

THE PRINCETON TORY

DECEMBER 2



Tilghman's Gamble

The Politics of Saudi Arabia's New University

ALSO: AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH
PROF SEAN WILENTZ ON THE
ELECTION AFTERMATH

THE PRINCETON TORY

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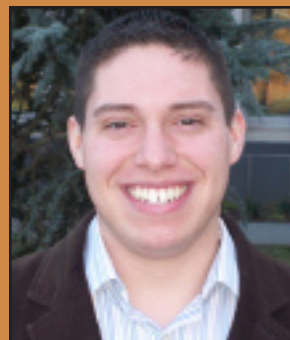
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Letter from the Publisher A Party Blessed with Defeat

The election of Barack Obama is at once the worst thing that could have happened to the country and the best thing that could have happened to the Republican Party. In the aftermath of November 4, conservatives have tended to focus too much on the former and not enough on the latter. True, the election bodes ill for the nation for the next four years. At a time when the country is in the midst of what is being described as the worst economic downturn since the Great Depression, the man we have selected to lead us through this crisis was only four years ago an undistinguished state senator who has since become an unaccomplished member of Congress. As we wage war against a ruthless and determined enemy in two theatres and face the most consequential foreign policy decisions since the end of the Cold War, the Commander-in-Chief is to be a man whose statements on these issues are dangerously naïve and foolhardy, a man no person could reasonably claim has the experience to handle such challenges. None of this touches on the actual policy goals of the President-elect, which promise to bring a distinctly disastrous change to Washington.



Conservatives knew all of this on Election Day, which is why they embraced a senator whose sole mission over the last eight years has seemed to be to cause intense indigestion among members of his party. Conservatives were willing to handcuff themselves and their party to a man who few of them felt represented their values in an effort to keep a far more menacing candidate out of the White House. In attempting to stop Barack Obama's ascendancy, we were willing to latch on to the steady rock called John McCain.

But while that rock might have seen us through to victory against the tides of liberalism had not economic events intervened, conservatives would have awoken on November 5 to realize that the rock they had chained themselves to was obstinately holding them back from revamping a party in dire need of reform and transformation. In having to support John McCain for four years, the Republican Party would have been wedded to a quasi-conservatism that looked approvingly on unconstitutional campaign finance reform, a carbon cap-and-trade system, and opposition to tax cuts in the name of class warfare. The party would have continued the downward spiral of the last decade, continuing to detach itself from its core principles and further alienating conservatives desperate for a real conservative agenda and an inspirational leader who could achieve it.

Instead, John McCain was vanquished, and with him the remnant of the decaying Republican Party that had clung to the White House as its last hold on national power. In its place will rise a new party, forged by a new generation of leaders committed to the cause of conservatism. Conservatives now have a unique and momentous opportunity to seize the helm of the GOP and steer it in a different direction, one that fashions conservative solutions to twenty-first century problems rather than being bogged down in the tired mantras of the last decade. It is an exciting time to be a conservative!

All of this will come in due time. Now, however, is a time for reflection and goodwill. We must pay due respect to the President-elect, a man of enormous talent and intellect whose election inspires us and allows the reasonable among us to finally turn the page on the contentious issue of race. It will be a day of national pride when Barack Obama raises his hand and is sworn in as the forty-fourth president of the United States. At the same time, we must reflect on how the party has gone astray and how to retake it for the cause of conservatism, and we must admit the costly mistakes and delusions that led us to this point. The time for sulking is over. Now is the time to rebuild.

Best,
Joel Alicea '10

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Thoughts on the Future of the Conservative Movement

POINTS & PUNTS

After an extended period of extreme denial, the Tory staff has at last come to accept the new administration's future authority... and it's made them as bitter as ever. Rather than hope for a brighter future, the Tory is quite content to point out the silliness of the present, which includes the protests of PP8, PCP and Prof. Lacewell (again).

The *Tory* continues to be an avid reader of Politics professor Melissa Harris-Lacewell's blog, *The Kitchen Table*. In our last issue, we quoted from one post in which Prof. Harris-Lacewell declared that "This election is a referendum on white supremacy." We said that this statement put Prof. Harris-Lacewell in the running for "Most Insane Professor of the Year" (for now, 9/11 conspiracy theorist and Politics professor Richard Falk seems to be the leading contender).

It appears that Prof. Harris-Lacewell does not appreciate the publicity. In a recent post, Prof. Harris-Lacewell responded to the *Tory*. Instead of defending or explaining her remarks, however, Prof. Harris-Lacewell attacked the *Tory* because "they did not talk about anything I have ever said in lecture or seminar, but something that I wrote on my personal blog." Prof. Harris-Lacewell appears to think that her blog should off-limits to Princeton students -- they should only be able to comment on what goes on in class. She explains that she is a wonderful teacher, working tirelessly for all her students, regardless of their political leanings. So, given this, she explains, "if I want to write my own beliefs, on my own blog, unmediated by the concerns of students, that is my business."

