



THE PRINCETON

TORY

FEBRUARY 2009

GAY MARRIAGE:



REVIEW OF A CAMPUS DEBATE

ALSO: CORNEL WEST ON THE STAKES OF
THE COMING OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

THE PRINCETON TORY

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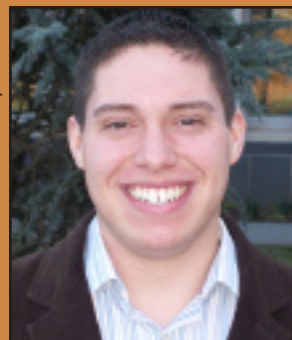
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Letter from the Publisher The Dangers of Apotheosis

The inauguration of President Barack Obama is estimated to have cost as much as \$150 million, shattering all previous records for this important national ceremony. Obama held a concert at the Lincoln Memorial the Sunday before his inauguration, was sworn in on the same Bible used by President Lincoln, and adopted as his inaugural theme "A New Birth of Freedom." As Charles Krauthammer has pointed out, to the extent that President Obama represents the culmination of emancipation, Lincoln was an appropriate presence during the inauguration. What is troubling, however, is that the pomp and circumstance of the ceremony fit into a larger narrative that emerged during the 2008 campaign about Obama's supporters: their adoration—indeed glorification—of the man they worked so hard to elect to the presidency.



My purpose is not to cast aspersions on the new president or his loyal supporters, but rather to point out the dangers of the deification of Barack Obama that we have witnessed more and more since the election. Blind allegiance to a political leader is never a wise course, even if that leader turns out to be one of the greatest figures in history (a conclusion many had already reached about Obama before he even took the oath of office). It is disconcerting to watch as people across the country express their devotion to the new president rather than to the principles for which he stands and the ideals to which they aspire. It is important to remember that the presidency transcends any individual and that policy should almost always trump loyalty.

I do not say any of this to sound self-righteous; I say it because I and my fellow conservatives learned the hard way the dangers of blind loyalty to a president, though of course our loyalty to former President Bush never reached the level of Obamamania. I do not subscribe to the contemporary consensus that George W. Bush will be vilified by history. I think there is a very good chance he will be remembered well—though perhaps not experiencing quite the same resurrection as Harry Truman. But there were certainly numerous mistakes in the last eight years, many of which resulted when conservatives refused to stand on principle and were seduced by their sincere devotion to a man they believed was a decent public servant doing his best for the sake of the country.

The most telling example occurred in 2006 when it became indisputably clear that we were losing the War in Iraq. President Bush continued to insist that the war was being won and conservatives by and large continued to stand by their president. Only after the humiliation of the 2006 elections did Bush and the Republican Party dramatically change course, eventually resulting in what looks to be victory in Iraq. But in the meantime, US troops and Iraqi civilians died in part because of a flawed strategy that most conservatives supported out of blind loyalty to their president. The enthusiastic supporters of President Obama must be wary of making the man into a god, immune from criticism and without error. Blind allegiance brings about bad policy and electoral disaster.

Just as the presidency transcends any individual occupant, so is the case for any office. This issue marks my last as Publisher of the *Tory*, and I would like to thank you all for the privilege and honor of having led this important organization. My successor, Rob Day '10, is a man of great talent who I am certain will have a very successful tenure. There is no better reminder of the transient nature of leaders than the rise of new ones just as skilled as their predecessors, and Rob certainly fits that mold. With a grateful heart, I thank you for your loyalty as readers, a loyalty that has never been blind.

Signing off,
Joel Alicea '10

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

As a former editor of the *Princeton Tory*, I must respectfully disagree with the decision taken by the new Tory management to label the Points and Punts section (once more-accurately titled “the Rant”) as “representing the opinions of individual writers” while keeping them anonymous. If the opinions are those of the individual writers, and not of the *Tory* as a publication, then it is unethical for the writers to hide behind the anonymity that the Points and Punts section currently provides. These blurbs were originally published without an author because they reflected the opinions of the magazine as a whole; of its “editorial board,” as it were (let alone the fact that they were often all written by one or two people in the waning hours before the final draft was due to the printer). As such, I call for you to either print the authors’ names alongside their points/punts or else remove the notice and make the *Tory* take responsibility for this editorial content. As a stickler for tradition with an aversion to change (after all, we are conservatives), I would choose the latter.

Sincerely,

Jordan Reimer '08

We must disagree with Mr. Reimer’s assertion that the Points-and-Punts section once reflected the views of the journal as a whole. The Tory masthead states explicitly that “Opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the editors, trustees, Princeton University, or The Princeton Tory, Inc.” This has been the position of the Tory since before Mr. Reimer’s time. Indeed, there have been issues of the Tory in which the section contained contradictory paragraphs, clearly expressing the opinions of different writers. The notice may be superfluous, but it is not wrong. We leave it to the next administration to determine its place.

To the Editor:

It was with great disappointment that I read your May issue and found the list of fallen servicemen and women on the back cover. Since you assure your readers that you have no partisan intent in publishing the names of those lost in the line of duty, I encourage you to give serious consideration to your status as a thoroughly and unabashedly partisan institution. Whether intentionally or otherwise, your efforts come off as a cynical and callous attempt to connect the nobility and great personal sacrifice of others to your own political agenda.

Very sincerely yours,

William C. Butler '06

We are not sure what Mr. Butler sees as the Tory’s “political agenda.” The last Tory article dealing with either Iraq or Afghanistan, we are embarrassed to admit, was published in April 2007. It was a straightforward, highly analytical piece by Wesley Morgan. The Tory is a journal of serious conservative and moderate political thought, not a mouthpiece for partisan causes. Tory writers—and the entire Princeton student body—have disagreements on issues of American foreign policy, but we can agree on the importance of supporting the troops and remembering fallen soldiers.

WHOSE SIDE ARE THEY ON, ANYWAY?

