

# The Cornell Review

AN INDEPENDENT PUBLICATION

*The Conservative Voice on Campus*

“WE DO NOT APOLOGIZE.”

VOL. XXIX, NO. XI

BLOG [cornellinsider.com](http://cornellinsider.com) SITE [cornellreviewonline.com](http://cornellreviewonline.com)

May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2011

## A Cartel in Our Midst

**KATHLEEN McCaffrey**  
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

The most ardent critics of oligopolies, be they on the left or right, find common ground in a distaste for cartels, exclusive organizations of producers who fix prices and production. Since their formation usually yields price increases and a decrease in the quality of services, governments prevent the formation of cartels through competition law.

So why, then, is our nation's school system allowed to function as the sole beneficiary of tax dollars, lobbying for price increases with no ascertainable improvement in production quality? Our spending on education is the second-highest in the world, the US boasts an average of \$91,700 per student in the nine years between the ages of 6 and 15. Despite this, the US was recently ranked 14th out of 34 countries for

reading skills, 17th for science and a below-average 25th for mathematics. Finland, by comparison, spends one-third less per student but ranks near the top in all categories.



Former Bloomberg television host Bob Bowdon followed the trail of these bloated numbers and shoddy service to find a systemic, political cause. In his film *The Cartel*, he focused on the state that spent the most per-pupil in the nation (\$17,000 at the time), New Jersey, to show that more spending on education cannot aide a system with perverse motives.

Bowdon documents a sinister aspect to the unions in New Jersey. Teacher's union campaign contributions regenerate in the form of large salaries, "cadillac" benefit plans, and a compensation scheme that pays based on time – not merit. Though it is one of the smallest and most densely populated states in the nation, it has over 400 school districts who remain autonomous, each boasting separate sets of administrators with

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# 2012.

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### A SENIOR'S REFLECTIONS

## How Cornell Changed This Right-Wing Radical

BY JOHN FARRAGUT

*In the last issue of the year, our graduating seniors reflect on their time at Cornell. For a counterpoint to this retrospective, see the editorial.*

I came to Cornell as an eager conservative fire-breather. My positions on almost all issues ranged from right of center to very right of center. I was against gay marriage, in favor of a flat, supported our multiple wars, etc. For two months during the fall prior to freshman year, I spent several hours a week volunteering to help Rick Santorum get reelected. (Obviously that was unsuccessful.) My first month here I immediately joined the *Review* and the Cornell Republicans. Suffice it to say I was very enthusiastic about the Republican Party.

Three and a half years later, I find it hard to believe that I am that same enthusiastic person who first made the hill his temporary home in 2007. My positions on issues have moved more toward the center, and on some social issues I now have a liberal (libertarian) outlook, although I still consider myself a conservative. More striking to me is how disinterested with politics I am today.

I think the differences between my current and previous outlook can be accounted for by two things.

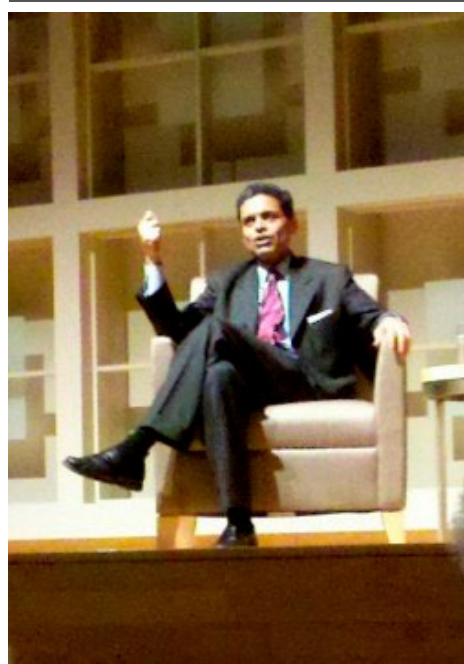
First, my answer to the question "What is the goal of governance?" has changed quite a bit. I used to hold principles as paramount to determining political positions. With this approach to politics, I tried to define a coherent set of principles, e.g. "Individuals deserve to keep what they earn; The government should support morally beneficial social institutions," and then apply these to the various political questions popularly raised. This is a surprisingly difficult task, and it's usually very easy to find inconsistencies

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## Fareed Zakaria and the Post-American World

**KARIM LAKHANI**  
TREASURER

Students, Cornell Professors, and individuals from across Ithaca packed the Statler auditorium to hear Fareed Zakaria, the 2011 Henry E. and Nancy Horton Bartels 2011 World Affair Fellowship Lecturer.



Zakaria's lecture, titled "The Rise Of the Rest: The Post American World", began with an introduction by Hunter Rawlings, who served as Cornell's 10th president. Rawlings described Zakaria as one of the world's leaders in international relations, who "wants to help people become more thoughtful with what is happening in the world."

Before beginning the content of his lecture, Zakaria joked about two connections he has with Cornell. First, as a graduate student at Harvard, Zakaria received a call from Cornell professor Peter Katzenstein to see if he would be interested in applying for a job. Zakaria declined the offer and joked that he would much rather go into journalism than academia. His second connection to Cornell is through the executive producer for Zakaria's public affairs show on CNN, who is a Cornell alumnus.