The *Tory* is puzzled by this response. The *Tory*, Prof. Harris-Lacewell, and her blog, PrincetonProfspot.com, are all part of the intellectual community of Princeton, a community that extends far beyond the confines of the classroom. The *Tory* did not question Prof. Harris-Lacewell's abilities as an instructor, but rather her statements as a public intellectual. The fact that these statements are "[her] own beliefs, on [her] own blog" does not make them beyond the realm of debate. We remain disappointed that a scholar of Prof. Harris-Lacewell's caliber is hiding behind her blog instead of addressing the substance of our criticism.

We at the *Tory* are positively tickled by our professors' reactions to Barack Obama's presidential victory. Of course, we always knew full well that most Princeton professors were liberal, but we didn't quite expect them to be swept into the messianic fervor around Obama. The November 5 "panel" on the elections at Princeton felt more like a Christian Revival meeting than an academic discussion. Religion professor Eddie Glaude declared that "The nation has been absolved of something ... we've gone through this ritual of racial expiation and we've exorcised the demons of our past." Woodrow Wilson School Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter opened her remarks with "Oh happy day!" and spoke of the "redemptive story" of the 2008 elections. The *Tory* agrees: **Oh happy day, when Obama washed, he washed my sins away!**



A recent article in *The Daily Princetonian* on students' response to the passing of California's Proposition 8 featured a distressing statement from a graduate student, who lamented that our staid little town lacks a gay bar. This absence has shattered his erstwhile belief that Princeton's was a "progressive liberal campus", leaving him relegated—poor lamb—to what he described as our most gay-friendly establishment—Panera Bread. We at the *Tory* are horrified by the rank, shameful bigotry of this community, evidenced in part by the shockingly low percentage of faculty donations given to Democratic candidates

(97%—the horror!). To remedy this grave injustice, the *Tory* will henceforth hold weekly ‘Town Hall’-style meetings at Panera, in order to facilitate an extended dialogue that will heal this festering wound. We will do our best to make our presence as noticeable as possible so that we can at last ease the suffering on Nassau Street that has gone on far too long.

The *Tory*, well known for its kind and generous treatment of Barack Obama, has benefited from the host of advisers within the President-elect’s inner circle who have graciously shared with us a preview of the incoming president’s cabinet and staff. The following are the prospective members of Team Obama:

John Kerry - SECRETARY OF VETERANS AFFAIRS
He can show all the vets how to throw away their medals too.

Keith Olbermann - PRESS SECRETARY
Well, he wasn't qualified to be an anchor either. What the hell?

Jeremiah Wright - OFFICE OF FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVES
We're hoping he can ensure that God does not, in fact, damn America.

Peter Singer - SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
It's thought that he will be able to dramatically cut costs by cutting the number of comatose and prenatal citizens in half.

After a spate of suicide bombings rocked Frist earlier this year, the Princeton Committee on Palestine decided to defend Frist by constructing a wall and only allowing students to enter the campus center after passing through checkpoints where they are searched for weapons. Due to this effort, Public Safety has reported a 94% decrease in theft, a 97% decrease in bombings and a 60% decrease in complaints about long lines at late meal. The *Tory* speaks for the entire student body in thanking the PCP.

SOME OF PRINCETON’S FINEST COURSE OFFERINGS THIS SPRING:

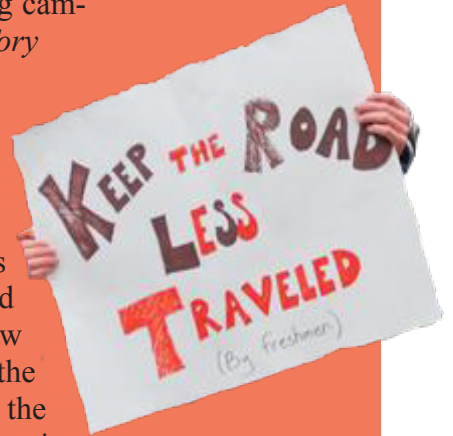
THR 367/ENG 385/WOM 367 - Queer Theater: *Studies in redundancy.*

AAS 395/ENG 352 - Race and the Pornological: *Instructor: The Ron Jeremy Well-Endowed Chair of Erotic Studies.*

POL 525 - Comparative Bureaucracy: *Zzzzzzz...*

SOC 319/ANT 319 - People, Things, and Animals: *Nouns.*

In order to parody California’s Proposition 8, some Princeton students are proposing that freshman be banned from treading campus sidewalks. The *Tory* wholehearted supports Princeton Prop 8. No, not the PR campaign, but the proposal itself. Far too long have freshmen shared our sidewalks with their flamboyant and scurrilous behavior. Now is the time to restore the Princeton community to the natural order of human society. **For if there is one concept that is surely written on the hearts of man, it is that freshmen are not fit for sidewalk life.**



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



TILGHMAN'S GAMBLE

Kerry Brodie '12

On October 6th, President Shirley Tilghman announced that she will be joining the Board of Trustees of the King Abdullah University of Science and Technology. Expected to open in September 2009, it will offer degrees in eleven fields of study. With an internationally acclaimed Board of Trustees and a \$10 billion endowment, KAUST aims to be a major research university and depicts itself an important step in dealing with Saudi Arabia's economic and educational woes. Explaining her decision in an interview with the Tory, Tilghman cited "the commitment of King Abdullah to begin to move the Saudi education system into the 21st century." But despite Tilghman's high hopes for this coeducational, graduate level university, questions about its future remain.