Undergraduate Student Government

Joelle Birge '11

This past December, the USG held a special meeting to vote on the inclusion of a referendum on the fall election ballot. The vote was to determine if this referendum, proposing the university's political neutrality, was "frivolous" and therefore not worthy of student opinion. Though the USG could not get the five-sixths majority necessary to dismiss the referendum, one simply cannot ignore its extensive efforts to shelve the referendum and prevent students from voting on it. If a petition acquires over 200 signatures, as all potential referendums must, then is it really possible to deem it "frivolous?" Can 200 student opinions truly be trivial to the USG? If so, then what purpose does the USG serve? If it does not exist to represent student interests, then whose interests is it serving?

Last spring, a similar referendum came up for consideration, this one proposing a survey about students' satisfaction with the administration. As with this past fall's petition, the USG was hesitant to open the proposal to student opinion, though they were incapable of suppressing it then as well. During the April 20 Senate meeting at which the referendum was discussed, our student government spent some time searching for an amendment that allowed them to dismiss "frivolous" referendums. The meeting's minutes record president Josh Weinstein assuring his USG Senators "that an amendment [had been] added, though unfortunately he [could not] find the minutes from that meeting." Apparently, they have since found and reinstated the lost amendment, and made good use of it.

All "clerical errors" aside, the USG spent the remainder of their meeting discussing the referendum's supposedly "negative" implications and how to avoid them. Alarming, the student government's dominant focus in this debate was the administration. As Mr. Weinstein summarizes, "the main concern was what it means for these questions to appear on the USG ballot because it might negatively affect our relationship with the administration." Of course a poll on the administration's effectiveness might expose its weaknesses, but why is the USG's relationship with the administration more important than its relationship with students? Isn't relating

potential to be hurtful and offensive, and might not be productive."

Yes, obviously a poll will force administrators to "receive an opinion" from students; this is the point of a survey. Admittedly, some student opinions will reflect unfavorably on the administration, but that shouldn't discourage a governing body from hearing complaints. Negative responses should actually be the most productive, as they provide impetus for reform. If the administration is as open-minded as it likes to advertise, then it should constantly be seeking to better itself, and should welcome rather than refuse student feedback. It seems, however, that the USG believes it is best that "hurtful and offensive" opinions are kept secret, and while the USG seems to disregard students' feelings, it appears deeply concerned with those of the administration.

Setting aside consideration for administrators' feelings, however, Dean Thomas Dunne had a more student-oriented reason to repress the referendum. Worried that "it would reflect poorly on Princeton undergraduates," he remarked that the proposed petition "does not show sophisticated thinking by Princeton undergraduates."

Such a narrow definition of students' intelligence seems to undermine Princeton's reputation for cultivating analytical minds. If questioning and critiquing the administration is not "sophisticated thinking," then what is? It seems that the real concern is how the referendum would reflect on the USG, not how it would reflect on Princeton undergraduates. A petition which threatens to expose the administration's weaknesses might jeopardize the USG's

Discounting student opinion in favor of protecting administrative ties contradicts the basic services that student government is intended to provide.

to students an inherent obligation of a student government? The USG is supposed to form a liaison between students and administrators, to convey the interests of both parties. Discounting student opinion in favor of protecting administrative ties contradicts the basic services that student government is intended to provide.

In the USG's defense, its impulse to protect administrators at the expense of students' expression seems to represent good intentions. As U-Councilor chair Sarah Langberg reminded her peers at that April meeting, the proposed survey "is not a neutral statement. It has weight, and the administrators will receive an opinion from the people they are serving. It has the

close administrative ties—and the numerous perks that accompany such proximity to power. After all, when it comes to furthering the interests of USG members, connections with administrators are much more useful than relationships with students. Perhaps this explains why the USG shows greater dedication to upholding the administration’s untarnished appearance than it does to hearing student concerns.

In fact, the student government was so worried about their administrative relations that they came up with some disturbingly creative ideas for smothering the referendum’s threat. If they couldn’t keep the petition off the ballot, the USG decided that the best way to contain potential damages was simply dissuading students from voting. One idea for accomplishing this task was tacking a persuasive disclaimer onto the original statement. Campus and Community Affairs chair Cindy Hong asked USG members “if there is any way for the USG to put a statement in front of the petition to discourage people from voting because most of the people in the Senate do not think it is productive and are against it.” Encouraging students to stifle their own opinions in favor of what the Senate thinks is “productive” undermines the USG’s underlying purpose; representing undergraduate students requires that the USG hear student interests rather than try to quiet them. Persuading people against voting, besides contradicting fundamental democratic principles, prevents the USG from doing what is supposed to be their job—listening to students and acting on

their behalf.

Another innovative plan suggested a more active approach to deter voting: U-Councilor Brian No asked “if the top people in USG can encourage students not to answer the fourth question.” Later on he volunteered the idea that “they could start a PR campaign to tell people not to vote on the survey.” Although this direct attempt to change students’ views was not acted upon, it exemplifies conflicting interests, with administrative loyalties apparently winning out over those to students. Most disturbingly, the student government’s efforts to repress voting represent a high level of disregard for student opinion and highlight what seems to be an alternative agenda: pandering to the administration while pretending to serve students. This past fall’s and last spring’s referendums provide an unsettling example of the USG’s clandestine efforts to suppress student interests in favor of their own; specifically, in protection of their sycophantic relationship with the administration. As their attempts to downplay two student-supported petitions show, the USG only seeks to represent student opinions which align with its own. To ensure the furthering of its own agenda, the USG will discount, or even counteract, student views through whatever means it sees fit—whether that means discouraging voting altogether, or simply canceling a potentially unfavorable revote.

Such instances of disinterest and even contempt for student views make the USG seem merely a puppet organization, set up to provide students with the illusion that they have a say in the way their university

is run, when to the contrary, their opinions only seem to matter in so far as they support the administration. Under such a controlling system, it is no wonder that last spring’s survey came back resoundingly negative: a mere 18% of students polled felt that administrators “listen to student input when creating substantial campus policies.”

If the Senate is worried about a negative reflection on the USG and the administration, then why not see that doubt as a motivation to improve student relations? Why not essay to hear students’ thoughts and actually incorporate them? I suppose it’s simply too onerous to hear views that we don’t agree with—much easier to discount them as “frivolous” babbling or examples of “unsophisticated thinking.” Besides, we wouldn’t want to hurt anyone’s feelings, would we? ¶

Joelle Birge is a sophomore from Chicago who intends to major in English.