Zakaria began his lecture by discussing his interview with Muammar Gaddafi. He called this

interview his favorite with a foreign leader. Zakaria explained that Gaddafi liked living in tents, and when he was unable to stay in a tent on Donald Trump's Bedford estate (because the people of Bedford did not want him there), Gaddafi stayed in a tent in the lobby of the Libyan Mission in New York City.

Zakaria used this as a transition into what we have seen in the Middle East recently. He explained: "It is not just in Libya that we are seeing this spillover. This is very rare. It makes you think that there is something larger going on" than just food inflation in Egypt. Zakaria believes that this is a global trend where the Middle East is catching up with the world.

There are two explanations, according to Zakaria, for why over the last ten years, countries in the Middle East have risen to overcome their oppressive governments and stagnant economies. The first explanation is that the Middle East has stopped being a playground for great powers. Recently, as Zakaria explains, the United States has "lost its appetite to protect extremist dictators" because we are broke and tired of nation-building. This lack of capacity and lack of will has allowed

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# Romney and Daniels Groups Spark Interest in 2012 Election on Campus

*Republican primary has made its way to campus; student organizations begin to mobilize*

**MICHAEL ALAN**  
CAMPUS NEWS EDITOR

Despite what you've seen on television lately, Donald Trump isn't the only possible presidential candidate preparing a run, if that's even what he's doing. When reached for comment, the Trumpster said "I don't know if I'm running yet, but I do know two things. Barack Obama was born in Kenya and 'Celebrity Apprentice' airs Sundays at eight on NBC."

Seriously, though, other candidates are making a splash. Whether they've all but started their campaigns by creating exploratory committees, like former Minnesota Governor Tim Pawlenty and former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney have, or are flirting with a run in the media, like Indiana governor



Indiana governor Mitch Daniels has said he'll announce a Presidential run by this month.

Mitch Daniels is, the primary is clearly underway.

While only the most committed students are involved, the primary has made its way to the Hill. A chapter of the national Students for Mitt Romney organization, started by a Vanderbilt junior, was created here by myself and *Review* staff writer Karim Lakhani '14 and *Sun* columnist Judah Bellin '12 has brought the Yale-conceived Students for Daniels group to campus.

Both national groups have filmed television spots touting their candidate's credentials on fiscal and economic policy. The Cambridge chapter of the Romney group took the more serious tone of the two, highlighting the consequences of the Obama economy for college students. "Last year, only 24% of college students had a job by graduation day and this year isn't looking much better," the students lament, adding, "[only Romney] has the experience and skills need to rejuvenate our economy and restore the American dream for our generation."

The Daniels group, putting the focus on the mounting national debt, took a lighter approach, employing perennial New York state gubernatorial candidate and "Rent is 2 Damn High" party founder Jimmy McMillan to act as the group's spokesman. Despite the attention their message of "the deficit is too damn high" got, the ad was not without controversy. In their coverage of the ad airing in the DC area the night before Daniels' speech at a conservative conference, *Politico* pointed

out that McMillan seemingly argues against Social Security in the spot ("Grandma, I love you, but no. This is America!") and highlighted the now declared for himself presidential candidate's erratic behavior in an appearance with the Daniels group at the same conference. Bellin, however, thought the ad was attention-getting and appropriate. "I thought the ad was clever and conveyed the message creatively," he told the *Review*.

Additionally, both Romney and Daniels face several obstacles in a crowded Republican primary field before they can take on Obama. Romney, for instance, has been attacked by some on the far right for legislation he signed in 2006 after compromising with the dominating Democrats in the Massachusetts legislature on the issue of an individual mandate that sought to provide access to quality, affordable health care to every Massachusetts resident.

The Bain Capital co-founder's 2012 rivals have capitalized on the hysteria, with former Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee going so far as to demand an apology. Romney's hometown newspaper, however, paints a clearer picture of the governor's involvement with the legislation. "Conservatives might be more favorably disposed if they understood the part Romney played in warding off various schemes feared by business," the *Boston Globe* wrote in an April 18<sup>th</sup> editorial, pointing to Romney's attempt to use a compromise on the individual mandate to avoid Democrat-touted taxes on businesses as high as \$1,000 per uncovered employee.

Daniels has also ruffled a few feathers in the Republican base. "The next president would have to call a truce on the so-called social

issues. We're going to just have to agree to get along for a little while until the economic issues are resolved," he told the *Weekly Standard*.

Bellin doesn't seem worried. "I think he'll need to clarify his position on social issues, but once he does so he'll have no problem picking up the religious vote," he said, clarifying, "I do think he's correct in asserting that we should prioritize the debt crisis over gay marriage and abortion, and I think most voters would agree."

Despite having played coy with the idea of running until recently, Daniels does seem to be taking a turn toward running in 2012. The Associated Press called his decision to sign a bill banning funding of Planned Parenthood in Indiana

"I think most Cornellians [on the right] would support Romney, although I'm personally disinclined to support him."

a clear sign that Daniels is seriously considering a run and one that "would greatly improve his chances of winning the Republican presidential nomination.

Bellin remains hopeful, although what if Daniels ultimately does decide not run? "I think most Cornellians [on the right] would support Romney, although I'm personally disinclined to support him," he said.

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the Middle East to open up. Secondly, Zakaria believes that the power of information technology (Facebook, Twitter, and independent TV providers) has been a contributing factor.