The very nature of the education provided at KAUST seems to preclude the possibility of positive democratic change; indeed, it seems tailored to serve the interests of the regime.

KAUST's defenders point to its relative autonomy from the Saudi government as a sign of its progressiveness. KAUST does not work within the framework of Saudi Arabia's state education system, and is thus exempt from Shariah law. There are, however, limits to the autonomy that the Saudi government offers. Because it is providing a large portion of KAUST's endowment, it can indirectly pressure KAUST to change its policies and to further integrate elements of its

repressive social policies. Indeed, we have already begun to see signs of this in the form of a campus alcohol ban. Given the government's level of financial influence, there is no guarantee that policies

grounded in Islamic fundamentalism will not be imposed in the future.

The private Saudi oil company Aramco is another major source of KAUST's funding. According to Tilghman, a relationship with Aramco will help westernize and modernize the university. She argues that Aramco is even something of an example for KAUST to follow, because it "functions on a Western model that is as far as I know utterly unique in Saudi Arabia." Like Aramco, however, KAUST,

for all its claims to "international" status, will undoubtedly serve Saudi interests; King Abdullah has made it clear that the university's focus on scientific education and research is aimed at diversifying the economy of Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia certainly faces major economic problems. Its dependence on the ebb and flow of oil prices, particularly in an age where alternative fuel is being developed, is very problematic.

And diversification and resulting economic growth and stability may help liberalize Saudi society and move it in a more democratic direction. However, as the experience of China has shown, economic growth in a repressive society can often serve to strengthen a despotic regime rather than undermining it. There is no guarantee that the technological and economic advancement that KAUST may promote will lead to the kinds of fundamental changes that Saudi society needs.

The very nature of the education provided at KAUST also seems to preclude the possibility of positive democratic change; indeed, it seems tailored to serve the interests of the regime. Conveniently, the Saudi

government's investments are focused on science and technology education, rather than the humanities or the social sciences. This creates a system in which those Saudi educational institutions at levels below KAUST generally remain under strict control, while institutions like KAUST, for all their autonomy, do not present students with the kinds of political and philosophical ideas that might inspire them to reshape Saudi society. The Saudi educational system as a whole thus remains extremely retrograde, casting doubt on the top-down model of reform presented by KAUST's advocates. As Nina Shea, a Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute, explained to the *Tory*, the

real advancement Saudi Arabia needs is in education at the elementary level. She argues that KAUST's value is limited unless it is part of an overall change in Saudi Arabian education. "If this is the first step in the bigger plan to liberate the kingdom," she says, "then this could be a positive move. But I have not seen any other further plans."

The weaknesses of the Saudi educa-

continued problems with Saudi education below the undergraduate level remain important concerns. KAUST appears to acknowledge these concerns, and is only aiming for one third of its students to be native Saudi Arabians, many of whom will no doubt be members of elite segments of the population. The benefit of having a world-class research university will likely not reach most of Saudi Arabia's youth.

When it comes to those Saudis who do enter the university, there is also a possibility that, however troubling, must be acknowledged. Because KAUST's reforms are not part of a comprehensive change in the Saudi educational system, and because the Saudi ministry of educa-

tion is not updating and liberalizing its curriculum, the combination of a science and technology university with a lower level education steeped in Wahabist Islamic fundamentalism is a disturbing one. Shea agrees, asserting that that "promoting science and technology on top of their current curriculum could be dangerous." She argues that pairing technological knowhow without changing the fundamentalist emphasis on Saudi Arabia education may be giving students the tools to act upon the reactionary lessons they are taught.

KAUST's purported gender and cultural openness forms another central part of its self-presentation. According

Even if KAUST does manage to live up to its promise of a coeducational policy, the grossly unequal treatment of women in Saudi society and in the Saudi educational system casts doubt on the actual changes that any such policy will make.

tional system also raise the question of how many Saudi students will actually be able to benefit from KAUST. With few undergraduate universities in Saudi Arabia up to the standard that KAUST's expected level of rigor requires, many college-educated Saudis will find themselves unprepared to attend KAUST. KAUST has acknowledged this problem, and is creating scholarships for Saudi Arabian students to study abroad at the undergraduate level and to return and study at KAUST. However, the amount of money available for these scholarships, the way in which this money will be distributed in a nation not known for economic and political transparency, and



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to Tilghman, one of the factors that attracted her to the university was “their commitment to educating women in science and technology in a country where men and women currently are not educated together.” If realized, this could present a new face for women’s education in Saudi Arabia. However, KAUST is not the first university founded in Saudi Arabia claiming a mission of coeducation. Alfaisal University, founded in 2007, had also promised that it would be a coeducational institution. Today, however, its website offers only the euphemistic claim that “[t]here are still quite a few logistics to be considered and finalized before we can admit women.” Even if KAUST does manage to live up to its promise



As KAUST’s construction rapidly approaches completion, its acceptance policies will have to be sorted out.

of a coeducational policy, the grossly unequal treatment of women in Saudi society and in the Saudi educational system casts doubt on the actual changes that any such policy will make.

