

ALSO: ISRAEL'S JUST INVASION
AND PROF. LONDREGAN ON OUR
ECONOMIC FUTURE

THE PRINCETON TORY

MARCH 2009



SLAUGHTER'S BIG PROMOTION

ANOTHER "SCHOOLMASTER IN
POLITICS" GOES TO WASHINGTON

THE PRINCETON TORY

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LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER THE CONSERVATIVE'S BURDEN

Last month, the Anscombe Society published an article entitled "An Anscombe Valentine's Day" in the Op-ed section of *The Daily Princetonian*. The piece presented what was essentially a brief manifesto of the group's philosophical beliefs on the issue of sexual morality. If you choose to look up the article online, what you will find – and hopefully be shocked to find – is a comments section filled with malice from anonymous students who "disagreed." Laden with blatant ad hominem attacks against the writer and his fellow Anscombe members, any actual counterarguments to the article were usually made with an aggressive, accusatory tone. Anscombe responses to these attacks were necessarily defensive.



The so-called "exchange of ideas" that occurred in that comments section is symptomatic of the status of debate on this campus. It is the plight of the conservative at Princeton that he can never come to the debate on his own terms. Instead, his liberal adversaries have already developed a preconceived, emotional disdain towards him which spoils the argument. The debate sputters, as the conservative must labor to legitimize his arguments before their actual persuasiveness can be considered.

Protests against the conservative argument that demand him to stop "evangelizing" or "imposing beliefs" are frustrating in their hypocrisy. The moral value that is informed by a belief in God is no more of an evangelization than a moral value that is informed by a belief in no God, or for that matter by a belief that God has no place in determining moral values. Similarly, the argument which seeks to expand the range of actions of people are lawfully and ethically permitted to perform ought not be considered a morally loftier position than the socially conservative opinion in favor of limiting the range of human action. Both liberals and conservatives, at the most fundamental level, are equal in their aim of doing what they believe is best for mankind.

Despite this difficulty, it is only through the continued exchange of ideas that progress can be made. Firstly, prejudice only grows more complacent when it is left unchallenged. Certainly universal agreement is impossible, yet we must continue to make our opinions known with the hope of having them properly understood. Indeed, I believe the current problem that I have been discussing indirectly results from an anemic debate culture on campus, at least partially a result of the degeneration of Whig-Clio's presence. Furthermore, debate will allow us to strengthen our own beliefs. The critical thinking that is necessary to engage in debate will allow one to recognize weaknesses in his arguments and develop the means to fix them – even if it means adopting a new position altogether.

It is with this in mind that I introduce my hopes for the *Tory*. For those of you who join us in the conservative cause, I hope that you find our magazine to be a medium through which your voice can be spoken without having to be self-justifying and a means by which your beliefs will be strengthened. For those of you who do not, I urge you to engage with our articles and opinions with an open mind and a staid spirit. Not only will you perhaps come to appreciate the conservative perspective, but your opinions will grow stronger – regardless of whether you are persuaded.

It is only when we engage with each other on equal terms, when we truly come to understand the perspective of our adversaries that productive debate can occur. I believe strongly that this need for clarity has never been greater.

Sincerely,
Robert Day '10

TABLE OF CONTENTS

POINT & PUNTS

- 4 *The Tory staff muses on current events, including inconvenient weather, the California governorship's limitless supply of sex symbols, and ego-tourism.*
-

CAMPUS

- 6 **Interview with Professor John Londregan**
by Brandon McGinley '10 and Raphael Murillo '12
Professor of Politics, John Londregan, discusses the current economic situation.
- 8 **Professor Slaughter Goes to Washington** by Sam Norton '12
Former Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School, Anne-Marie Slaughter, joins the State Department. We take a look at her politics and their consequences.
- 10 **Let them Eat their Words** by Ammena Schelling '12
Exposing the hypocrisy of those who criticize bicker.
-

WORLD

- 12 **Israel's Just War** by Jeffery Mensch '12
How Hamas continues to make peace impossible.
-

LAST WORD

- 14 **The Raskolnikov Temptation** by Brandon McGinley '10
Understanding why intelligence does not trump morality.
-

POINTS & PUNTS

THE TORY STAFF TALKS CURRENT EVENTS, INCLUDING INCONVENIENT WEATHER, SEX SYMBOLS, AND EGO-TOURISM

On the 2nd of March, the *Daily Princetonian* solicited the righteous, yet meaningless opinions of residents of Washington, DC, on the potential that the federal district will be given representation in the House of Representatives. Unfortunately, just like in Congress, the opinions of the people of the District of Columbia don't matter. You



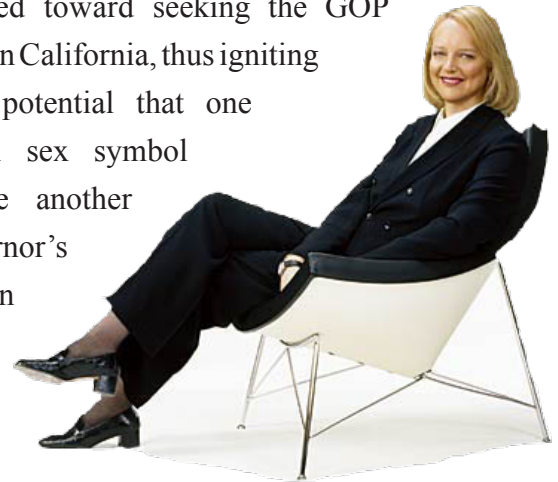
see, the Constitution stipulates that “the House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states.” And the District of Columbia is, no matter how strongly the powerless people of the district might protest, *not*

one of the several states. And so, in the face of facts and the Constitution, **Washington, like its sports teams and unlike its monument, remains impotent.**

In early March, a large global warming rally was planned for Washington, DC. On that day, eight inches of snow fell in the district. **Mother Nature apparently thinks**

it's all a hoax, too. And she would know. Or Senator Inhofe just fired up his weather machine.