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THE GAY MARRIAGE DEBATE

IN SEARCH OF THE “REAL ISSUE”

Andrew Saraf '11

On December 4, 2008, the USG Senate convened for a special meeting. A referendum having nothing to do with traditional values was being challenged for reasons having nothing to do with equality. At issue was not the meaning of an eons-old social institution but the meaning of a two-year old USG amendment. The definition of the word “frivolous,” not of “marriage,” was the focus of debate.

It was a textbook case of interest-group politics – the art of speaking past one’s adversary. The referendum in question was pushed by an organization called the Coalition for Intellectual Liberty (C-FIL), and was a response to the newly-formed Equality Action Network’s referendum, which called for the Board of Trustees to take a stand against Proposition 8, California’s gay marriage ban.

The three groups that composed C-FIL – the Anscombe Society, the *Tory* and the College Republicans – represented a conservative minority on campus. Their cause, they emphasized, was not a conservative one. C-FIL’s referendum spoke in the broad terms that its name suggested, never mentioning marriage and calling on the University to refrain from commenting on “disputed questions of morality, law and policy.”

Soon after the referendum secured the 200 necessary signatures, a challenge was brought forward by Cindy Hong and several other senators. Earlier in 2008, the USG had stumbled across a forgotten 2006 amendment allowing the Senate to “review” referenda and, with a 5/6 vote, declare them “frivolous.” To use this power against a referendum one



The satirical protests held by Princeton Proposition 8 catalyzed the debate on campus.

merely disagrees with would be to invite accusations of unscrupulousness. And so C-FIL’s opponents, like its supporters, had every reason to steer the debate away from marriage entirely.

Hong is a gay marriage supporter, and admits that she was opposed to the referendum’s substance, believing that “the University absolutely should comment on broader issues.” But as she tells the *Tory*, the referendum’s broad (and, she argues, vague) language, not its promoters’ ideological stance, was the issue.

“Each voter could have a different interpretation of what the referendum meant,” she says. Read a certain way, the referendum seemed to call on the University to remain silent on issues that touched on its own policies – a request, Hong says, that would clearly be absurd. Despite reassurances from C-FIL leaders that they were only interested in external

issues, Hong insists that the possibility of such an interpretation was compelling enough to spur USG action.

Joining the challenge to the referendum was USG Councilor Jacob Candelaria, who echoed Hong’s point about its vagueness and possible implications for internal University policies. Candelaria is a founding member of the Equality Action Network; but he assures the *Tory* that he, too, was legitimately concerned about the seriousness of the referendum, citing his “responsibility as an elected official.”

And so a dispute between gay marriage supporters and gay marriage opponents became a sort of shadowboxing match, with opponents challenging EAN in the name of intellectual liberty and supporters challenging C-FIL in the name of USG prerogatives. It was only after C-FIL’s call for University neutrality and EAN’s call for University involvement failed at

the ballot box that both sides publicly confronted the issue. On Wednesday, December 10, the Anscombe Society, represented by Brandon McGinley, Shivani Radhakrishnan and Joel Alicea, debated EAN, represented by Candelaria, David Christie and David Walters, on the meaning of marriage.

It was a chance for each side to bring its values to the table. But the event revealed a fundamental disconnect at the heart of the marriage debate. If students spoke past each other at the Dec. 4 meeting – if they spoke on behalf of values that political circumstances forced them to conceal – the Dec. 10 debate did little to bridge the gap.

There was one point, in particular, that underscored the distance between gay marriage opponents and gay marriage proponents. “They were talking about ‘the inherent need for bodily union,’” Hong, who attended the debate, recalls. “That goes over my head. I’m not really sure where that’s coming from.” In an interview with the *Tory*, Christie spoke in

a similarly befuddled tone. “The whole ‘one-flesh union’ thing – that doesn’t make any sense to me,” he says.

Yet it is hard to overstate how central this notion – whether it is called “one-flesh union” or “bodily union” – is to Anscombe’s conception of marriage. Anscombe frames the marriage issue not as a question of whether or not gays should get married – the private recognition of marriage, after all, is not under the control of policymakers – but of whether or not the state should legally recognize gay unions. The question is one that is seldom brought up in media coverage of the issue. As Radhakrishnan puts it in an email, “Why is the state involved in marriage at all? Why doesn’t the state stay out of marriage, like it stays out of Bar Mitzvahs or baptisms?” The answer, to proponents of traditional marriage, is that marriage serves a public purpose. Society has a vested interest in giving legal recognition to the kind of relationship that can produce children – hence the centrality of the “one-flesh

union.” A radically expanded definition of the institution of marriage, gay marriage opponents argue, would undermine the very reason for recognizing marriage in the first place, turning “marriage” into a word with little discernible content.

While it could be (and has often been) argued that the state might then seek to invalidate the marriages of infertile couples, this is something of a misconstruction of the issue. The choice is not between a situation in which all relationships are recognized and one in which only child-producing relationships are recognized. It is a choice in which the state must balance its interest in the next generation with other considerations, most importantly the privacy of its citizens. As Radhakrishnan points out, legal precedents show that the state has sought to strike this balance: an annulment, she notes, can be granted to “a couple that does not consummate its union,” but not to a couple that “realizes that it is infertile.”

But gay marriage proponents

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frame the question in entirely different, individualistic terms, making an argument that most Princeton students are by now familiar with: If we accept that a gay person and a heterosexual are equal, then we cannot grant a right to one without granting the same right to the other. Less clear from my discussions with them was a sense of why, or even whether, marriage itself was an important social institution.

Candelaria, for example, took a view that suggests a critical distance from the institution of marriage itself. “We’re born and raised in a society that tells us that the goal of our lives is to find someone to spend the rest of our lives with,” he says. “That’s something that the state recognizes. If the state doesn’t want to recognize anything, fine. But for the state to recognize some unions and not others – it sends a very clear message. It creates a hierarchy.” Even when asked to explain the importance of marriage, then, Candelaria focuses on the discriminatory message it currently sends to gays rather than its value to society.