The issue of Israel further undermines KAUST’s claim to tolerance and openness. KAUST claims to be a “global” university, “merit-based and open to men and women from around the world.” But Saudi Arabia has no formal relationship with Israel, and Israelis cannot be granted visas to enter the country. In addition to excluding students, Saudi Arabia’s diplomatic policy also precludes the possibility of cooperation with Israeli universities. As KAUST spokesman Mohammed Mulla told *Nature*, “Saudi Arabia cannot cooperate ... with countries with which it does not have diplomatic relations — which would mean no formal collaboration between KAUST and Israeli institutions.” The exclusion of a major source of scientific research in the Middle East will seriously hamper KAUST’s ability to work as an effective research institution.

To be fair, KAUST is not responsible for this policy. And it may be true that, as Dean of Yeshiva University David Srolovitz told the *Tory*, KAUST is “really trying to make a difference in the

way the Arab world interacts with the rest of the world,” and is simply trying to do so in a way that “will not bring the entire enterprise to a screeching halt.” But Tilghman’s attitude towards this situation is troubling nonetheless. She claims, rightly, that the visa issue is a political one that is beyond the scope of KAUST. But this obfuscates a basic truth: while

Tilghman, in deciding to join the board of trustees, has placed more stock in these claims than is merited. According to the article on the Princeton website announcing the decision, Tilghman has been “very selective in taking on outside responsibilities.” One cannot help but wonder why she has chosen, of all possible “responsibilities,” an initiative so wrapped up in unresolved issues of state repression, radical religious fundamentalism and religious discrimination— an initiative that may ultimately serve to bolster a corrupt and reactionary regime. We can only hope that, in her capacity as a trustee, Tilghman will serve not as a figurehead, but as a check on the regime’s influence. We hope she will demand that KAUST live up to its ambitious claims. For now, however, many doubts remain. **F**

KAUST may turn out to be a major catalyst of progress in Saudi Arabia and the Middle East.

KAUST has no control over Saudi Arabia’s visa policy, Tilghman’s decision to join the board is her own. Her decision to lend her name and work to the board is, in part, a decision to accept the present situation. Indeed, she admits that the board itself excludes “individuals with Israeli passports,” and attempts to minimize this by pointing out that Jews, per se, are permitted — a distinction that, while true, is not particularly reassuring.

KAUST may turn out to be a major catalyst of progress in Saudi Arabia and the Middle East. At this point, we are in no position to judge. But it is absolutely essential that Princeton students question its high-minded claims, and ask whether

Kerry Brodie is a freshman from Maryland. She lives in Forbes, and plans on Majoring in Near Eastern Studies.

ELECTION 2008: THE AFTERMATH

SEAN WILENTZ ON THE END OF THE AGE OF REAGAN

A few weeks after the election of 2008, the Tory sat down with Princeton Professor Sean Wilentz to discuss his views on what the election means politically and historically. Professor Wilentz is the Sidney and Ruth Lapidus Professor in the American Revolutionary Era and the author of numerous books, including his most recent work: The Age of Reagan. Professor Wilentz is universally respected as a premier scholar in American history and a fantastic instructor and lecturer. In this interview, he shared with us his thoughts on what the election portends for the GOP, the conservative movement, and race relations.

Some columnists and media personalities are of the opinion that this election was the best election they've ever covered and ranks among the most important and exciting elections in history. The election of 1912, as one example, is always cited as one of the most exciting and competitive elections in our history. How do you think this one ranks as far as American elections go?

It's taking me some time get my head around what this election means. I do think it means the end of a 40-year conservative ascendancy, where conservatives have set the tone of politics at the national level. We'd have arrived at the end of that era even if McCain had won. The reason I say that, apart from the enlarged Democratic majorities in Congress, is because the Republican primaries showed that the Republican coalition, the Reagan coalition, is over. Each candidate stood for one part of that coalition, but there was no one they could really unite around. McCain became the lowest common denominator, the most plausible carrier of the Reagan tradition, but he wasn't satisfactory to everybody in the Republican Party.

Insofar as the party has been the vehicle for the conservative movement, I think that there's a problem, and it's not going to be solved anytime soon. I think that parties that become mainstream have a kind of natural history. I'm not trying to be determinist about this, but there's a period of excitement, a period of taking power, a period of holding power, and then a period of exhaustion.

But I think that intellectually, things that may have been at least interesting in the 1970s – tax reform, say, or deregulation -- were irrelevant and even harmful in the 2000s. In foreign policy, the Republicans had established themselves as the more



dependable, muscular party. But the mendacity, the fudging in the way the administration went into Iraq, the ill-preparation, all hurt the party as well as the administration. It took a while for a glimmer of hope to appear, and the glimmer came in the form of a man named David Petraeus.

Still, I think that as a result of that, this administration, the Republican Party and the neo-conservative element of the conservative movement all lost that natural political advantage they once had on military and foreign policy. They're not dead on these issues, but there's still a big problem.

On domestic policy – well, the Bush administration had virtually no domestic policy, other than tax cuts which were deeply regressive and poorly timed. Decisions were based less on what was good for the country than what was good for the party. I think the party paid for that. The turning point was Hurricane Katrina. It

was a sign of how hollowed out the federal government had become, abandoning a great, historically treasured city to its fate.