Princeton alumna **Meg Whitman '77** has formed an exploratory committee geared toward seeking the GOP nomination in California, thus igniting the strong potential that one international sex symbol will replace another in the Governor's Mansion in Sacramento.



And with that, the *Tory* forfeits forever its right to Whitman College Nights. Oh, we weren't invited anyway? Whitman bastards....

Speaking of that neo-gothic wasteland, Whitman College does do one thing very right: suckling pigs. Some students have expressed [self-] righteous indignation at the fact that the dining staff has seen fit to accessorize the delicious swine with items such as an earring for pirate day and sunglasses for beach day. One online commenter took great personal offense to the suggestion that the pig was “an unthinking, unreasoning, non-emotional object of nourishment,” saying “that was a very hurtful statement.”

The *Tory* would like to express its admiration for

POINTS & PUNTS

the skill of this commenter, for we can only imagine how difficult it is to type with hooves, or whatever pigs have on the ends of their four legs. We don't know because we don't eat that part.

“I felt this thrill going up my leg. I mean, I don't have that too often.”

These were the words **Chris Matthews** used to describe the feeling he got when he heard Barack Obama speak. At the time, few knew the future tragic consequences of this sensation.

In a veritable calamity for MSNBC, we are sad to report that on February 24th Chris Matthews collapsed in a seizure of passion as President Obama delivered his address to a joint session of Congress. Happily, after a nice cigarette and a cold bath, Mr. Matthews was back on his over-stimulated feet. Doctors have recommended that during the next presidential address Mr. Matthews maintain constant exposure to Rachel Maddow to prevent such incidents from occurring again.

CNN commentator Alex Castellanos was recently quoted as saying, “Listening to Barack Obama is like having sex. The worst it ever was was excellent.”

Michelle would beg to differ.

Yes, you read that last one right. We're actually suggesting she doesn't love all of her husband's speeches.



Michelle Obama – an undisputed icon of the modern feminist movement – recently held a slumber party in the White House for female secretaries and policy makers. The girls watched “He's Just Not in to You” – we kid you not – which was then presumably followed by a game of “Truth or Dare.” Evidently it was, like, *totally* a blast. Word has it, the next hang out will include some of the President's *dreamy* friends and a game of “Spin the Bottle!” **1600 Pennsylvania Avenue: residence of The President of The United States and super fun pad for the First Lady and her bff's.**

The Princeton administration is moving forward with its plans to create a ‘Bridge Year’ program for a few lucky members of the Class of 2013. These brave adventurers, equipped with Nalgene bottles and North Face pullovers, will be sent to a number of exotic foreign lands, where they will aid the natives in vital activities such as building lean-tos and gathering nuts and berries for sustenance. But seriously, folks, in this period of sagging endowments and straitened budgets, **why is the administration wasting its precious funds on lavish conquests of ego-tourism?** Meanwhile, nearby cities Trenton and Camden lie in shambles, unloved and ignored by Princeton's Ivory Tower munificence. If the vaunted ‘Bridge Year’ is really a heartfelt effort help the impoverished and not a thinly-veiled exercise in self-aggrandizement, we can think of a few ways to bring about just as much good for a fraction of the cost.

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

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS: WHERE WE ARE HEADED

PROFESSOR JOHN LONDREGAN ON THE POLITICS OF THE RECESSION

The Tory recently sat down with Professor of Politics, John Londregan, to discuss our economic future and where the new Obama administration may lead us.

Brandon McGinley '10 and Raphael Murillo '12

In what economic direction do you anticipate the United States heading?

Well, for the next few years, I think the current government is determined to move us towards a more European model. We'll have European growth rates and North American charm – a really interesting combination. Now what we can look forward to in the longer run is a more open question. Most of the right of center governments that have emerged from the Second World War have been reactions to the rapid expansion of the welfare state, Reagan being very much prototypical of that. Reagan was a response to Johnson's Great Society and to Carter's inflation and foreign policy impotence, and people were tired of it and wanted to make it stop. I think that most Conservative governments are governments that involve putting on the brakes – they involve slowing the move to the left but not so much setting off in a new direction. I think that Reagan was a combination of those things. The Tax Reform Act of 1986 represented serious progress and economic growth in the '90s is in large part a result of changes that were made in the '80s and not undone in the '90s to the credit of the people running the political system at that time. I think Clinton was probably dragged kicking and screaming through a lot of that, but indeed, he governed differently than Obama is doing now. I am a little bit pessimistic about what the right will do if historical experience is a guide. I think that it is not at all unlikely, provided that the ballot box remains secure, that the right will win some more elections and we'll get Republicans back in office over the next decade or so in response to the current leftwards move that is being pushed through. Whether those Republicans will do any more than ratify the new government models being put in place is a very open question.

What can the demographic changes caused by globalization tell us about our economic future?

One of the great achievements of the last hundred years has been the notion of equality before the law and of the dignity of everyone – the basic dignity of the individual confronted with the State or any other organization. That people need to be treated with a basic level of respect both in terms of their legal standing and also as

individuals. What that replaced, of course, was feudalism in Europe, where people's status depended on their birth and individuals had different levels of rights. Those institutions were very corrosive to the human spirit. What we are seeing in Western Europe and to some extent in the United States, in a slightly different form, is admission of immigrants into the country with second-class citizenship. So in Europe you have lots of guest workers who are called "guests" and expected to return to their homeland. In the United States, we don't have a legal guest worker policy, we have a pathway to citizenship and we have resident aliens who are potentially on their way to becoming citizens as opposed to guest workers who are not even potentially going to become citizens. We also have a large "illegal" population, people who are here participating in our society, doing work, paying their taxes, raising their children, but because their entry was illegal, they are second-class citizens.