Hong also seems to place little stock in marriage’s supposed public purpose, taking a stance that is fundamentally opposed to Anscombe’s. “I’m not sure whether the state should even recognize marriage,” she says. “I lean towards the state recognizing civil unions and leaving marriage as a religious institution.”

Christie, who has a more clearly articulated defense of marriage, is also reluctant to take his arguments too far. “In my own view marriage has an important place in society, and is the best way we’ve established so far to raise children,” he says. “But as far as the institution itself – I’m not sure whether I’d defend marriage for the sake of marriage. I don’t have a particularly coherent view of the institution.”

It is easy to deconstruct traditionalists’ claims about marriage and argue that they are really talking about gays. From this standpoint, the disconnect in the gay marriage debate is primarily a disagreement about homosexuality. But in focusing on individual rights, what unspoken values and assumptions do gay marriage proponents reveal? Based on Hong, Candelaria and Christie’s views, it is worth asking whether growing support

for gay marriage is linked to a growing ambivalence about marriage itself – and asking, concurrently, whether gay marriage opponents’ talk of “defending marriage” should be taken more seriously on college campuses and in the national media.

But where the lack of clarity about marriage may be a philosophical shortcoming for gay marriage proponents, it represents a profound political challenge for Anscombe and other conservative organizations. Based on the results of Referendum 1a, Hong, Candelaria and

If the gay marriage disconnect is defined in part by gay marriage supporters’ incomprehension of Anscombe’s values, there is also a sense in which this disconnect cuts both ways.

Christie speak for about two-thirds of Princeton students in their support of gay marriage. It is not farfetched to assume that their utter bafflement at the concept of “one-flesh union” is something shared by many other debate attendees and Princeton students more generally. After all, the essential connection that the notion of “one-flesh union” implies – a connection between marriage, sex and children – does not seem as relevant in an era in which contraception is widely available and, according to a recent Guttmacher Institute study, nine out of ten Americans have had premarital sex.

And if the gay marriage disconnect is defined in part by gay marriage supporters’ incomprehension of Anscombe’s values, there is also a sense in which this disconnect cuts both ways. Where Anscombe members make a natural law-based argument about the definition of marriage, Candelaria and other gay marriage proponents make a utilitarian argument focusing on, as he puts it, “the harm that the status quo inflicts upon real people.” Until they can address the utilitarian side of the issue, gay marriage opponents will be dogged by an inescapable question: “What is at stake here?”

As Anscombe member Lauren Kustner admits, it has been exceedingly

difficult for social conservatives to frame the argument in these terms. “It’s harder to pin down the impact of changing the definition of marriage,” she says. “There is no victim group. On the other side, you can always bring forward two men or two women and say, ‘Look at these two people. Look at what you’re denying them.’” We live on a practical-minded campus in a practical-minded nation. Gay marriage may, as Anscombe argues, render marriage incoherent on a conceptual level – but how does the conceptual translate into the concrete?

As long as these questions remain unaddressed, their answers will seem obvious to many Princeton students: of course changing the definition of marriage won’t have any impact, of course Anscombe is just talking about quaint, meaningless abstractions. And each side of the debate will continue to reinforce a mutually perceived misunderstanding:

the view that, if the other side only saw the real issue, they would abandon their position. As the recent controversy has made abundantly clear, the disagreement runs far deeper than that. †

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

THE AGE OF OBAMA:

PROFESSOR CORNEL WEST ON A NEW AGE WITH NEW CIVIL RIGHTS

Following November's historic election, the Tory sat down with Class of 1943 University Professor in the Center for African American Studies Cornel West to discuss our emergence into the "Age of Obama" and, in addition, today's civil rights in light of his classic racial commentary, Race Matters. West is a scholar, lecturer, pastor, civil rights activist, and critically-acclaimed author. The following transcript is an excerpt from the interview, which can be found in its entirety on the Tory website, www.princeton.edu/~tory.

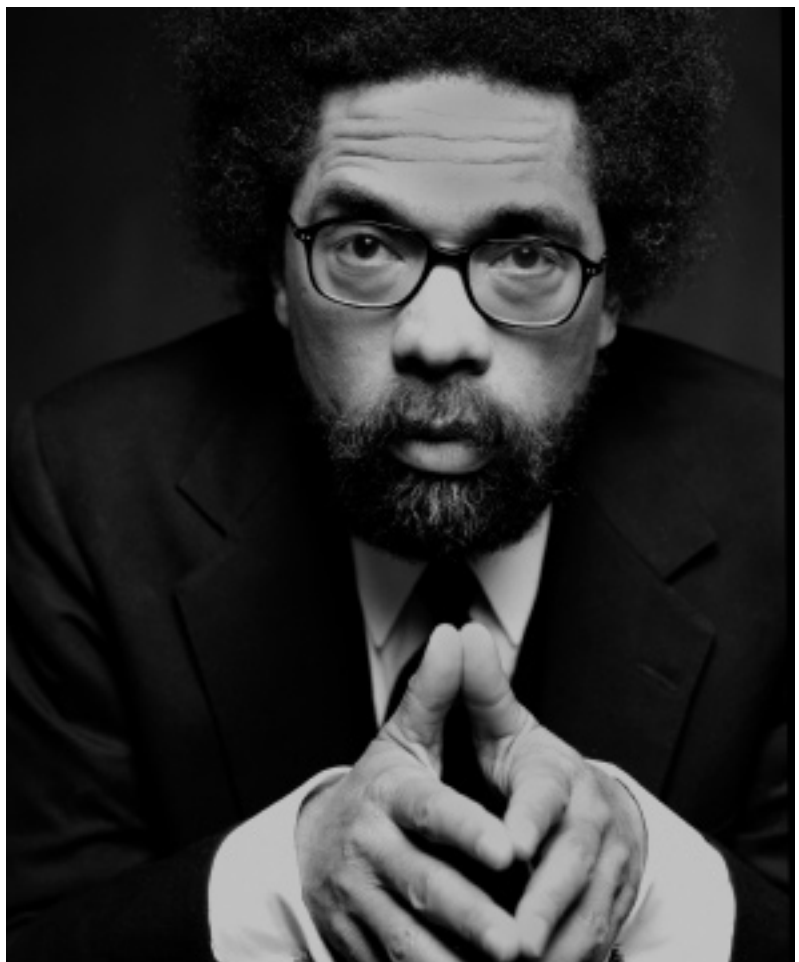
On Tavis Smiley's special, *The State of Black America*, you said of Obama, "He's got folk who are talking to him who warrant our distrust." What did you mean by that, and do you believe that Obama has, in any way, slighted the African American community?