Finally, on economics, in the end, even John McCain didn't have a persuasive answer to the problems that were coming. I think the idea that Reaganomics can solve the financial crisis doesn't ring true to people anymore.

So you think that this historic repudiation of the party in the last two elections is not based exclusively on events, but on the ideology of the Republican Party?

Yes. I don't think it means the voters have embraced the ideology of the Democrats, but I don't think it was just based on the incompetence of the Bush administration. The Democrats tried to pin Bush's failed policies on the Republican Party, and the Republican Party didn't have a very convincing response, except to promise pretty much more of the same. Everything that Bush has stood for – a turbocharged version of supply-side economic policy, the social issues – emblemized certain things the Republican Party has stood for since the 1980s. I'm not sure how ideological the country is, but the voters know what they have come to dislike.

Was it possible that there were simply no candidates this year who appealed to the Reagan coalition who had new ideas? Is it possible that we could see such a candidate in 2012?

I think that it's going to take a while for the party to rebuild itself. Much of that will depend on how the Obama administration fares. The party has had difficulty keeping its coalition together since 1988, when it nominated someone who was really a moderate Republican.

My point is that Reagan may have been the one person who could hold together the Reagan coalition, and there's been a kind of unraveling ever since, although with some revivals and Democratic screw-ups. Whatever is going to emerge is going to be something new. It will be conservative, but it's not going to be Reagan conservatism. Republicans are going to have to figure out what conservatism even means in the 21st century, much as the Democrats have had to reconsider liberalism. But there are movements within the party to reinvent itself.

What do you think of Obama's victory? Does this signal a realignment towards the Democrats, considering the fact that Obama has not come forward with many new ideas?

I'm very suspicious of the idea of realignment, at least nowadays. I don't think you can have realignment the way you formerly did. With the increase in the numbers of independent voters, the decline in the importance of party, with the number of floaters that you have now who are up for grabs – I think that that concept may be outdated or may at least need a modification. There was a time in the 19th century, even when I was a kid in the 1960s, when you were defined by your political party, and it was kind of passed down from parents to children. That's

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really weakened, and it's weakened for a lot of reasons. But in those days, when party descriptions shifted, they really shifted. When African-Americans became Democratic, that was a big deal. When Roosevelt consolidated the New Deal coalition in 1936, it was a big deal. You were either going to be a Democrat or a Republican. Now, that's not true.

So I wonder whether alignment theory is really true anymore. That being said, I think that the momentum is on the side of the Democratic Party right now. The ball's in their court.

You wrote an article for *Newsweek* comparing Obama to Carter. Can you foresee a way in which Obama might end up having a failed presidency?

There are some similarities between Obama and Carter. The post-partisanship, blaming lobbyists, blaming Washington – all that has a Carterian ring. But there are also obviously differences. Obama was the candidate of the congressional wing of the party. Reid and Pelosi made it fairly clear during the primaries that they were pushing for Obama. So Obama will start out with a much closer relationship to Congress than Carter ever had. He has connections in the Senate. How long this lasts, however, is by no means certain. Don't forget, Carter came in with 63 seats in the Senate, which is more than Obama has (though Carter had to deal with severe divisions among the Democrats, more severe than at present.)


And the Obama administration is bound to disappoint some of its most fervent supporters. They're looking for a major transformation – “hope,” “change” and all that -- and I don't think that's in the cards right now, or anytime soon. We have a financial crisis, we have an economic crisis, we have enormous difficulties abroad, and transactional politics becomes much more important than transformational politics. You're trying to save a system; you're not trying so much to change its basic structure (though saving the system will certainly require reform). So politically, Obama might well alienate some of his erstwhile starry-eyed supporters. I began hearing rumbling only days after the election over the appointments of Rahm Emmanuel and John Podesta. The true believers are restless. We'll see what happens once reality sets in.

You have stated that you thought race was used effectively by the Obama campaign during the primaries to portray Hillary Clinton and her supporters as racists. Do you think the race card was used by Obama against McCain during the general election?

I don't think that race became much of an explicit issue in the general election. Obama, early on, did claim that the Republicans would try to scare people, and mentioned how he wasn't like the presidents on the paper money; but McCain effectively shot that down, and that was the end of that. The Clinton campaign, in contrast, failed to confront the issue head-on, which hurt. I do hope that the elections results will end, once and for all, the palaver about the Bradley effect -- which some of Obama's cheerleaders in the press were claiming, weeks before the election and even after, would be the reason he lost if he did, in fact

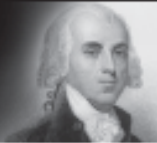
lose. I'm not even sure there ever was anything like the Bradley effect; in any event, if there was, that was fifteen years ago. Overall, I think Obama's racial heritage ended up helping him more than it hurt him -- galvanizing African-American voters but also affluent white liberals and young white voters.

Do you think that Obama will use race as a political weapon during his presidency?