So in Europe, and eventually in the U.S., you have an almost permanent caste system of the "natural born" citizens who are working 35 hours a week and having one child, maybe, in a life time, but the services, the manufacturing, everything is being done by second class citizens.

It's an interaction with the curious demographic effect of prosperity on the Europeans. I think, by the way, that it might not be a coincidence that they have a low birth rate and a highly taxed environment that they are living in. It is probably not attractive to have children when you are practically a ward of the State yourself, which is what happens under Socialism, where you are a ward of the State all the way through. So having kids may become much less attractive.



Prof. Londregan: Professor of Politics.
Photo courtesy of www.winst.org.

Do you think that in this climate the United States government would explore socialized medicine, since it would make people feel better in the short-term about their prospects, even though it would involve great government expenditure and taxation?

I think it is likely that the current administration and Congress are going to be able to push through big changes in health care. I think it's why the generation of people who were born at the beginning of the century might not live to be 100, because in the short run this will mean a reallocation of health care resources. In the long-run it will mean much slower scientific progress in medicine and that's a very sad long-run. The drugs these people want to import at cut rate are basically the drugs that resulted from the free market here 25 years ago. The Universal health care systems around the world function because of the drugs and the medical technology that are developed here. By the way, the people who are living with national health care in the UK and elsewhere are unhappy but they are scared. If you look at old people in the country today, I mean it's true that social security has greatly reduced the poverty rate amongst old people but old people today feel hard-pressed on their social security checks – they want them to be bigger, they wish that they had more opportunities, but they are scared of anything that might cut them off and if we move to a much heavier role of government in health care, you'll find people the same way. They'll be very frustrated with the very imperious way in which health care is dispensed, the lack of flexibility, the lack of access to treatment that they want and yet they'll be scared of moving away from it.

How do you respond to talk of the nationalization of banks?

We already have a very large government involvement in banks. The banking industry has been successful in scaring us into thinking that if bankers lose their jobs, the economy will collapse and we'll all be back in the stone age eating buffalo or something, and we musn't allow bankers to become bankrupt. There is the question of keeping credit markets functioning. There are all sorts of avenues that are open. One of the disturbing things about the way TARP was pushed through and about some of the more recent banking reforms is that there has been an inadequate discussion of the other alternatives. As the TARP was passed, Henry Paulson was presenting us with a kind of dire threat that if you didn't pass this bill by the weekend – in 72 hours at the most – the entire

economy would implode. Of course, that was ridiculous. What that did was to close off debate. What we need is a lot more debate about our options because we aren't without options. You can for example repackage it and force banks to take some of it as a condition of remaining open, you can on a temporary basis have the federal government intervene directly in credit markets if a lot of banks have literally gone bankrupt and then bring the banks out of bankruptcy as happens with the airlines all the time. If we are wise we are going to keep that intervention as short as possible and intervene in ways that don't actually stop financial institutions from operating.

The closest our generation has come to facing a real economic downturn were the Dot-com bubble burst and Post 9/11 Recession, both of which were reversed quickly. Given our lack of experience in hard times, can you shed some light on the tangible ramifications that the current recession will have on Princeton life?

We had a very entertaining faculty meeting on Monday about this subject. Tangible things will be: There will be less construction, fewer new projects, less funding for things like thesis research. Lots of things are going to get harder. I think Princeton will continue to be recruiting faculty because we have to do that. We're going to still go after the best professors and the best students that we can find, because if we don't, we stop being Princeton. Harvard and Stanford have done some remarkable draconian things, but those are only temporary and there is a certain amount of administrative showmanship going around there. It gives administrators excuses to cut out departments and activities that they don't really like. It will be harder to find jobs, it will be harder to own a home, it will get tougher. Opportunities will be more limited; that is what recessions are all about. Generally crummy. ☹

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PROFESSOR SLAUGHTER GOES TO WASHINGTON

FORMER DEAN OF THE WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL, ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER '80, JOINS THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Sam Norton '12

When the State Department announced that Former Woodrow Wilson School Dean Anne-Marie Slaughter '80 would be named Director of Policy Planning, the appointment was hailed as an honor both for Slaughter herself and for the University at large. The title is a prestigious one, founded at the beginning of the Cold War by containment theorist George Kennan '25, and later held by such prominent figures as neoconservative Iraq War architect Paul Wolfowitz. Slaughter has long been rumored to harbor ambitions to public office, rumors that were fed in part by her financial contributions to the presidential campaigns of both Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama during the primary season, which according to *The Daily Princetonian* totaled \$2,300 and \$1,500, respectively.

In this new capacity, Slaughter will oversee the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, a hub for long-term strategic thinking. Because she was nominated by Secretary of State Clinton and will report directly to her, it is expected that Clinton will have a significant amount of influence over her work. The crucial question of what direction the new Administration will take regarding foreign affairs can be answered in part by examining Slaughter's views and comparing them to those of her superiors.

Slaughter's most recent comprehensive presentation of her foreign policy philosophy came in a 2007 book, *The Idea That Is America*. In the book, she repeatedly describes herself as a liberal in the tradition of Woodrow Wilson, advocating assistance for democratic regimes around the world and cooperation with a revamped and

expanded United Nations. Over the course of her treatise, she outlines the fundamental principles that she believes stand at the core of our national identity: liberty, democracy, equality, justice, tolerance, humility, and faith. Slaughter prescribes the role of American foreign policy as the advancement of these values at home and abroad, whenever and wherever they are practical.