Oh, no. I don't think he's slighted the African American community at all. I think nearly every politician I know has some people around him or her who warrant our suspicion, because there's so many different people trying to gain access to his or her ear. And, from my own point of view, both as a deep Democrat and as a Christian, I try to look at the world through the lens of the cross, which means that I put a premium on how the least of these, how the widow, and how the disabled, and how the marginal, are faring. And when you look at the world in that way, you're always going to be suspicious of persons who are downplaying the plight of the poor and the indigent, who have very much in mind the interests of elites or the interests of the powerful. And so even to this day, I thank God that Brother Barack won. I was glad to be part of the campaign.

Are you suspicious of Obama's quick rise to power?

Absolutely, absolutely. But it has to do with a spineless, mediocre Democratic party that created an unbelievable void, and the only thing left was the Clinton machine. I opposed the Clinton machine, and I was glad that Obama overcame it. Now, the conservative brothers and sisters, they're going to bounce back. But right now they're on their backs and I'm glad they are, because we are now in a new era. If the Democratic party, if liberals, if progressives, if we can't get our act together, then the conservative brothers and sisters coming back again. I love them, though. I love their love of individual liberty. There's certain things about conservatives I'm very tied to.

During Obama's nomination acceptance speech, marking the 45th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech, Martin Luther King's niece, Dr. Alveda King, held a counter-rally in Denver, protesting Obama's stance on abortion. Since *Roe v. Wade*, a largely dispropor-



tionate number of African Americans, 15 out of 45 million, have been aborted. How do you respond to people in the African American community, such as Reverend Jesse Lee Peterson's term for the institution of abortion as "black genocide?"

I think that that is an excessive language, but I do think that the issue of abortion is a very complicated and delicate set of issues; I don't think it's just one issue in that regard. And so, I've always appreciated my dialogue with Brother Robby George. There's a moral force that I am deeply moved by for those persons who want to protect an innocent life. If I fundamentally believed that

life began at conception, I would be part of the vanguard. Oh God, yes, I'd be right there with Brother Robby, all the time, because first as a human being and as a Christian, this is what it is to bear witness to love and justice, to protect innocent people.

How do you feel about Planned Parenthood opening up shop in African American communities? Do you feel that they're being exploitive?

I think that the motives can be viewed as mixed. I think it's possible to construe it at times as racist. On the other hand, it can be deeply non-racist and concerned about ensuring that black women are able to have some control over their bodies and their destinies.

At Princeton's panel "Campaign '08: The Aftermath," you said that a black president will change the hip-hop culture, that its language will change. Do you think we'll see a positive change in rap, for example, less anti-government and anti-police rhetoric, and less sexism? Or, will the consumerist, hedonistic culture of today continue to dominate?

Well, you'll get both. You're not going to do away with hedonism, narcissism, materialism, that's here to stay no matter what. The question is trying to attenuate it, to make it less central. I think, ironically, with a black man in the White House, it's going to become more patriotic. It's going to be accenting the positive things about America, it's going to be accenting the ways in which black people have contributed to America, so it won't just be Barack. It would be the black soldiers. It will be Louis Armstrong, American music. It will be black athletes, and the flag, and the Olympics.

In *Race Matters*, you write that, "a consequence of the civil rights movement and the black power ideology of the sixties was a growing identification of black Americans with other oppressed people around the globe." How do you reconcile this liberal notion with the strong vote among African Americans for California's Proposition 8?

I have not yet convinced enough black people that my gay brothers and lesbian sisters are a marginal and oppressed group worthy of being in solidarity with. They're not convinced of that. So, when you talk about Mandela in South Africa, they say, "Yessssss!" If you talk about poor indigenous peoples in Guatemala, they say, "Yessssss!" Then you say, "Gays in San Francisco?"—Silence—I haven't made the case strong enough. But I understand the deep conservatism and even the homophobia in black America. To be conservative is to be highly suspicious of the new, and the new has to prove itself before you embrace it.

Again, from Princeton's "Campaign '08: The Aftermath," you asked, "Can we shift from the symbolic to the substantive?" You also remarked that, "A strategy is different from a vision." Could you explain how these statements relate to your views about President-elect Obama?

Well, the presence of a precious black family, a brilliant black sister and graduate of Princeton and Harvard Law, a brilliant

black graduate of Columbia and Harvard Law, two precious black kids, in the White House, a house built by black slaves and laborers and white immigrant workers, that's a powerful symbol, not just in this country, but around the world, and symbols matter. They matter to young people of all colors. They matter to older brothers like myself, in terms of the history, with the Jim Crow and so on. I don't want to downplay symbols, but, in the end, it's going to be about substance. I tell Brother Barack all the time, "Are you going to be a great statesman like Lincoln? If so, fine. I'll try to be a Frederick Douglass to push you. Are you going to be a masterful politician shot through with opportunism like Bill Clinton? If so, I'm going to come down on you so hard, brother, the love that I'm coming at you is going to hurt."

But it's tough for any politician.

But this is a historic moment, man. He's got to come through. It's like Michael Jordan on the court; you've got to come through in the clutch. You can't talk about how hard the shot is; you've got to hit it. The irony for me about Brother Barack is that—now we're in the Age of Obama, unprecedented—he may be reluctant to step into his own age. That's part of his falling back on the Clintonites, recycling all these folk. And I understand, because the age is overwhelming, but, like Lincoln and like Roosevelt, sometimes events push you into your own age.

Do you think he's in over his head, in some sense?