I hope not. If things get tough, and the Obama White House or its supporters try to ward off criticism by casting the critics as racists or as race baiters, it could easily poison political debate. Of course, the tactic related to ancient forms of American ethnic politics. Many an Irish-American politician in Massachusetts, back in the old days, won election after election by casting his opponent as an anti-Irish Brahmin bigot. But that was localized -- and, in the larger context of American history, not nearly as toxic. 

The Tory staff would like to thank Professor Wilentz for graciously sacrificing his time to share his pre-eminent knowledge and understanding of American politics and its present applications with us.

James Madison Program
in American Ideas and Institutions



Registering for Spring 2009 Courses

The James Madison Program in American Ideas and Institutions is pleased to announce that Professor Dermot Quinn, an historian at Seton Hall University, will spend Spring '09 semester at Princeton as the Madison Program's Garwood Visiting Research Scholar. Professor Quinn will be offering the lecture course, POL 302: *Slavery and the Anglo-American Theory and Practice*, for credit in the Department of Politics. The purpose of the course is to examine the policies and actions of key British and American statesmen in recent history and to aduce a more general typology of political power and significance.

The Department of Politics will also be offering two courses taught by Gerard V. Bradley, Professor of Law at the University of Notre Dame and Spring '09 Visiting Research Scholar in the Madison Program. Professor Bradley will teach an undergrad seminar lecture course, POL 318: *On Liberty* (substituting for Professor Robert George, who is on leave) and an undergrad seminar, POL 412: *Religion Liberty in America's Constitutional History*. Among Professor Bradley's publications is his book *Church-State Relationships in America*.

James Madison Program in American Ideas and Institutions
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PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

COAH: NJ'S WELFARE FAILURE



NEW JERSEY'S COUNCIL ON AFFORDABLE HOUSING STRANGLES DEVELOPMENT

Douglas Lavanture '09

Can a housing development be built between runways at a municipal airport? Or in the median of a heavily traveled parkway? Or in the middle of a school soccer field?

According to New Jersey's Council on Affordable Housing (COAH), the answer would be a resounding "YES."

The Council on Affordable Housing, run by the State of New Jersey Department of Community Affairs, was created by the Fair Housing Act of 1985 after a series of landmark rulings, also known as the Mount Laurel decisions, by the New Jersey Supreme Court in that same year. According to the COAH website, "The Supreme Court established a constitutional obligation for each of the 566 municipalities in the State to establish a realistic opportunity for the provision of fair share low and moderate

income housing obligations, generally through land use and zoning powers."

It is true that COAH's mission is commendable. According to U.S. Census figures released in September 2008, New Jersey was second only to California in the cost of maintaining a house with a mortgage. The average New Jersey home owner pays \$2,278 a month. Californians pay just over \$2,300. Combine this with the fact that in 2007, 46 percent of New Jersey mortgage holders spent over 30 percent of their disposable income on housing costs, and a dire picture emerges. Nationwide, only 37.5 percent of homeowners paid the same relative amount.

For low and middle-income workers in New Jersey, finding affordable, adequate housing is an incredibly difficult process. Both mortgage holders and renters must struggle with New Jersey's obscene tax rates – the highest in the country. Furthermore, the median renter in New Jersey pays the

third highest rate in the nation at \$1,026 a month (including fuel and utility costs).

COAH has responded to this problem by wielding the power bestowed upon it over twenty years ago by the activist Mount Laurel decisions. COAH cajoles New Jersey municipalities and developers into shouldering the cost of construction of a number of low and moderate-income housing units proportional to either the number of total residential units built or the number of jobs a certain development would supposedly create. The number to be built is determined by a formula developed by COAH.

The problem with this formula, especially when applied to jobs created by a project, is that it consistently radically overestimates the number of COAH units that should be built. In 1988, then Mercer County Executive Bill Mathesius foresaw many of these problems in an article in the New York Times in which he writes, "The

process [of this formula] is not sanguine. Lest one believes that the numbers come easily, they do not. They come hard, real hard, on the heels of manipulation, coercion, intimidation and threats of visitations by the Pigeons of Hell.”

These numbers have come in especially hard in recent times for Princeton University. In the past ten years, the University has gone through a construction boom and has had, not surprisingly, a number of confrontations with ridiculous demands imposed on it by COAH. For example, COAH estimates placed the number of jobs created by the construction of Whitman College at 500. Even at first glance this number seems ludicrous. University Vice President and Secretary Bob Durkee '69 stated in a recent *Daily Princetonian* article, “Anyone who knows anything about Whitman College knows this is a ridiculous number. The actual number is closer to 50.”

The University includes in its development budget for building projects an amount to be spent on COAH compliance. For an institution with the financial and fundraising abilities such as Princeton, this is not very often a major issue. But when these same numbers are presented to, say, a private contractor, the story becomes entirely different.

Mathesius continues in his 1988 article: “In fact, while the pretense prevails that somehow the American dream has been preserved through Mount Laurel, the decision requires that good planning be ignored...The job of COAH is to produce numbers by squeezing communities. It does that very well.” At that time Mr. Mathesius worried about an uncontrolled housing boom without adequate infrastructure (such as roads and utilities) to keep pace. In many ways his predictions were true. Just take a look out the window at the urban sprawl choking Route 1.