Slaughter's foreign policy vision has attracted criticism from the left, particularly for the apparent support it gave to the Bush's

go far enough." Obama, on the other hand, has made much of his early opposition to the war, and his stance on the issue was a major factor in his victory over Clinton in the Democratic primary season.

Slaughter has since played down her support for the invasion, accusing her critics of "indulging in the easy game of gotcha" in a piece for the *Huffington Post*. Today, she takes a less aggressive stance, emphasizing her points of agreement with the left. She argues that the promotion of American values requires the preservation

of civil liberties. As an academic, Slaughter has the privilege of disregarding the trade-offs among the various abstract principles that she venerates – and between these principles and the concrete demands of American national security. Her proposals include prohibiting the use of enhanced interrogation

techniques against terrorist suspects, closing Guantanamo Bay and other secret prisons, ending warrantless wiretapping, and restoring the writ of habeas corpus to individuals charged as "enemy combatants."

The Obama administration has embraced some of these proposals. But both Obama and Clinton have diverged from civil libertarian sentiment in the past, voting to reauthorize the Patriot Act in 2006 and supporting a 2008 bill that granted immunity to telecommunications companies that were involved in the Bush Administration's covert surveillance programs. And Obama's recent gestures to the left, though meaningful in some ways, have been complicated by such moves as a one-year delay in Guantanamo's closing and the preservation of the extraordinary

True patriotism, she writes, demands that Americans "understand these critiques and take them to heart." It also, it seems, requires Americans to measure their own country and its institutions against an abstract global standard.

administration "democracy promotion" agenda. Tufts University Professor Tony Smith, among others, has accused her of "[enabling] the neoconservatives." Slaughter did initially voice support for the occupation of Iraq on the grounds that doing so would promote the spread of democracy in the Middle East, an argument utilized by many members of the Bush Administration. In a *New York Times* Op-Ed from March of 2003, she wrote that, "Even without such evidence [of weapons of mass destruction] the United States and its allies can justify their intervention if the Iraqi people welcome their coming." She has been forced to defend comments made in the aftermath of the attack, such as a 2004 article in which she declared that, "the biggest problem with the Bush preemption strategy may be that it does not



Off to Washington: Former Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School, Anne-Marie Slaughter '80, is now the Department of State's new Director of Policy Planning. *Photograph courtesy of www.princeton.edu.*

rendition option.

Slaughter's emphasis on the promotion of American values also leads her to focus on the image the United States presents to the world, a familiar theme from the Obama campaign. Slaughter fears that Americans have unnecessarily alienated the international community through their insistence on unilateral military action and the abusive treatment of inmates at Abu

Ghraib and other detention facilities. The United States' domestic affairs also attract her scorn; inadequate campaign finance regulations, gerrymandered electoral districts and the income gap between the wealthy and the impoverished have all, she claims, diminished American moral authority. True patriotism, she writes, demands that Americans "understand these critiques and take them to heart." It also, it

seems, requires Americans to measure their own country and its institutions against an abstract global standard.

Over the next four years, Obama and Clinton will have to balance human rights concerns with strategic needs in their interactions with foreign governments. As with her discussions of America's homeland security policies, Slaughter plays down this tradeoff in her book, focusing on the supposed long-term congruency between American national interest and a more free, more democratic world. Here again, she seems to echo the idealism of "candidate Obama," while leaving her compatibility with President Obama open to question. In a forum conducted by CNN in November of 2007, both candidates were asked whether they believed that national security ought to trump democracy in dealing with Pakistan. Clinton stated bluntly that she agreed with that assertion "completely," while Obama's response was more optimistic, saying that "the concepts are not contradictory..." but "complementary." With the administration ordering ramped-up operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and with Pakistan's fledgling democracy spiraling into chaos, it is not clear whether President Obama would wholeheartedly agree.

In light of her change of heart on more aggressive brands of democracy promotion, Slaughter's actual vision for promoting "American values" is unclear and somewhat underwhelming. Multilateral trade sanctions have achieved only limited success at compelling nations to adhere to Western demands, and diplomatic measures are an ineffective means of producing the kind of grassroots social change that is essential to sustain liberal governance over the long term. Even sending foreign aid can be a futile endeavor if the resources are hoarded or squandered by corrupt, autocratic despots. It should be remembered, too, that attempts to spread the American gospel can seriously backfire – if Slaughter has learned the lessons of Iraq, she fails to have learned from the mistakes of her hero Woodrow Wilson, another idealistic academic and one whose optimistic doctrine unleashed untamable ethnic and religious tensions.

The faith that Slaughter places in diplomacy and international organizations also seems reflective of her academic detachment. Again echoing Obama's idealistic stance during the presidential race, she endorses engagement with anti-Western regimes such as Iran, North Korea and Venezuela, a stance for which Obama


CAMPUS

was roundly criticized by the Clinton campaign. The shortcomings of the United Nations, meanwhile, have been made manifest by its numerous foreign policy failures. It might also be asked whether an organization in which Russia and China have veto power, and one that allowed Libya to chair a "Human Rights Commission," would be the best conduit for promoting American values.

The future direction of the Obama administration's foreign policy is unclear; unsurprisingly, Obama has focused on domestic issues during the first month of his presidency. As we have seen, the idealistic rhetoric of the campaign has given way to more pragmatic decisions that give little hint of an ambitious foreign policy vision. While urging repressive governments to "unclench their fists" to the global audience listening to his Inaugural Address, Obama has quietly taken a more conciliatory tone, sending envoys to Hamas and Syria. And, while criticizing

China's human rights record during her recent visit, Clinton emphasized that these concerns will have to take a back seat to more pressing international crises.