Zakaria then moved on to discussing the future of America. He explained that American economic growth has broken down, where "the American worker is stuck." Though the United States has returned to 2007 levels of GDP, seven million fewer people are working.

It seems as though we have gained efficiency but haven't figured out what to do with these people. He explained that though innovation sounds great, it does not necessarily create American jobs. He then joked to a laughing crowd that if we don't solve these problems, "Donald Trump will be the next President of The United States."

David Leeds, a freshman in the College of Arts and Sciences, thought that Zakaria's "argument that the United States' time as the dominant superpower in the world

is over seems a little depressing, but also inevitable."

Zakaria went on to say that America's strengths are its openness to ideas, its people, and its culture. He argues that America has moved away from its strengths and has been trying to mirror other countries too much. Harrison Lewis, a freshman in the College of Arts and Sciences, found Zakaria's argument "very interesting because our strengths of openness have allowed us to grow and will be vital if we are to improve our economy going forward."

Zakaria presents a compelling argument but underestimates America's potential for future success. With a growing deficit and high unemployment, the 2012 Presidential election will be one of the most important elections in recent history, as the result may very well dictate whether we are truly living in a "post-American world."

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The Cornell Review is distributed free, limited to one issue per person, on campus as well as to local businesses in Ithaca. Additional copies beyond the first free issue are available for \$1.00 each. The Cornell Review is a member of the Collegiate Network.

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# My Conservative Chi

Hi, everybody. I'm Lucas, next semester's chief editor for the *Cornell Review*.

Alright, down to business. For 27 years, this paper has attempted to communicate—sometimes poorly, sometimes valiantly—why a conservative viewpoint brings reason, realism, and perspicacity to any debate. Our writers, though, rarely explore what makes them conservative at heart. On the front page, John Farragut does so with tremendous honesty in his final undergraduate piece for the *Review*.

John advocates for beliefs “based on evidence, not some set of immutable principles.” Ideally, our opinions always stem from empirical evidence, and I'm glad to report that *Review* writers generally to stick to a just-the-facts presentation. But our world is an academic one; the real world consists mostly of best-guess decisions and compromises where the “blind faith” component of political dogma dominates. Our brains are hard-wired for it. As a result, all concerned people ought to gaze deeply into the spring from which their principles flow. Cornell boasts seven adamant beliefs per square foot, but I almost never hear about *core motivations*: what fundamental worldview(s) fuel an Ivy League conservative? Let the search begin.

Our writer Greg Stein detailed his recent conversion to the Republican Party in a blog post on the Cornell Insider, spawning a 3618-word-long comment thread. For Stein, being a Republican “means standing up against a majority that suppresses logic with mudslinging...due in large part to a grandiose sense of superiority.” He's on to something. Liberalism results from a prideful overassuredness that utopia is possible after enough deficit spending and marginalization of freedoms. Conservatives, then, prefer to let individuals work toward bettering society themselves rather than suffer from the government's poor attempts at it. For some—libertarians, they call themselves—that is their cornerstone. In fact, Ronald Reagan said that “the very heart and soul of conservatism is libertarianism”. At Cornell, a large number of nonliberal students differentiate themselves through the libertarian label.

In a country founded on personal

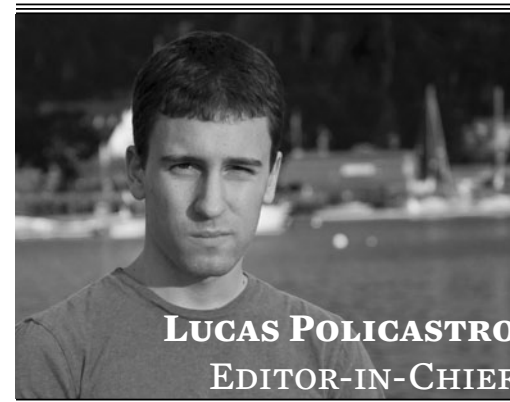
liberty, libertarians are unsurprisingly ubiquitous. In 2008, Ron Paul easily mobilized an alarmingly vocal militia of little Ayn Rands. They saw themselves as Constitutionalists; I saw them much like Rand did: “a monstrous, disgusting bunch of people” and “a group of publicity seekers.” The libertarians mean well, but they exude the same “grandiose sense of superiority” as liberals. For all intents and purposes, the libertarian protocol of minimal government has been incorporated into mainstream conservatism and the Republican Party; why continue calling it something distinct? Rand's patron Nathaniel Branden correctly stated that “we are all libertarians now”. Still, libertarians retain their appellative because they find perverse enjoyment in being a persecuted minority.

The point? Libertarian philosophy does not sufficiently describe the conservative soul; it's only a part of it (sorry, Reagan). Nonetheless, many (many!) young people tout it as their primary affiliation. They are cop-outs. Very often, I see libertarians, Republicans, and even Democrats on campus who describe their politics like this: “fiscal conservative; social liberal”. The trend on college campuses today is conservatism *à la carte*, which permits students to flaunt their politically incorrect plumage whilst totally abandoning any sense of moral absolutism. These postmodern people are at best naïve, and at worst, groundless.