No, I don't think so. I think that he has the potential to hit his head on (?), but you've also got to realize in a democracy, in the end, he's only as strong as we are. If we get weak, he's going to be weak. But this is where he can learn from Reagan, though: One of the things I loved about Reagan was, that brother had self-confidence in his vision. He was more improvisational than a lot of people acknowledge. He was not a dogmatist, but he had self-confidence, and a unique capacity to make that self-confidence contagious. You need that for a statesman.

Obamania's already contagious around the country.

Yeah, but Reagan's self-confidence was deep. It wasn't just this media stuff. Very deep. I met him. I talked to him. Believe me, brother, his charisma and personality was something to behold. I've worked with the Black Panther Party, and I'm sitting there, talking to Ronald Reagan, and I would like to have a locker next to him as a human being, because he's a nice cat. Obama has a self-confidence—forty-seven years old—I'm deeply impressed by his self-confidence, but it's a different style than Reagan. Reagan made it contagious with a vision. It's different from strategy. He held onto the vision, a conservative vision. I hope Obama holds on to a progressive vision. **F**

The Tory staff thanks Professor West for generously donating to us his time and profound insight into American history and civil rights.

DIGNITY AND PRAGMATISM IN ORGAN DONATION

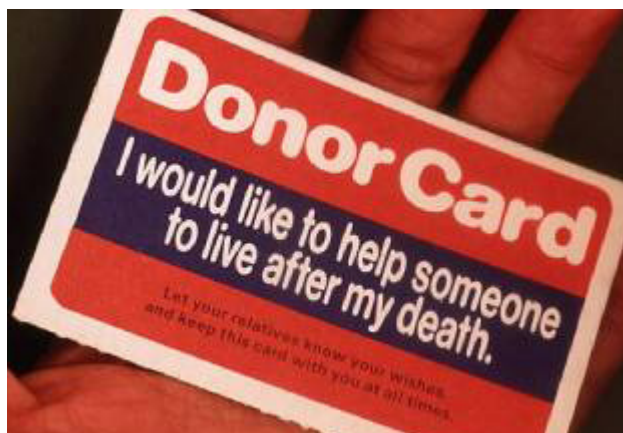
William Herlands '12

In his recent film, *Seven Pounds*, Will Smith plays a man who commits suicide in order to donate his vital organs to various individuals whom he deems worthy of such gifts. Smith's story of altruism and dangerously unethical decision-making offers an intriguing perspective into the highly charged issues surrounding organ donation.

Currently, the United States operates under a system of altruistic donation. Based on the Uniform Anatomical Gift Act of 1968 and the Organ Transplant Act of 1984, individuals have the right, while living, to donate non-vital organs, such as a single kidney, and to indicate their desire to donate any or all other parts of their body after death. Donated organs may either be directed to specific patients, or allocated by a nationwide distribution system which determines recipients' eligibility and priority based on a variety of factors including patients' medical condition and age. Eric Cohen, a senior consultant to the President's Council on Bioethics, describes the current system in a paper for the council as "allocation by justice and love," in which "publically allocating available organs (mostly from deceased donors) aims to be governed by the commitment to justice... [while] the system of privately arranged donation (mostly from living donors) is governed (mostly) by love."

While government and private organizations encourage and solicit organ donation, the law prohibits any form of financial compensation not directly related to the surgery and recuperation of living donors, drawing an ethical line at the point where the term 'donation' no longer applies. The current system underscores society's perceived obligation to ensure that the human body is not treated as a commodity to be haphazardly acquired and sold. Moreover, the system attempts to encourage a moral standard which recognizes that organ donations save lives, while maintaining the dignity with which people treat others as well as themselves.

Despite the ethical underpinnings of the current system, many policy makers, medical professionals and bioethicists are profoundly troubled by its restrictions. Today, over one hundred thousand Americans currently registered on the Organ Procurement and Transport Network waiting list languish between hope and despair. The dearth of donors results in nineteen preventable deaths daily. As the demand for organs increases, legitimate concerns regarding the commod-



itization of the body must take be balanced with a recognition of these concerns. But alternative procurement systems, such as establishing a market in which organs may be bought and sold, face substantial ethical and practical difficulties. While such a *laissez faire* market system would undoubtedly increase the number of organs available from both living and deceased sellers ('donors' would be a euphemism, at best), the blatant commoditization necessitated by the market remains controversial in an ethical society. By reducing the value of human life to its constituent physical parts, an organ market encourages an nonaltruistic version of *Seven Pounds*, in which individuals determine that the financial benefits their families would derive from the value of their vital organs outweighs their desire to live. The complacency of the market to such a destructive phenomenon is similarly manifested by the burden it places on poor patients who will inevitably be outbid by the more affluent. Thus, the undeniable ethical and practical implications force us to look skeptically at the simplistic economic solution to organ

donation.

Yet, between the extremes of a free market and pure altruism, the President's Council on Bioethics and the American Medical Association have considered a policy which attempts to balance these approaches. This policy would grant non-cash financial compensation, such as Medicare benefits and tax deductions, to donors and their families in exchange for donated organs. Donors retain their altruistic title both semantically and substantively, since they are simply offered the same benefits currently enjoyed by all other charitable contributors who receive federal tax deductions. By reframing monetary incentives in terms of the accepted social recognition of charity, this system reduces the risk of commoditization of the body, assuaging concerns about what Eric Cohen calls "cash for flesh." Surveys by the United Network for Organ Sharing and the National Kidney Foundation demonstrate that this proposal has a solid base of popular support: while approximately 50% support financial incentives, most preferred indirect incentives to cash payments.

While the logistical challenges of evaluating the monetary worth of an organ and establishing the fairest method of allocation remain pertinent issues, indirect financial incentives offer the unique opportunity for a synthesis of ethical concerns and practical needs. Such a system aims both to prevent death and to elevate life through sensitivity to human dignity. As the great ethicist Paul Ramsey observed, "the moral history of mankind is of more importance than its medical advancement, unless the latter can be joined with the former in a community of affirmative assent." **P**

William Herlands is a freshman from New York, NY. He is a resident of Bloomberg Hall.

