is needed to arrive at any definite conclusion. In order to reach a reasonable balance between the costs and benefits of national regulations and international agreements about carbon dioxide emissions, world leaders must take seriously the arguments advanced by those who disagree with the “consensus,” and judge them on their merits as best they can. Only a free and respectful dialogue between both sides of the climate debate can produce genuine solutions, and provide a check against rash action that could be dramatically misguided in these difficult times. **P**

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COMMUNITY-BASED CONSERVATISM

SKETCHING A COMPREHENSIVE NEW CONSERVATISM FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Brandon McGinley '10

BACK IN NOVEMBER 2008, IN MY SECOND article for the last pages of the *Tory*, I wrote of the “blank slate” with which American conservatism and the Republican Party was presented after the election of Barack Obama. As for how best to take advantage of this opportunity, I spoke only in the broadest language: “we must dedicate ourselves to a full-blooded conservatism that finds its unshakable foundation in this nation’s original ideals and in a consistent philosophy of human freedom and dignity.” What precisely this would look like I did not know, but hoped to discover. This article is an idealistic sketch of what that comprehensive, “full-blooded conservatism” might look like.

This sketch may not appeal to all who self-identify as conservatives. In fact, some might find it, in part or in whole, positively repulsive. Of those, some will be people of truly conservative temperament who disagree, either on pragmatic or principled grounds, with some of the specifics of this vision. Others will be libertarians and utilitarians and others who fundamentally disagree with the most basic premise of this sketch – that the purpose of human society is the formation and preservation of moral goodness among the people. Although they might be “conservatives” as part of a political coalition, they are not conservatives in any more meaningful sense.

And so the fundamental consideration of political discourse and decision-making must be the good – the most basic human good, a good that transcends materialism – of the persons who make up the political community. And yet individuals cannot fully achieve and appreciate this good in a vacuum; as was perceived by the earliest ancient philosophers, man is a social animal. This is not an idle observation; there are aspects of personal flourishing, such as the interpersonal responsibility and trust that comes with mutual dependence (as in a family), that are only obtainable in the context of community. Indeed, the new natural lawyers identify friendship as a basic, irreducible, incommensurable human good.

And yet our modern politics has consistently

shown at best ambivalence and at worst antipathy toward the importance of community. If one were to use one word to describe the development of American (and all of Western) society during the 20th century, it would be “atomization.” Whether through the explosive growth of the welfare state, the consolidation of consumerism in big-box mega-marts, or even the physical design of our towns and cities, cohesive local communities and other mediating institutions (Edmund Burke’s “little platoons”) of social life have been systematically rendered obsolete. That is to say, modernity has been remarkably successful at reducing society to two types of agent: the individual and the bureaucracy (whether corporate or governmental).

It might not be clear why this development is to be lamented. This atomization of society, though, acts to deprive individuals of the responsibilities and relationships that inspire happiness, virtue, and ultimately fulfillment. Consider the welfare state. When the federal government thrusts itself into the role of sole caretaker of the impoverished and underprivileged, it absolves individuals and communities of responsibility for the health and comprehensive well-being of friends and neighbors (and even family members). It replaces personal interactions which express charity, compassion, and love with the ruthlessly impersonal calculations of offices and bureaucracies. It tells members of struggling communities and the people at large that “You need not be your brother’s keeper; we’ll take care of that.”

This new conservatism, then, is poised to fill an important vacuum in American politics. It will be a conservatism of policies, of course; it will continue to advocate on behalf of important social issues and will propose new policies to resist and reverse social atomization by reinforcing families, communities, and localities. But more importantly, it will be a conservatism of arguments; it will defend these ideas and policies *explicitly* on the grounds that communities will be fortified. For although the problem of atomization can be treated institutionally, it will require the will and the understanding of average Americans to be rolled back. The people must comprehend, and conservatives must argue, that policies are good

and bad precisely inasmuch as they strengthen and weaken those familial and geographic associations that insulate the people from government and encourage social virtues.

I argue for this approach today, however, not just on principled grounds. This fresh and comprehensive vision of conservatism (and of Americanism) can also be politically powerful, capturing various important strains of American electoral politics and marshaling them in the service of true principles of social well-being. But what exactly will this conservatism look like? We’ll first take a look at how some typical cultural issues can be understood from the perspective of the problem of social atomization. Next, we will explore a reformulated economic conservatism that takes seriously the social and moral implications of the way individuals interact with the economy. Finally, it is important to describe a few concrete causes that conservatives can take up to support the cause of community.

The quintessential cultural conservative issue is abortion. The traditional argumentative dynamic is that of a conflict of rights between the freedom of the mother and the life of the fetus. And yet the implications of legal abortion extend well beyond the two individuals commonly supposed to have a stake in the decision. Indeed, it is hard to imagine a social policy more atomizing than legal abortion, as its widespread acceptance and availability undermines any sense of interpersonal responsibility between parents and children, between mothers and fathers, and among members of families generally. It affirms that the only legitimate consequences of sexual activity are fundamentally personal – such as emotional fulfillment (or distress) and physical gratification (or pain). Finally, it establishes in the collective social consciousness the principle that life is *not* an inviolable, fundamental value, that an individual may decide the moral worth of another without regard not only for that person, but for the family, community, and society at large. (This same principle can be applied to other life issues, such as euthanasia.)

Issues of family and marriage are also fundamental to a healthy conception of community.