What are they missing? Conservatives have always shown their worth through an emphasis on character and resolute principle. Restraint, in these not-so-strange days, goes unmentioned, as it excludes the possibility of Thirsty Thursdays and constant sexual indulgence. The heart of conservatism, for these young ones, pumps no more. Libertarianism is their perfect crutch: it creates a façade of cultured patriotism while defending one's liberty to do whatever he wants.

I'm not calling for a reduction in liberty, or enforced morals, or a theocracy. I'm asking for conservatives to confront hypocrisy in their own lives. A conservative does not exist for his or herself, or

for freedom, or for pleasure. We exist because we wish to do absolutely everything we can to help our fellow man, and we know how to do it damn better than liberals. That is the fountainhead of my conservative chi.



LUCAS POLICASTRO  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

There is popular conception that the personal sphere has no linkage with the public sphere. In truth, one's politics are a direct reflection of his standards. Conservatives take for granted the sight of a foul mob of liberals stomping up Ho Plaza, spewing expletives out of anger over hydrofracking. *We don't do that for a reason*. For all their compassion, liberals almost never comprehend the essentials of personal decorum. But peek into the life of a purportedly refined conservative—compromises begin to evolve. Evenings with grass-tasting friends begets indifference over the legality of marijuana. Life in the fast line begets indifference over abortion. Traditionally, conservatives defend these issues because they grow into adults, have children, and realize the world is bent on undermining their children's character and destroying their pride as parents. Maybe that'll happen to us, too.

I recently became aware of conservative Cornell alum S. E. Cupp '00. She wrote for the *Sun's* 'Red Letter Daze'. (Apparently, she wasn't prudent enough at the time to join the *Review*.) She's now written a book called *Losing Our Religion: The Liberal Media's Attack on Christianity*. She's also a definite atheist known for appearing on Fox News with her legs on the table.

I believe this woman is extremely confused. No more confused, though, than the rest of us.

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# Advocacy Group Proposes Constitutional Amendment

## *Aims to Limit Corporate Political Giving*

**R. PATRICK MCCAFFREY**  
STAFF WRITER

Would a group that bills itself the “American Constitution Society” bring a speaker to the Law School to advocate for a constitutional amendment . . . limiting free speech? They did when they brought MacArthur “genius” John Bonifaz to Myron Taylor Hall on April 26th. He is the co-founder and Director of “Free Speech for People,” the topic of that night’s discussion. He and his organization believe that the decision in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, namely that all forms in incorporated entities should be barred from donating to a political campaign, needs to be reversed. In his own words, it is “a serious concern toward our democracy.” Bonifaz and his group are advocating for a constitutional amendment to permanently overturn the landmark *Citizens United* decision.

Bonifaz’s dialogue at the Law School focused on the unprecedented nature of the *Citizens United* ruling, why it is a radical shift in the wrong direction for democracy, and how to go about reversing the decision. Bonifaz made his case that limited corporate power has a long history in this country, telling the audience that “some states had banned outright corporate expenditures for a century.” He equated the problem of corporate political giving to women’s suffrage and black discrimination, saying “women did not get the right to vote because men in power thought it was a good idea” and “Jim Crow laws were not brought down

because whites thought it was a good idea.”

Any softer measures, like requiring full disclosure of donors or a reversal in the Supreme Court, Bonifaz claims, will not be effective enough or irreversible enough to eliminate the alleged problem of corporate political expenditures. He admits that the public funding of elections “will go a long way to leveling the playing field of elections,” but says even with complete transparency, this may not stop corporations from being able to “buy off” a seat in the House or Senate.

According to Bonifaz, the most secure, permanent, and absolute way of protecting the individual’s voting rights is to ratify a new constitutional amendment via the Congress. This requires a two-thirds supermajority in both houses to assent, and then three-quarters of the states (38) to ratify the amendment. He spent much time discussing the

### An alternative libertarian approach would unbound corporate spending and, opposite to Bonifaz’s personal belief, deregulate individual political donations.

realism of passing a constitutional amendment. He is right to assume that, especially for college-age men and women, the idea of amending the U.S. Constitution seems far-fetched. In a study conducted by Hart Research for “Free Speech for People,” available on their website, it was learned that only 22% of those sampled had heard of the *Citizens*

*United* decision. The rest of the research suggests that public opinion is in opposition to corporate financing of political campaigns. But educating a people to an extent that at least three-quarters of Americans will see this as an issue worth passing an amendment for is a humbling goal. So “Free Speech for People” is fighting a two-front war: they must first bring to the public’s attention that there is even cause for an amendment, and then from there argue that it is such an important cause for the American people that nothing shy of an amendment would suffice. I cannot speak with quantitative statistics, but when the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment was passed, I suspect only the latter battle needed to be fought.

The conservative view on this issue isn’t entirely black and white. If one looks at campaign financing from incorporated entities, available online, it is clear that the biggest political financiers are unions, and they are giving to primarily to liberal

profit and not-for-profit corporations, would be restricted from political contributions as well. So conservatives less concerned with the potential first amendment conflict have this reason to back “Free Speech for People”: if it means more liberal funding will be blocked than conservative funding. This does raise an interesting point that, in today’s world of campaign financing, there does seem to be an element of nullification when big spending is on either side of the table.