SMALL GOVERNMENT INEFFICIENCIES

NEW JERSEY GOVERNMENT REVEALS WHY SMALLER ISN'T ALWAYS BETTER

Jacob Oppenheim '09

Princeton is a case study in the inefficiency of local government. United only by its name and its school district, Princeton is composed of two municipalities: the Borough and the Township that surrounds it. An area comprising 18.5 square miles houses two police departments, two fire departments, and two EMS services. The situation often degenerates into farce: in order to reach their destinations, ambulances from the Township frequently have to pass through the Borough, requiring them to notify the Borough government of their presence.

The situation is similarly irrational in the rest of New Jersey. The state has the highest number of governmental authorities per square mile, with 566 municipalities, 616 school districts (23 of which don't operate a single school), 486 local authorities, and 792 fire districts and companies. New Jersey also has the highest property taxes in the nation, and among the highest overall tax burdens.

In 2006, Governor Corzine (D) proposed cutting state aid to smaller municipalities, forcing them to merge with their neighbors. In addition to increasing efficiency in local government, the reduction Corzine sought (to the tune of \$500 Million) would go a long way towards patching a large budget hole. Reducing inefficiency in state government is not a new goal or a partisan one. In the 1980's, Republican Governor Thomas Kean, Sr. worked hard to encourage small municipalities to share services and even combine. Since then, every single state governor has worked towards the same goal with varying intensity.

Some, however, doubt the extent of the problem. A statistical analysis by Rob Gebeldorff of the Star-Ledger showed that only towns smaller than a couple thousand people are truly inefficient, with costs of

over \$4,000 per resident (a portion of which is paid for in state aid), with the majority of municipalities lying somewhere around \$3,250 per resident.

But Gebeldorff's study oversimplifies the issue. In looking only at total municipal costs per capita, he disregards the fact that small and large municipalities have to face

It is clear that in New Jersey, the proliferation of local government has only contributed to higher taxes and inordinate corruption.

different concerns. For instance, cities with tens of thousands of people are more likely have to deal with significant violent crime drug issues; the costs of dealing with these issues fall disproportionately on larger municipalities. Along the same lines, Gebeldorff fails to address the fact that several of the large cities in New Jersey are notoriously poor; anti-poverty programs also add to their costs.

Lastly, there is ample evidence that the sheer number of governmental authorities in New Jersey has a systemic effect of encouraging the state's notorious corruption, a factor ignored in Gebeldorff's reductive analysis. Corruption is inevitable in government. But as Ingrid Reed of Rutgers put it to the *New York Times*, "One of the ramifications of having your little fiefdoms is that you are too small to have professional government.... So you have elected officials who are fuzzing the line between policy making and administration."

This lack of professionalism can encourage corrupt practices. Additionally, the extreme number of government entities and commissions (not all of which are coterminous) means that at every step of the decision-making process, someone else has the opportunity to put his hand in the pot. The number of authorities allows crooked

officials to appoint (or help elect) their friends to related positions, thus enhancing their ability to take from the public dole.

This is particularly embarrassing in a state like New Jersey. As Anthony Shorris, the former head of Princeton's Policy Institute for the Region, stated in the *New York Times*, "New Jersey is the only state in the union in which every county is part of a metropolitan area, and yet its political structure is pretty much out of the 18th century."

This view is supported by the experience of the former US Attorney for New Jersey, Christopher Christie (now running for governor as a Republican), who has prosecuted many local officials for corruption. In 2005,

for instance, eleven Monmouth County officials were charged with bribery, extortion, and money laundering. As Christie stated in his deposition, "Nobody watches, nobody hears, nobody sees."

While the tendency of many conservatives is to encourage government on the local level, rather than the federal level, it is clear that in New Jersey, the proliferation of local government has only contributed to higher taxes and inordinate corruption.

Reform of the system will encounter many entrenched interests; each town government considers itself a separate fief, beholden to none. Only by weighing the benefits of small-town government against the burdens of inefficiency, higher taxes, and corruption can a truly informed decision be made. ■

Jacob Oppenheim is a senior in the Physics department.

THE VENERABLE OFFICE

Brandon McGinley '10

At the time of this writing, Barack Obama has been President of the United States of America for a bit more than 10 hours. President Obama was inaugurated with great pomp and ceremony in the venerable capital of Washington, DC, earlier this afternoon. He is the 44th man to hold the office of the presidency of the United States.

Now, as you are surely aware, I did not vote for Barack Obama. I was unimpressed with his experience, disquieted by his worldview, and appalled by his positions with regard to the sanctity of human life. After his election, I found such accoutrements as the “seal of the president-elect” unnecessary and childishly prideful. None of this has changed.

But today, something did change. Barack Obama is now my president. He has, through a sacred and just constitutional process, been elected to the highest office of this nation. It is an office that has been occupied by some of the greatest men in our history, men with names like Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Eisenhower, and Reagan. These are men after whom streets and schools and cities and states have and will be named. Of course, the office has also seen men with names like Buchanan, Harding, and Nixon, but it is a testament to the collective genius of the American democracy that the great has far more than outweighed the bad.

And so although I have profound disagreements with President Obama, and although I continue to question his ex-

perience and ideology, he has now taken the oath of an office far more important and transcendent than any individual. He is no longer Senator Obama, candidate Obama, or President-elect Obama, but President Obama. As such I, in my capacity as an American citizen, owe him my respect, my allegiance, and, if he were to request it, my service. It is our responsibility as conservatives and Americans to show the Obama presidency the respect that its predecessor was often denied by

Although I have profound disagreements with President Obama, and although I continue to question his experience and ideology, he has now taken the oath of an office far more important and transcendent than any individual.

vicious ideologues in the political arena, in the media, and in academia.

President Obama has already, in these three realms and elsewhere, been compared to many of his aforementioned great forerunners in the office. This is, of course, premature and irresponsible; the dangers of elevating the new president to a plane of infallibility are deftly explained by Joel in his Publisher’s Note. But it is equally problematic for public civic understanding when the justly and democratically elected leader of this nation is widely treated with contempt and disdain. When the current President of the United States is greeted with jeers and epithets at the inauguration of his successor, no matter the political orientation of the crowd, it is unhealthy for our constitutional democracy.