The appointment of Slaughter

constrain the United States' ability to project its power, Slaughter will have to face some tough choices of her own. In order to maintain relevance in a position that is already given to detached intellectualism and in order to exercise influence on American foreign policy, she may have to allow the tradeoffs that are part and parcel of the policy world to significantly shape her thinking. We can only hope that Washington will change Prof. Slaughter more than it changed Mr. Smith. 

The faith that Slaughter places in diplomacy and international organizations also seems reflective of her academic detachment.

signals that the Obama administration seeks to preserve some form of idealism and liberal internationalism in its foreign policy vision, and creates a measure of continuity, if primarily symbolic, between Obama's hopeful campaign rhetoric and his current agenda. However, with the advent of an international economic crisis that promises to further

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LET THEM EAT THEIR WORDS

REVEALING THE HYPOCRISY OF THOSE WHO CRITICIZE BICKER

Ameena Schelling '12

On arriving on campus as a freshman this fall, I settled in for what I hoped would be four peaceful years in a pre-determined direction. However, in the aftermath of pick-ups I was reminded of another uniquely Princetonian choice which I would eventually have to face: to bicker or not to bicker?

I had, of course, heard about the eating clubs long before I came here. I knew them to be an intrinsic part of the University's traditions. Consequently, I was unprepared for the vehemence with which a fringe portion of the student body has used the pages of the *Princeton* to assail the institutions so central to Princeton's identity.

Johann Loh's column, caustically titled "Let us eat cake," is a case in point. Written with true Jacobinic moderation, the column claims that "each successive generation of Princeton kids is swiftly integrated into a system of social privileges guaranteed to differentiate them from the rest of the world."

Similarly, in freshman Dylan Shinzaki's bitter letter to the editor, potential bickerees are told, "You're not rich enough. You're not good enough. You're not one of them."

I must admit, however, that I am still confused by the invisible barriers which certain Princetonians seem to have drawn. Unlike Shinzaki, I have not been determined to expose the supposed dark underbelly of Princeton in my six months here. I instead embraced each new person as I met him, unaware of his Street status, and thus my view of Princeton is of a complete community of scholars, each one an intelligent and productive member. I find it hard to believe that, as soon as Thursday night rolls around, a large portion of these people I see interacting with each other on a daily basis suddenly haughtily breaks away and transforms into the elitist, spiteful villains of a cheap 19th century romance.

These "activists" have a superficial view of the University they attend. I came to Princeton, not because it was ranked

first on some superficial statistical list, but because of the academics, culture and the history-steeped traditions that make it what it is. It is more than a little hypocritical for a writer such as Loh to accuse others of elitism even as he sits amidst picturesque surroundings dotted with elm trees and gothic architecture. These detractors certainly worked hard perfecting their interview skills, their images as well-rounded applicants, and their academic achievements so that they could compete in the most divisive and exclusive bicker process of all: college admissions. I find it strange that, after winning acceptance to one of the top "clubs" of all, they are so eager to turn around and assault its core traditions.

There is a hypocritical illiberality in the activists' claims. The Princeton administration, with its focus on "diversity,"

has emphasized a set of ideals that students are expected to strive for: acceptance, tolerance, understanding. But these ideals seem to apply only when we are criticizing the "exclusive" practices of eating clubs, a criticism that the administration has embraced in past decades. When it comes to the Street's detractors, meanwhile, all notions of respect for other people's choices are abandoned in favor of derision; they are immune from accusations of intolerance. They are thus free to cast scorn on a diverse body of club members belonging to a diverse group of clubs. Far from being anti-elitists, these activist writers are the most judgmental of all. ■

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The Street: Perhaps the most exclusive club of all is not on Prospect, but rather on Nassau – Princeton University itself. *Photograph by Alfred Miller.*

OPERATION CAST LEAD: ISRAEL'S JUST WAR

WHY PEACE WAS NOT AN OPTION

Jeffrey Mensch '11

The recent fighting in Gaza has been at the forefront of international political issues, and on the minds of many at Princeton. The extremely high and unfortunate death toll has shocked and concerned all of us. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the justification for Israel's actions based on the events surrounding the conflict.

Historically, Israel has never maintained an interest in occupying the Gaza Strip. In the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty signed in 1979, Israel attempted to return Gaza to Egypt, which had occupied it from 1949 to 1967, but Egypt refused to reclaim it. In 2000, when Ehud Barak offered the Palestinian Authority (PA) a Palestinian state on 91% of the West Bank and the entire Gaza Strip, Yasser Arafat promptly rejected the offer. Most recently, in 2005, Israel, eschewing coordination with the corrupt PA, unilaterally withdrew from Gaza. Though Israel still maintains control over the borders and airspace for defense purposes, it has shown no intrinsic desire to "imprison" Gazans. Rather, Israel would gladly grant independence in return for lasting peace.

However, following Israel's withdrawal, Gazan rocket fire into Israeli population centers, an incessant threat since 2001, paradoxically increased. Subsequently, in 2006, Hamas, listed by the United States and the European Union as a terrorist organization, won a major victory in Palestinian elections. Hamas then staged a violent takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007, routing Fatah forces, its main Palestinian opposition, and leaving Hamas completely in control of the territory.

Meanwhile, Hamas rocket fire at civilian targets continued, inflicting constant terror on nearby Israeli towns, and forcing civilians to duck for cover at a moment's notice in fear of their lives. Israel's past concessions have led to an emboldened, not marginalized, terrorist element in Gaza.