But reasons for opposing the group’s proposed amendment are not dismissible. Since the Federal Election Campaign Act was amended in 1974 in the wake of the Watergate Scandal, there have been limits personal campaign donations. There is one argument that limiting a person’s legal right to give to a political cause is by corollary limiting a form of free speech promised by the First Amendment. Businesses, in particular small businesses, can use their corporation to restore, in a legal manner, a freedom they feel has been improperly imposed upon.

Tuesday’s audience heard from Bonifaz that the threat from *Citizens United* is so serious that it will “unleash a torrent of corporate money, threatening to drown out the individual.” We hear him here advocating for the individual. An alternative libertarian approach would unbound corporate spending and, opposite to Bonifaz’s personal belief, deregulate individual political donations. These are two very different means both claiming to accomplish the same end—a better democracy.

With rumor on the street claiming the 2012 Obama campaign is aiming to raise over \$1 billion, we will learn soon enough if a sinking ship can be voted into office if you just throw enough money at it.

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*Continued from the front page*

multiple titles and salaries. These are largely the product of school board elections that take place on work days to promote low-turnout and a rich tradition of crying bloody murder if salaries are not increased each year.

It wouldn’t be a film worth viewing, though, if it was just union-bashing. Bowdon looks at the absurdity of the public school system and applies it to other facets of the way our government works. If cars were determined by address the same way schools were, would anyone stay with the shoddy brand? Would anyone continue to pay for the production of these cars if it wasn’t compulsory? Teachers’ unions rail against vouchers, or any other form of increased competition, but “The Cartel” points out that food stamps are vouchers which are wildly popular. Pell grants also serve as vouchers for the needy and fuel the rich competition between schools at the university level.

The victims of this systemic failure are, of course, the children. Teachers who don’t have to compete based on merit have less of an incen-

### Our spending on education is the second-highest in the world, [yet] the US was recently ranked 14th out of 34 countries for reading skills, 17th for science and a below-average 25th for mathematics.

tive to be innovative and the tenure system yields a 99.97% teacher retention rate in New Jersey. Bowdon filmed accounts of teachers who abused children but, because of their union reps, are rarely fired. If they are, their cases are sealed so they may seek work elsewhere. Recently, James Smith, head of security in the Paterson, NJ public school system, claimed he had orchestrated busts in his career as a lieutenant in the police department that required less rigor than trying to fire a teacher in New Jersey. Paterson recently

fired a tenured special education teacher after he punched a handicapped student. It took Paterson officials four years and over \$400,000

to successfully fire him.

Through electing officials who are dependent on union money for re-election yield policies that stymie charter schools and other forms of competition. Though some children may thrive in smaller classes, the “one size fits all” public school system condemns many, particularly the urban poor, to large, oftentimes dangerous, high schools. Bowdon profiles students in Camden, NJ who, after twelve years in the public school system, are functionally illiterate. To function in a modern

world, some sought an actual education in the Community Educational Resource Network (CERN), located in church basement where the teachers are local volunteers and the tuition is a mere \$30/month.

For the past ten years, my mother has been a teacher in urban Paterson, New Jersey. I volunteered at her two schools throughout my adolescence, tutoring and helping her fellow teachers. I have absolutely no doubt that most of these men and women become teachers for the benefit of children, particularly the urban poor. As we’ve seen in New Jersey, though, years of politicians crying for more spending on education for these kids only goes to increase the numbers in pockets of administrators and unions, not test scores.

Things have to be changed, the cartel needs to be broken.

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# Sacred But Unread

*Our Constitution was born out of controversy and extremely well-informed debate. We live under it, so why doesn't anyone read it anymore?*

**HANNAH MACLEAN**  
STAFF WRITER

**P**op quiz: from which famous document(s) do the following phrases come?

1. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal..."

2. "...that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from this earth."