But now, in the midst of the greatest financial crisis since the Great Depression, the tides have certainly shifted. Home prices have dropped off significantly from their massive gains in the 1990s and 2000s. With consumer confidence plummeting and worries of deflation looming on the horizon, the last thing New Jersey (or any state for that matter) needs is an increase

in taxes or anything that discourages consumer spending or development.

This, however, is exactly what COAH does, albeit indirectly. Examples within only the last two months show the hypocrisy of COAH's liberal agenda, and the externalities it fails to take into account. For example, Democrats in the State Senate and General Assembly passed a new COAH law in August which would

“While the pretense prevails that somehow the American dream has been preserved through Mount Laurel, the decision requires that good planning be ignored.”

“revise the State’s affordable housing laws [and] may impose a 2.5% tax on economic development projects throughout the state; a tax that will ultimately be borne by middle class property tax payers,” according to State Senator Bill Haines, Assemblywoman Dawn Addiego, and Assemblyman Scott Rudder in a statement on September 18, 2008.

Merely three weeks later, on August 6, 2008, a new piece of economic development in Evesham, Burlington County, was forced to fold under the suffocating grasp of the new COAH requirements. The same three state, “This is absolutely intolerable. This new shopping center development would have provided much needed jobs and would have enabled the township to build an updated modern public works facility – at little or no cost to the taxpayer. Instead, the arbitrary, unfair, anti-business COAH rules would have forced local taxpayers to spend \$6 million to build 37 affordable houses along with the shopping center. In light of the higher COAH fees, the project was canceled.”

COAH's inadvertent strangling of this development project is abhorrent in its own right, but this example points to a fundamental flaw with COAH practices that functions on two levels. First, to discourage development means to hinder both economic growth and potential COAH units. Secondly, consider the following example: if, say, a municipality is required to build ten COAH units for a particular piece of development, it has complete

jurisdiction over where to build them. Chances are, they will be built where the land value is lowest. The municipality also has the option to export half of the COAH units to an adjacent municipality. A result of these actions is the creation of an urbanized ghetto, with all COAH-compliant housing smashed together in a small area of the municipality. New COAH units being constructed by Princeton University, for example, have broken ground at locations half a mile and two miles north of campus, in much poorer areas of town.

Which takes us back to the opening of this article. COAH exercises some control over municipality choices in the placement of COAH units, but not much. For example, in another act of idiocy, the Council limited the ability of the Highlands (a municipality in North Jersey) to zone for commercial development and, in redrawing areas in which COAH units were allowed to be built, included areas such as in between two runways, because costs were more feasible.

If development plans fail because of COAH's ridiculous demands—both at Princeton and elsewhere across New Jersey—then not only does COAH's mission to provide housing to low and middle-income residents go down with it, but also the creation of strong, well-paying jobs for the middle class. To include more examples of the fallacies of this program would take up an entire magazine issue itself. What ever happened to considering the rule of unintended consequences? **F**

Douglas Lavanture is a senior in the English department and is pursuing certificates in East Asian Studies and Theater & Dance. He was born and raised in Bristol, Indiana.

THE BLANK SLATE

THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT

Brandon McGinley '10

There is something refreshing, invigorating even, about being an outsider. After eight years (or 28 years, depending on your political timekeeping) during which conservatism was the driving force in American politics, we have been banished to the proverbial wilderness. But, as Joel says in his Letter from the Publisher, now is not the time to mope around pouting about the passing of the most recent manifestation of the Republican Party. Quite the opposite: it is time to celebrate an historic opportunity.

For as long as I have been politically sentient, we have been the establishment. It is, of course, desirable to fill the halls of power in Washington, but the establishment is by its very nature stagnant, boring, old. The establishment is almost always on the defensive, parrying political and ideological assaults which suffocate the dynamism of a vibrant and successful movement. November 2008 has unlocked the manacles which chained conservatism to an unpopular presidency, a tepid party, and a dying establishment. Conservatism has a blank slate.

I write today not of the future of the Republican Party, but of the future of the conservative movement in this country. The GOP, while certainly a venerable institution, is, like any political party, merely a means to power and influence. Its success is only meaningful if it represents meaningful ideas; otherwise it is just a conglomeration of vaguely similar interests that seeks power for power's sake, rather than to implement an ideology. And so, as the party flounders after its rejection by the American people, the Republicans need conservatism. And conservatism needs the Republican Party.

It is conservatism's task to remind

the GOP of this vital symbiosis. It is conservatism's task to remind the GOP that electoral success is not found through pandering and tepidity, but through dedication to big ideas rooted in a firm ideology. And it is our task, as foot soldiers of a conservatism loosed of the shackles of the establishment, to take full advantage of this opportunity to creatively rebuild a dynamic movement from raw materials, to fulfill the limitless potential of the blank slate.

But how are we to best use this carte

Now is the time to present a single, unified conservatism that returns to the philosophical roots of this nation, and is not afraid to say so.

blanche, signed neatly by Barack Obama?

We cannot accept the moral horror of abortion on demand. We must rebuke the bureaucratic paternalism of universal health care. We have to defend the importance of traditional marriage as the foundation of civilized society. We must not allow this nation to abrogate her responsibilities to her universal founding principles in a dangerous world. In short, 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.