In response to Hamas' escalation of violence, both Egypt and Israel launched a blockade of the Gaza Strip in order to put pressure on it in two ways: firstly, to reduce

Israel responded to defend its civilians...Hamas wanted to increase the civilian casualties to demonize Israel, not only planting their combatants amongst the densest of population centers, but also intentionally bringing civilians to the combat areas to be used as human shields.

the arms flow into Gaza (supplied largely by Iran), and, secondly, to put pressure on the people of Gaza to repudiate their Hamas leaders due to the consequences of having a hostile organization in power. This blockade involves the closure of all crossing points from Egypt and Israel into Gaza, and the search of all ships that approach Gaza, which has virtually eliminated maritime trade. The blockade has sadly, but unavoidably, reduced the majority of Gaza's citizens to poverty. Nevertheless, Israel makes a concerted effort to allow into its hostile neighbor adequate aid to prevent mass starvation, and Israel continues to supply power, water and other utilities to the Strip. Despite the consequences, Israel and Egypt are justified in blockading Gaza, as Hamas, its ruling power, targets Israeli civilians, and, as is unabashedly stated in Hamas' charter, is committed to the destruction of Israel.

Prior to the 2008 ceasefire, Israel used restrained force, ordering very limited

incursions and air strikes directed at eliminating rocket squads. The violence declined to only sporadic rocket firings in mid-2008 when Israel and Hamas agreed to a ceasefire. Then, in early November, Israel launched an air strike into Gaza, aimed at a cell apparently digging a tunnel to kidnap Israeli soldiers. In response, Hamas increased its rocket fire, and subsequently did not renew the ceasefire when it expired in December. The precise reasons for Hamas' decision are unclear, though one may speculate that Hamas noticed its support flagging due to the blockade, or perhaps that it was pressured by a nuclear ambitious Iran to provide a new distraction in the region.

Whatever the cause, Israel had been provoked to begin its most recent operation, known as Cast

Lead. With attacks specifically targeting Hamas, Israel responded to defend its civilians, and to ensure the continuity of daily life. Unfortunately, Hamas wanted to increase the civilian casualties to demonize Israel, not only planting their combatants amongst the densest of population centers, but also intentionally bringing civilians to the combat areas to be used as human shields. Israel took many precautions to avoid civilian casualties, but it is difficult to avoid them when the enemy's aim is quite the opposite. Throughout the conflict, Hamas also targeted its missiles specifically at Israeli towns and cities up to 30 miles away, while legitimate military targets like IDF bases along the border went virtually unscathed.

Approximately 1,300 Palestinians died in the fighting, and thousands more were wounded, about half of whom were civilians. While every human casualty is unequivocally a terrible tragedy, we must look beyond our sympathy at who is to



The F-15 “Eagle” Tactical Fighter and Bomber: Israeli Air Force planes stand by awaiting deployment. *Photograph courtesy of www.coat.ncf.ca.*

blame. Infliction of civilian casualties is not considered illegal if done while legitimately targeting enemy combatants. Certainly, according to international law, if belligerents use human shields, they are to blame for the resultant civilian casualties, and not those who fired at them. Furthermore, Hamas ordered its militiamen to fight out of uniform, employed teenagers to engage in the fighting, and delivered its wounded to hospitals without their weapons, so many of those registered as civilian noncombatants may actually have been fighters, potentially causing the final civilian casualty count to be inflated.

While Hamas aimed to maximize the death toll of both Israel and its own civilians, Israel attempted to minimize such casualties, dropping flyers and making phone calls warning of imminent attacks on weapons supplies and Hamas fighters, something few other countries would do. It thereby often lost a strategic element of surprise for the express purpose of saving innocent life. Many Israeli attacks were aborted due to too large a presence of noncombatants in the vicinity. Israel continued to send aid into Gaza despite the

operation, though Hamas often interfered with its distribution. And, certainly, Israel never explicitly targeted civilians. The allegations of war crimes which some raised, and the media eagerly picked up, have all turned out to be false. The reported Israeli shelling of a UN school has been withdrawn, with eyewitnesses now stating that all shells landed outside the school, refuting the initial claims. Contrast even this allegation of military negligence with an enemy who intentionally uses mosques, ambulances, and schools to store and launch weapons aimed at killing and terrorizing as many civilians as possible.

Nevertheless, there exist several valid criticisms of Israel’s conduct during Operation Cast Lead. First, though all of its targets belonged to Hamas, a terrorist organization, its targeting policy was occasionally too broad, such as an attack during the operation on a Hamas courthouse, a building unconnected to violence committed against Israel, and an integral part of the civil infrastructure of any state. Though the destruction of the courthouse constituted a symbolic victory over Hamas, the civilian costs may well

have outweighed the benefits of weakening Hamas’ power.

Second, Israel blundered in restricting all media entry into Gaza during the operation. It probably reasoned that by banning journalists, it would prevent leakage of Israeli deployment, as well as prevent reports of unfortunate collateral damage which could turn international opinion against Israel. But due to the media’s restriction, international observers were led to assume the worst, these fears compounded by the Arab media’s filling in the void with solely pro-Palestinian images (some of which have been confirmed as staged). In restricting the media, Israel most definitely shot itself in the foot.

Third, although Israel’s conduct during the war itself was exemplary, and it certainly had sufficient provocation to justify Cast Lead, it is uncertain whether the horrific casualty toll was worthwhile. Israel’s goal was not to topple Hamas, but instead to turn Palestinian public opinion against violent action detrimental to both sides, as well as to deter further rocket launches. Despite the large number of Israeli casualties in the Lebanon War of 2006, Israel succeeded in these goals with respect to its border with Lebanon. However, in the current case with Gaza, Hamas continued its rocket launching even beyond Israel’s declaration of a unilateral ceasefire ending Cast Lead. Though Israel has secured better monitoring of arms smuggling into Gaza, it is unclear whether this necessary result is enough to justify the large loss of life involved. We will only later be able to tell whether this will lead to lasting safety and security.