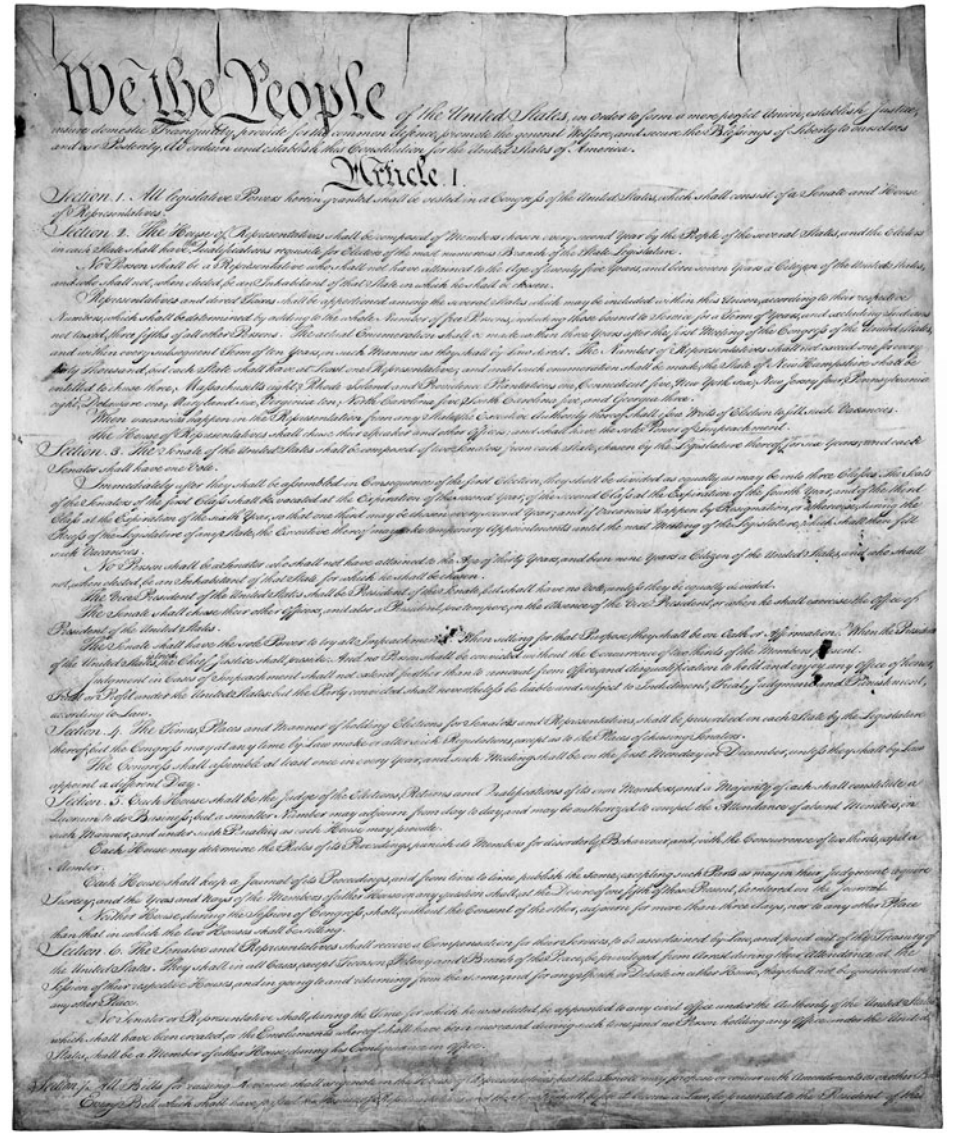
If you don't know, you aren't alone. If you do, then give yourself a pat on the back; you're ahead of House Speaker John Boehner and former President Bill Clinton (respectively), who mistakenly attributed these phrases to our Constitution. The first is, of course, from the Declaration of Independence, and the second is from the Gettysburg Address.

Pauline Maier, a distinguished historian of early America and professor at MIT since 1978, came to Cornell to give the Krieger Lecture in American Political Culture. Despite the fact that the lecture got off to a rough start (Professor Maier lost her voice, and the people in charge of the event in 142 Goldwin Smith spent about 15 minutes trying to find a working microphone for her), it turned out to be an interesting and entertaining lecture about

article). What sets this book apart from other books on the ratification of the Constitution, said Maier, was the focus on the state assemblies and town meetings which met during the ratification period—these have never been covered in depth, in part because of the sheer number of documents involved. "Historians can't find them all, [so] they shied away from the conventions." Also, Maier admitted that a lot of the documents we do have are flawed. She spent some time talking about how she waded through the mess—going through hundreds of letters (which seemed to be less biased than the historical records we have, which were often written by federalists or which were later altered) and speaking to some other historians who had spent decades researching particular state conventions.

Maier's goal was to research all the state conventions and then create a coherent narrative, and it sounds like she constructed a story of how the ratification of America's most cherished document was personal to the average person—not just to public figures and leaders. Individuals who are never mentioned in history class were perhaps some of the most influential people in the town meetings; they convinced (or, rather, didn't) people to cast their vote for the Constitution. Maier's method "fills a hole in the story" and, one would think, makes the history of the ratification more personal to the average non-academic American.

Maier seemed to be trying to convey the "immense excitement [and] rigorous debate in town meetings, counties, and caverns." It might be hard to imagine, but people burned copies of the Constitution on Independence Day. We all know how the story turned out; we know it was eventually ratified and now people embrace it, but in 1788 and 1789, no one knew whether or not it would be ratified. They did know that it "would change the country for better or for worse" if it were ratified, but everything else was shrouded in the cloud of the unknown. I know I'm a nerd, but I can't help but wonder: who wouldn't want to read this story? Who wouldn't be



interested in the very beginnings of our country? I wonder if those who aren't interested are perhaps a bit complacent.

The difference between then and now, Maier said, is that Americans "read [the Constitution] and knew it inside and out," and yet they "did not come close to calling it a sacred document" like people often do today. It's no wonder, given that the representatives who wrote the Constitution in Philadelphia had never been authorized to scrap the Articles of Confederation or to write an entirely new government. People were anxious, and people were informed. It seems that today—on this campus and around the country, people are anxious and completely uninformed. People want their rights; I find that they are quick to accuse when someone is violating their "constitutional rights." But, sadly, it seems that much of the time they only understand what their constitutional rights are by watching TV and hearing the Miranda rights read, or by listening to others who have an agenda. There's no beauty in rights that one doesn't understand (although they still have those rights... as well as the right to choose not to understand or appreciate them).