It has become a trope of the pro-same-sex marriage movement that the legal recognition of such relationships will have no effect on the health and stability of traditional marriage. And yet in redefining marriage from the conjugal union of biologically complementary persons to whatever emotional/sexual relationship the state decides to bless, marriage is legally transformed from a vital social institution, the natural end of which is children and family, to a simple contractual relationship between any two adults from which children (and thus the nuclear family generally) proceed merely accidentally. The end of marriage would be institutionally transformed from the bearing and rearing of children and the creation and preservation of families (and thus of communities) to *individual* emotional and sexual gratification. The degradation of the fundamental *social* institution into an *atomistic* contract of convenience and the resulting change in social attitudes toward marriage cannot but impoverish current and future marriages.

One might object that all the problems of atomization associated above with the legal recognition of same-sex “marriages” are also associated with liberal divorce laws. And one would be correct. Indeed, if one has any doubt that social attitudes toward (and thus the actual practice of) marriage can be radically altered by changes in the law of marriage, one need only look at the instability of modern marriage in the wake of “reforms” that initiated the process of degradation. And so a truly community-based conservatism must make the case against the atomization caused by the undermining of marriage on all fronts.

Although economic issues are usually considered (particularly from a “conservative” perspective) merely in terms of efficiency and growth, the manner in which individuals interact (economically) with each other and with the economy has important social consequences. An example of the contribution of economic issues to social atomization is the consolidation of burgeoning consumer culture in enormous commercial centers isolated from residential communities. Rather than integrated communities in which transactions occur among friends and acquaintances with common interests and values, modern consumerism splits society into *individual* consumers and enormous, impersonal corporate marketplaces. The transfer of goods and services, rather than being based on relationships founded in mutual trust and community accountability, are defined by mutual suspicion and exploitation, as both parties seek the greatest financial advantage from the relationship.

This should not be read as a total condemnation of American-style consumerism or even capitalism. The growth of companies like Wal-Mart has brought innumerable economic advantages by increasing the efficiency of delivering goods to

market and thus reducing the cost to the consumer, and curbing such companies would certainly diminish those benefits. This progress, however, like all economic growth, should not be considered an unmitigated, or even a fundamental good. If, as I have briefly argued, such consolidation is indeed harmful to healthy integrated communities, and thus even to the *moral* well-being of individuals, then it would be a grave error to privilege, either in argument or in policy, financial benefits over *moral* considerations.

But how can conservatives pragmatically take up a cause, no matter how founded in principle, that patently *restricts* some economic innovation. This key, it seems, is to change the way we talk and argue about economics. Current economic discourse is baldly utilitarian and materialist; conservatives are often particularly guilty of this when business and finance are defended seemingly by rote. And even when morality is brought to bear, it is usually on the topic of distributive justice and remains committed to an impoverished conception of human good. Conservatives, then, using the language of community, must reinvigorate economic discourse with moral content, reminding a people so accustomed to utilitarianism that economic structures and decisions have social and moral consequences (and not just in some far away time and place, but in the way we think about and experience ourselves and our communities *today*).

It should be briefly noted that this does not imply that *government* should take an increased role in the economy. Quite the opposite, what makes this sketch fundamentally conservative is that it disavows big government solutions which are inherently atomizing. The social and cultural (and thus economic) encouragement of small, *local* businesses is indeed a strong check against governmental involvement. The government may have a role, however, in making our *physical* communities conducive to social and economic communion.

Certainly the idealistic vision sketched above cannot be simply dropped on the American public, although the atmosphere is ripe for an expression of profound skepticism toward unbridled business and (particularly) the wealth-for-wealth’s-sake world of finance. Some specific points of policy that conservatives could use to introduce this community-based vision to the American people are in the realms of design and infrastructure. Conservatives can and should commit themselves to affordable and efficient public transit and the design of pedestrian-friendly communities, thus decreasing reliance on the atomizing (and energy-burning) automobile. These two proposals work in tandem to encourage social and economic interactions among members of communities, promoting the development of local, integrated,

and interesting communities that attract people and organic economic growth. For a far more comprehensive explanation of the importance of transit and design for strong communities, see David Schaengold ’07’s essay of April 17, 2009, in the online journal *Public Discourse* entitled “Why Conservatives Should Care About Transit.”

These relatively uncontroversial proposals can prime the pump for a larger offensive against the socially destructive effects of atomization. They would remind people of what is given up in the world of big-box stores and gated “communities.” They would make localities suitable again for precisely the small-scale entrepreneurship that conservatives claim to long for. And they would produce extremely *desirable* communities that would provide a substantial buffer to government meddling and undercut (although not destroy, which is a good thing) the domination of impersonal, socially destructive commercial titans. The best way to convince people that strong local communities are a social and moral good worth making a focus of our politics is to take steps toward *creating* those communities and let them speak for themselves.

This is, as I’ve repeatedly stated, only a sketch of a new, comprehensive conservatism. Its focus on localism and communities has implications for many other politically important issues that could not possibly be covered in this space. Most interesting might be the implications for foreign policy. What does a renewed commitment to individual flourishing and the strong communities that make it possible mean for America’s adventures abroad? I don’t have a precise answer to that question (and there likely isn’t a single perfect answer), but if conservatives can reorient political discourse in the way described above, then answers can be discovered, discussed, and debated.

Fifteen months ago I described the “blank slate” with which conservatives were presented after the election of Barack Obama. Today, in my last article for the *Tory*, I am proposing a new vision to fill that void. It is based on the fundamental premise that strong communities are crucial to the individual flourishing of their members and thus to social well-being. It is the responsibility, then, of conservatives to reject the trend of social atomization that had dominated at least the last century of American political and social development, on the understanding that *true* and *robust* individual liberty (rather than the superficial freedom of atomization) is only possible in the context of strong, responsible communities. **P**

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Scott Brown's Victory

The Impact Going Forward



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