Despite any areas on which Israel could improve, it is quite clear that Israel was unduly provoked by Hamas in Gaza, and thus had ample justification for its actions. No country can tolerate daily bombardment and let its citizens live their lives in terror. Let us hope that we will soon see a regime in Gaza that is willing to live peacefully with its neighbors, so the Palestinian people can acquire the self-determination that they deserve. ☞

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THE RASKOLNIKOV TEMPTATION

WHY IT IS NEVER MIND OVER MORALS

Brandon McGinley '10

“*H*e had not a minute more to lose. He pulled the axe quite out, swung it with both arms, scarcely conscious of himself, and almost without effort, almost mechanically, brought the blunt side down on her head. He seemed not to use his own strength in this. But as soon as he had once brought the axe down, his strength returned to him.

[...] Then he dealt her another and another blow with the blunt side and on the same spot. The blood gushed as from an overturned glass, the body fell back. He stepped back, let it fall, and at once bent over her face; she was dead. Her eyes seemed to be starting out of their sockets, the brow and the whole face were drawn and contorted convulsively.”

—Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment* (1866)

Thus, the “experiment” of Rodion Romanovich Raskolnikov reaches its violent climax. The woman on the business end of the axe is Alyona Ivanovna, a despicable old pawn broker and the most hated person in the neighborhood. The murderer Raskolnikov is a highly intelligent student fallen upon hard financial times and forced to drop out of the academy in St. Petersburg. He has a brilliant mind given, as with many youths, to radical ideas. One of these ideas runs as follows:

“Men are in *general* divided by a law of nature into two categories, inferior (ordinary), that is, so to say, material that serves only to reproduce its kind, and men who have the gift or the talent to utter a *new word*. [...] The first category, generally speaking, are men conservative in temperament and law-abiding; they live under control and love to be controlled. To my thinking it is their duty to be controlled, because that’s their vocation, and there is nothing humiliating in it for them. The

second category all transgress the law; they are destroyers or disposed to destruction according to their capacities. The crimes of these men are of course relative and varied; for the most part they seek in very varied ways the destruction of the present for the sake of the better. But if such a one is forced for the sake of his idea to step over a corpse or wade through blood, he can, I maintain, find himself, in his conscience, a sanction for wading through blood – that depends on the idea and its dimensions, note that.”

The “experiment” – the murder of the despicable old pawnbroker – is designed to determine whether he, Raskolnikov, is one of the second category: a Napoleon, a Caesar, a God among men. It is a failure. The balance of the masterpiece details Raskolnikov’s psychological anguish as he wrestles with the demeaning and infuriating realization that he is not one of these great men, that in fact no one can transgress the barriers of our humanity without punishment. Whether he finds redemption I’ll leave to you to discover.

But what possible relevance could this horrifying tale have for modern college students? There are presumably no would-

For who does not wish he could be an über-man – a being with the right or even the obligation to overstep the barriers constructed by God and man? Who would object if it were suggested that he have the right to impose his will, a will superior to others’ based on his cognitive ability, on human society, to destroy what has been and build up something better, something newer? Who has never considered, even for the tiniest moment, that his intelligence places him on a plane above his fellow man?

The rarified air of a place like Princeton encourages the appearance and growth of this temptation. Simply being here entails a validation of the superiority of our intelligence. And young people are always given to rejection of tradition as old, quaint, and irrational in favor of a present and future informed by new, progressive ideas and radical theories articulated by smarter people. The university can provide fertile soil for dangerously attractive theories of humanity, as it did for Raskolnikov.

Theories of stratified human worth based on intelligence are so enticing because we invariably find ourselves at the top. The Raskolnikov temptation is

The Raskolnikov temptation is to university students as White Power is to Caucasians and radical Islam is to Muslims: it presents an ideology in which we are destined to superiority, and thus it is very attractive.

to university students as White Power is to Caucasians and radical Islam is to Muslims: it presents an ideology in which we are destined to superiority, and thus it is very attractive. It need not end in the extreme conclusion of taking human life, as Raskolnikov and the

be axe-murderers on this campus whom I wish to dissuade. Indeed, Dostoevsky took Raskolnikov’s animating principles – that some men are of superior worth due to their intelligence and that traditional social barriers can therefore be rejected – to an extreme, but logical conclusion in weaving his plot, but this does not mean that the problematic ideas identified should be dismissed. Quite the contrary: the temptation to think and, in those extreme circumstances, act like Raskolnikov will always haunt us.

Klan and Al Qaeda have, but it necessarily entails a denial of the equal dignity of humanity which tends toward prejudice and worse.

The same argument applies for the related assumption that the ideas of each generation are always better than the last. It is so easy to believe that we can toss aside tradition because such a belief empowers us, as we blissfully ignore that tradition is informed by centuries and millennia of accumulated knowledge and experience.

Concerns over this temptation may

LAST WORD



Crime and Punishment: Russian writer Fyodor Dostoevsky. *Photo courtesy of wikipedia.org*

seem abstract, but certainly every Princeton student has at least once heard a peer announce with frustration that the average person is just plain stupid. And when the campus daily can publish an opinion that most American voters, “like alcoholics and meth addicts, have literally no conception of their own best interests,” and no one thinks this is a remark worth debating, then the Raskolnikov hypothesis has certainly, perhaps subconsciously, been widely accepted. For if one class of people are too dumb to understand what’s good for them, then naturally the responsibility falls on the intelligentsia to organize their existence, or dispute its value. Furthermore, I need not explain the obvious implications of such thinking for issues such as eugenics, which not surprisingly has always found its most ardent partisans at the universities.