Most of Maier's lecture was non-political (as history probably should

be but never is), though in the last few minutes she spoke about how the Constitution must be read in context in order for it to make any sense. "The words won't settle everything," she said, adding, "There was no original intent. There was original disagreement." She attacked the 2nd Amendment as obsolete, attacked Scalia for what she perceived as self-contradiction (for apparently self-admitting that he is not looking for the intent but just at the words, which obviously must have some meaning, i.e. intent) and used Supreme Court Justice David Souter's words on the illusoriness of crystal clear meaning strictly in the words of the Constitution. So . . . Supreme Court Justices disagree with each other and so do historians. But then, that's kind of what the Constitution is about, isn't it? We can read into it all we want; it is what it is and the founding fathers would be appalled if we stopped debating it. Where there's no debate, there's no growth. Out of debate our Constitution was born, and most people living here would probably agree—that's a beautiful thing.

*Hannah MacLean is a sophomore in the College of Arts and Sciences and can be reached at hem47@cornell.edu.*

“There was no original intent. There was original disagreement.”

the states' ratification of our Constitution. She spoke about how the Constitution is now "revered but not read" (hence the mix-ups with other famous documents), and how that's the opposite of how things were at the time of ratification.

Maier has recently released a book about the ratification of the Constitution, and the lecture was appealing enough to entice the listeners to want to read it (well, at least the listener who is writing this

The Review welcomes and encourages letters to the editor. Long, gaseous letters that seem to go on forever are best suited for publication in the *Cornell Daily Sun*. The Review requests that all letters to the editor be limited to 350 words. Please send all questions, comments, and concerns to [thecornell.review@gmail.com](mailto:thecornell.review@gmail.com)



## A SENIOR'S REFLECTIONS

## Farewell, Cornell

BY RAZA HODA

After a great and glorious four years here at the *Review*, I find myself writing my last article. Unfortunately, this will be nothing like the senior retrospectives of my predecessors—there will be no unbelievably long, ranting cast-off of the ‘Ship of Fools.’ I remember my involvement with the *Review* began when I saw the gleaming face of Jesus Christ, a.k.a. Ronald Reagan, plastered onto a poster board in a

menacing tide of liberals at Club Fest my freshman year.

Since joining the paper, I have written on the atrocities committed by the Cornell administration: maintaining early decision admissions policy to starve the poor of a good education, hosting a seminar on the importance of female orgasms, portraying a false façade with the campus tour, and, recently, killing the environment by switching to natural gas from coal. I have also brought

threats to the forefront of discussion, namely warning Americans of the (still *very* real) threat of two-headed terrorists and alerting innocent voters of the communist agenda of John McCain.

I singlehandedly *strengthened* the images of George W. Bush and His sidekick Dick Cheney on this campus. As one would expect, most liberal fundamentalists on our campus hated His presidency, for no reason at all apparently. My articles on the dynamic duo raised their popularity almost to the point where one could not find a car without a Bush/Cheney '08 bumper stick. I also led a huge, giant grassroots movement to stir Huckabee fever to throughout

the campus. The student body went mad, having been infected by Huckabee fever, and rushed the polls in droves (unfortunately, the Ithaca ballots were riddled with chads, and the Huckabee votes were disqualified).

It warms my heart to see such a strong and vibrant conservative heart here beating at the center of Cornell. When it's all said and done, would I consider myself a hero to this wonderful campus? No, I was just doing my God-given job.

*Raza Hoda is a senior in the College of Arts & Sciences. He can be reached at rsh94@cornell.edu*

## ANOTHER SENIOR'S REFLECTIONS

Continued from the front page

in principles embodied by people's positions on issues, the easiest target on the Republican side being the simultaneous support for the general principle of individual liberties and opposition to gay marriage. It's possible to come up with principles by which we should oppose gay marriage (in fact, I did back then), but the logic is usually tortured, and too often we are left with the question, “To whose benefit?”

This is the very question that I now first ask myself when thinking about my position on various issues. We can oppose gay marriage based on some set of principles, but at the end of the day, can we ever honestly convince ourselves that the benefits to gay people outweigh the alleged costs to society? I do not think that we can. My thoughts on taxes have

not changed much, but the reasons behind them have changed entirely. I used to support something like a flat tax for reasons of principle; I believed that people deserved to keep what they earned. Now my support stems from the fact that I believe that such a policy is the best one for long-run shared prosperity. But this belief is based on evidence, not some set of immutable principles, and in the face of strong evidence indicating otherwise I would change it.

The real differences between these ways of thinking was highlighted in a conversation I had with a conservative friend about the Cornell administration's new policy on alcohol and Greek life. His position was that the administration is implicitly supporting underage drinking by allowing underage drinking to go on during rush week, and

that this is not a moral position for an esteemed institution to take. I don't disagree. But what will happen under the new policy? The obvious truth is that underage drinking will simply continue elsewhere, in less supervised environments. And what do we care about at the end of the day? That Cornell's moral purity is untarnished, or about the wellbeing of students? If the administration's policy leads to more students going to the hospital for alcohol poisoning, even indirectly, then is this even a moral policy after all? These are the sorts of questions that guide my thinking today.

The second reason, motivated by the first, is cynicism. The “national conversation” is seldom about topics that actually matter to Americans. The repeal of Don't Ask Don't Tell, for example, had little more than symbolic meaning for the vast majority of citizens. Yet compare

its coverage to a less titillating topic like licensing, i.e. the legal requirements imposed on a person before he can become a barber or tattoo artist or whatever, which has become a feature of increasingly many professions. This phenomenon has serious negative impacts on hundreds of millions of people, yet most would not even consider it one of “the big issues,” including the potential Republican presidential nominees.