Most importantly, we need not be afraid to, indeed we must, present these principles and policies to the American people in the terms of the big ideas from which they emanate. It is both insulting and ineffective to reduce contentious issues to tropes and clichés on the assumption that the elusive "average American" is too dense to understand what is truly at stake. The various issues that comprise the American

political landscape should not be addressed disjointedly to special interest groups and political constituencies, but each as an integral facet of a single program founded in basic conceptions of human dignity and its commensurate liberty.

Now is the time to present a single, unified conservatism that returns to the philosophical roots of this nation, and is not afraid to say so. In the vibrant language of fundamental values, this conservatism can wrest the reigns of the Republican Party away from the tepid old guard and be ideologically consistent, electorally successful, and, ultimately, vitally important to the continued strength of this nation.

This is, of course, not a goal that can be accomplished simply by decree. The salience of the conservatism that I have described must be demonstrated to a scarred party and a skeptical populace. Furthermore, the continuing electoral success of the big ideas of conservatism is contingent on defending their ultimate correctness against those who would undermine them. This is where we see the importance of universities in the emergence and ultimate success of the new conservatism.

In this conservatism of unified ideas rather than disjointed policies, the hubs of America's intellectual industry – the universities – will play a key role. Polling data does not tell the whole story; Princeton University is blessed with more intellectual diversity among its students and faculty than any of its elite counterparts. If this new conservatism will thrive, its ideas must survive the hot furnaces of intellectual debate that define university life, and in so doing influence a generation of political leaders who can empower those ideas, economic leaders who can fund them, and academic leaders who continue to see them through the intellectual smelters of the university and pass them on to a new cadre

LAST WORD



Bobby Jindal, Governor of Louisiana, has risen to the top of the party through his strong support of conservative values

of young people.

And so all this pontificating about a “new conservatism” is not idle. Not only do we, as Princeton students, have a stake in its success, but can be and have to be part of its success.

It is our responsibility to bear witness to the importance and fundamental truth of the human freedom and dignity that underlies our program. We can do this in publications such as *Cornerstone*, *The Daily Princetonian*, and this magazine. We can do this in classes and precepts. We can do this in conversations with friends and professors. We can do this through activism in vibrant student organizations such as Princeton Pro-Life and the Anscombe Society or religious organizations like the Aquinas Institute, Princeton Evangelical Fellowship, and the Center for Jewish Life. It is our duty to see these ideas through the ivy-cloaked gauntlet of liberalism in the hope that their ultimate truth, and our witness to that truth, will erode that resistance for future generations of young conservatives.

The blank slate provides an exciting opportunity for an influx of youth to a

conservative movement freed from an establishment that was widely viewed as old and crotchety. In fact, the involvement of young people is vital to the vibrancy of the movement, representing both the freshness of the approach and the broad appeal of the traditional ideas the new conservatism presents.

And so, the crushing defeat of this past November presents an enormous and exciting opportunity for conservatism, and particularly its young adherents. It’s time for a fresh, consistent, successful, and fundamentally intellectual conservatism. The new conservatism will be based not in policy, but philosophy; not in tropes, but ideas. The battles will not be won and lost in the bowls of Robertson Hall, but the corridors of Marx and Corwin. Political defeats are ephemeral; intellectual ones last a generation.

We are blessed with a blank slate. Will we scribble on it the clichés of an old, defeated generation? Or will we paint it with a dynamic blend of youthful enthusiasm and philosophical rigor, of big ideas and bigger ambitions? As members

of a party and an ideology banished to the political wilderness, disorganized and dismayed, we, as students and young people, have the unparalleled opportunity to seize the initiative and help to make this crucial decision. **F**

Brandon McGinley is a junior majoring in Politics from Pittsburgh, PA. He is a Managing Editor for the *Tory*.

In Memoriam

1st Lt. Trevor J. Yurista	October 27, 2008	Hostile Fire
Sgt. Kevin D. Grieco	October 27, 2008	IED
Sgt. Nicholas A. Casey	October 27, 2008	IED
Pfc. Bradley S. Coleman	October 29, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Sgt. Scott J. Metcalf	October 29, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Sgt. Daniel W. Wallace	October 31, 2008	Hostile Fire
Spec. Adam M. Wenger	November 5, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Pfc. Theron V. Hobbs	November 6, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Staff Sgt. Timothy H. Walker	November 8, 2008	IED
Spec. Corey M. Shea	November 12, 2008	Hostile Fire
Sgt. Jose Regalado	November 12, 2008	Hostile Fire
Spec. Armando A. De La Paz	November 13, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Spec. James M. Clay	November 13, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Spec. Jonnie L. Stiles	November 13, 2008	IED
Cpl. Aaron M. Allen	November 14, 2008	Hostile Fire
Chief Warrant Officer Christian P. Humphreys	November 15, 2008	Hostile Fire
Chief Warrant Officer Donald V. Clark	November 15, 2008	Hostile Fire
Gunnery Sgt. Marcelo R. Velasco	November 19, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Pvt. Charles Y. Barnett	November 20, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Sgt 1st Class Miguel A. Wilson	November 21, 2008	Hostile Fire