And so, at Princeton as at similar places, we find ourselves bombarded by the temptation to distribute dignity based on intelligence, to divide humanity along cognitive lines between the fit few and the unfit hoards. How, then, are we to reject the Raskolnikov temptation?

I submit that we ought to reject entirely intelligence as a measure of value. Of course, I need not reiterate what I have argued extensively elsewhere: that all

members of the human family are equal in dignity no matter one’s race, faith, age, stage of development, or, indeed, intelligence. But the claim I make today is stronger: that we ought not to make any distinctions whatsoever based solely on intelligence.

This may seem a radically absurd suggestion. Should we erase Newton, Darwin, and Einstein from our history books out of fear of elevating the intelligent? Certainly academic and occupational selections must be based on intelligence?

But we do not celebrate great thinkers simply because they were smart; we celebrate them for what they accomplished with their great minds. Many brilliant people, perhaps people whose intelligence would make Da Vinci wilt, have traversed history unheeded because they did not or were unable to contribute anything of note to humanity. We generally laud intelligence only inasmuch as it is put to good use.

Similarly, acceptances to educational and corporate institutions are generally based not on intelligence *per se*, but on accomplishments that suggest competence. Intelligence is important, but ancillary.

When we elevate intelligence as the primary predictor of value, we ignore not only practical competence but concerns of

ethics and morality. It is my contention that, in fact, extraordinary intelligence tends toward pernicious elitism (not the Brooks Brothers type, but the denial of equal human dignity) and complex vice: in a blunt word, evil. Intelligence invites the Raskolnikov temptation, and as one’s perceived cognitive ability increases, so does the attraction to the theory. And popularly elevating intelligence over, say, morality only strengthens the inducement to profound arrogance, depriving society of potentially great men.

History is littered with brilliant men enticed by the Siren’s song of the Raskolnikov temptation. On the grandest stage there are brilliant men such as Adolf Hitler who, although now a cliché, provides a powerful example of stratification of humankind based on intelligence and race taken to its terrifying conclusion. But throughout history and into our present day, men of lesser importance but equally intoxicated with their own intelligence are responsible for everything from white-collar crime to serial murder. It is easy and comforting to ascribe aberrant human activity, such as serial violence, merely to insanity – many read the character of Raskolnikov this way. This is a fatal error. For Raskolnikov as for many of our own most evil figures, from the Unabomber to the Third Reich, the inducement to evil is not insanity but a thoroughly human, thoroughly natural, thoroughly sane temptation: a temptation to power, to dominion over fellow man.

And so intelligence is only as good as the purpose for which it is used. Alone, cognitive ability is not a trait to be praised or to be scorned; rather, society ought to encourage the humble application of intelligence to moral ends.

The absolute rejection of the intrinsic value of intelligence is a bitter pill to swallow for many university students. But it is the surest way to reject the Raskolnikov temptation to place ourselves on a plane above our fellow man and the traditions which define him, a prideful abyss which, even if it does not end in terrible application to another, tends toward the withering of the soul. It is in this humility that we discover our ultimate humanity. ¶

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In Memoriam

Sgt. Kyle J. Harrington	January 24, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Chief Warrant Officer Benjamin H. Todd	January 26, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Chief Warrant Officer Joshua M. Tillery	January 26, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Chief Warrant Officer Philip E. . Windorski, Jr.	January 26, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Sgt. Trevor J. Johnson	January 27, 2009	Hostile Fire
Sgt. David W. Wallace III	January 27, 2009	Hostile Fire
CW4 Milton E. Suggs	January 30, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Spec. Darrell L. Fernandez	January 31, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Spec. Christopher P. Sweet	February 6, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
Lance Cpl. Kevin T. Preach	February 7, 2009	Hostile Fire
Sgt. James M. Dorsey	February 8, 2009	Non-Combat Related Incident
1st Lt. Jared W. Southworth	February 8, 2009	IED
Staff Sgt. Jason E. Burkholder	February 8, 2009	IED
Pfc. Jonathan R. Roberge	February 9, 2009	IED
Pfc. Albert R. Jex	February 9, 2009	IED
Sgt. Joshua A. Ward	February 9, 2009	IED
Lt. Col. Garnet R. Derby	February 9, 2009	IED
Pfc. Jason R. Watson	February 10, 2009	IED
Spec. Peter J. Courcy	February 10, 2009	IED
Staff Sgt. Marc J. Small	February 12, 2009	Hostile Fire
Sgt. Daniel L. Hansen	February 14, 2009	Hostile Fire
Sgt. Raymond J. Munden	February 16, 2009	Hostile Fire
Master Sgt. David L. Hurt	February 20, 2009	Hostile Fire
Staff Sgt. Jeremy E. Bessa	February 20, 2009	Hostile Fire
Staff Sgt. Timothy P. Davis	February 20, 2009	Hostile Fire
Sgt. Daniel James Thompson	February 24, 2009	Hostile Fire
Sgt. Scott B. Stream	February 24, 2009	Hostile Fire
Sgt. Schuyler B. Patch	February 24, 2009	Hostile Fire
Capt. Brian M. Bunting	February 24, 2009	Hostile Fire
Spec. Simone A. Robinson	March 1, 2009	Hostile Fire
Pvt. Patrick A. Devoe II	March 8, 2009	Hostile Fire
Staff Sgt. Archie A. Taylor	March 14, 2009	Hostile Fire