Over the past several years, the media has unfortunately set itself in an adversarial posture against many political institutions: the media versus the president, the media versus the Republican Party, the media versus the current government, and, in the New York Times formulation in which revealing national security secrets passes for journalism, the media versus the United States as a nation. Of course, asking the media to respect the presidency of Barack Obama

is akin to imploring fish to swim or birds to fly, but we can hope that a new paradigm, based on objectivity and responsibility rather than self-righteous and self-conscious crusading, will take root.

But I digress. No matter the media’s orientation toward the inauguration and the man taking the oath, the ceremony of the day cannot but be a reminder of the uniquely historic nature of the office of the presidency. Barack Obama spoke the same oath (despite the improvisations of Chief Justice Roberts) as Washington on the Bible of Lincoln. He was greeted throughout the day by military personnel playing “Hail to Chief,” a custom with roots dating to John Quincy Adams. Like every president since Grant, he watched the inaugural parade from a presidential reviewing stand. His every movement is now followed by the Seal of the President of the United States, first instituted by Hayes and finalized by Truman. He will now live in a house christened by Adams, burned by British marauders in 1812, and officially named in the time of the first Roosevelt. And all of this in a city named Washington.

No matter what we may think of

President Obama's politics and policies, he finds himself now a member of the most distinguished lineage of leadership this side of the British royal family. Under the Constitution of the United States, the charter under which we live and enjoy our freedoms, one of the most important documents in political history, Barack Obama is holder of the highest office, charged with extraordinary responsibility. And today, that responsibility is greater than even the most prescient of founders could have imagined.

Of course, the profound respect of which I speak is not unconditional. If a president himself shows disrespect for the office which he holds, as Clinton did, or if he knowingly tramples underfoot the bounds of the Constitution on which the office is founded, as Nixon did, then, even if he has not met the conditions for constitutional removal, he has assaulted the office of the presidency and his possession of it in a manner that cannot be excused. When a president soils the Seal of his office, although he deserves the approbation of the people, the public cannot lose faith in the office itself; it is up to them to restore its luster.

Despite the protestations of the vicious ideologues who put politics over country, the most recent President Bush never forfeited the respect of his office. The fundamental mistake made by the media and the academy over the past eight years has been to so utterly disrespect the president as to diminish his office on the grounds of politics rather than principle, and in so doing they have done a disservice to this constitutional republic. We as conservatives, as the proverbial "loyal opposition," must reject this trend and show the Obama presidency the respect it deserves and requires in these difficult times. To do any less would be, not to put it too bluntly, unpatriotic, un-American, and unethical.

Of course, this respect need not include agreement with or even approval of the man in the Oval Office. We can argue and persuade, but we must not insult and accuse. We can oppose, but we



must not obstruct. And we must remember that, above all, the responsibility of policy-makers and wielders of power is to the continued well-being and security of the American people. Under our con-

We as conservatives, as the proverbial "loyal opposition," must show the Obama presidency the respect it deserves and requires in these difficult times.

stitutional framework, this concept necessarily includes requisite respect for the presidency. When we show disdain for this highest office, we disrespect the pantheon of former presidents and the people who elected them.

Finally, it must be noted that, in the troubled times in which we now live, this concept of presidential respect is more important than ever. Although President Obama is a political adversary to conservatives – and of course potentially dreadful programs must be vigorously

and stridently fought – he is a vital cog in the American constitutional machine, a machine which does not recognize parties and ideologies, and which must run efficiently and effectively in this time of crisis. I speak not of acquiescence, but of combined effort.

A full understanding of our constitutional founding and a patriotic disposition require profound respect for the office which embodies the American republic. After the shame of the later Clinton years and the often inappropriate and dishonorable opposition to the Bush years, we have a duty to restore a beautiful and vital shine to the Office of the President of the United States. ¶

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

In Memoriam

Pvt. Colman J. Meadows III	December 16, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Lance Cpl. Robert L. Johnson	December 20, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Pfc. Coleman W. Hinkefent	December 20, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Staff Sgt. Jonathan W. Dean	December 20, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Lance Cpl. Thomas . Reilly Jr.	December 21, 2008	Hostile Fire
Cpl. Charles P. Gaffney Jr.	December 24, 2008	Hostile Fire
Spec. Stephen G. Zapasnik	December 24, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Spec. Stephen M. Okray	December 24, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Staff Sgt. Christopher G. Smith	December 24, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Master-at-Arms SA Joshua D. Seitz	December 25, 2008	Non-Combat Related Incident
Maj. John P. Pryor	December 25, 2008	Hostile Fire
Spec. Tony J. Gonzales	December 28, 2008	IED
Pfc. Benjamin B. Tollefson	December 31, 2008	Hostile Fire
Pfc. Christopher W. Lotter	December 31, 2008	Hostile Fire
Lance Cpl. Alberto Francesconi	January 1, 2009	Hostile Fire
Lance Cpl. Chadwick A. Gilliam	January 3, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Lance Cpl. Jessie A. Cassada	January 6, 2009	Hostile Fire
Staff Sgt. Anthony D. Davis	January 6, 2009	Hostile Fire
Spec. Keith E. Essary	January 8, 2009	IED
Sgt. Joshua L. Rath	January 8, 2009	IED
Spec. Jason R. Parsons	January 9, 2009	IED
Spc. Joseph M. Hernandez	January 9, 2009	IED
Maj. Brian M. Mescall	January 9, 2009	IED
Staff Sgt. Justin L. Bauer	January 10, 2009	IED
Sgt. Marquis R. Porter	January 11, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Pvt. Sean P. McCune	January 11, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Lance Cpl. Daniel R. Bennett	January 11, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Staff Sgt. Joshua R. Townshend	January 16, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Pfc. Ricky L. Turner	January 16, 2009	IED
Senior Airman Omar J. McKnight	January 17, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Spec. Ezra Dawson	January 17, 2009	Hostile Fire
Staff Sgt. Carlo M. Robinson	January 17, 2009	IED
Staff Sgt. Roberto Andrade Jr	January 18, 2009	IED
Pfc. Matthew M. Pollini	January 22, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Pvt. Grant A. Cotting	January 24, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Lance Cpl. Julian T. Brennan	January 24, 2009	Hostile Fire