I credit my change in thinking to taking economics seriously for four years. I think it's a change for the better, and one of the reasons I'm starting on a PhD in economics in the fall. It's hard for me to envision another change like the one since freshman years. But five years is a long time, so it's anyone's guess.

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## SHARK FOOD



The anticipation was building. Around 10:00pm on the night of Sunday, May 1, the White House announced that President Obama would be making a last minute speech to the American people concerning “national security.” Reports confirmed that the speech would not be about Libya, yet no other details were given and speculation was immense.

By midnight, there was chaos in the streets of Collegetown.

News of the capture of Osama bin Laden leaked before the President could even take the podium. Within minutes, citizens across the country were celebrating the death of America's most wanted man.

In Philadelphia, fans at the Phillies-Mets game erupted into a chorus of “USA!” chants, as the players on the field listened in confusion.

In the capital, college students in the area flocked to the gates of the White House. Online, social networking sites blew up with status updates celebrating the announcement. Twitter announced an average of 4000 tweets per second at the height of the excitement. The Facebook page “Osama Bin Laden is DEAD” was liked by over 250,000 people within three hours of the President's announcement.

In Ithaca, students joined in the celebration.

An estimated 100-150 students danced through the streets of Collegetown, chanting and waving American flags as they made their way to Olin Library and the Arts Quad. Dressed in red, white, and blue, they chanted “Freedom!” “Osama's Dead,” and joined in several choruses of the national anthem outside of Ruloff's Restaurant and Bar.

Sober freshmen joined in the celebration on North Campus. Groups gathered by Mary Donlon Hall, while others blasted vuvuzelas. Fireworks were set on West Campus, under Ezra's footsteps on the Arts Quad, and throughout Collegetown. As others drove by, horns were honked and patriotic music rang throughout the sky.

The entire campus was abuzz.

On Monday morning, students walking past McGraw Bell Tower could make out patriotic tunes like “Amazing Grace” and “Proud to be an American” playing on the Cornell Chimes. Students donned red, white, and blue headbands, “Don't Tread on Me” t-shirts, and USA soccer jerseys as they went about their day.

“As a country, we will never tolerate our security being threatened,” President Obama declared in his speech on Sunday night. “But tonight, we are once again reminded that America can do whatever we set our mind to.”

As the President's approval rating dropped, given his tardiness in Libya, a slow economic recovery, and debates with Republicans over the budget, this perhaps marks a turning point in the nation's perception of his presidential term. With 2012 election campaigns set to pick up steam in the coming weeks, it will be interesting to see how Mr. Obama's success in capturing a man that his three predecessors failed to will play in his reelection bid.

*Alfonse Muglia is a freshman in the ILR school. He can be reached at arm267@cornell.edu.*

# China, Human Rights and the Scramble for Africa

*How China's oppressive ways have spread beyond its shores*

CHRISTOPHER SLIJK  
MANAGING EDITOR

China is a country that has a dubious track record where human rights are concerned: from mass internet censorship to the imprisonment of dissenters, the Chinese Communist Party has made it clear that it does not take kindly to anyone who would question its authority. The question that then follows is if the country's attitudes towards human rights are contained to its own people or if they are being exported along with their cheap manufactures to countries where they are bringing business and investment.

Tim Webster, J.D. '06, recently came to Cornell to talk about China's engagement with African countries and the ways that the Chinese view and treat these relationships. In what he describes as "the new Scramble for Africa," Webster spoke about China's growth and investment in Africa, analyzing the extent to which it's track record of human rights violations is trailing along with its recent activities on the continent.

While Webster does not attempt to justify or condone Chinese abridgments of human rights, he does try to contextualize Africa as a special case of non-interference in local affairs, saying that it is first and

foremost the responsibility of the African countries to ensure the safety of their citizens while China conducts business within their borders. Much of this is due to the ease with which African governments can receive credit and investment from China. Unlike most sources of western aid which stipulate that governments must meet certain anti-corruption and human rights standards, "China", notes Webster, "doesn't attach conditions for its investment." Having no qualms about dealing with dictatorships or warlords to achieve their goals, China has left the moral dilemmas and hardships to Africans while making their dealings, holding their own benefit as the bottom line.

But how do such actions, or lack thereof, in maintaining human rights standards in Africa reflect on China's overall policies toward treatment of smaller groups of individuals? It is easy to point to an aversion to meddling in foreign affairs as a screen for Chinese attitudes in Africa, but the reprehensible treatment of its own citizens must give us pause. After all, this is a government that only a week ago imprisoned dozens of church members simply for holding an unauthorized Easter service. Furthermore, China's actions in Africa reveal a veritable

thorn's nest of conflicting values, as the abuses by the Chinese government have bled over into their dealings in Africa. This past October, for instance, saw a particularly bru-



tal incident wherein the supervisors of a Chinese-owned mine in Zambia fired upon and wounded a dozen Zambian workers.

Yet, the aforementioned atrocities occurred simultaneously with a large influx of aid and heavy investment in medicine, infrastructure, and goods which serve to benefit the poor as well as the rich. Webster singled out medical and educational

investments in particular, saying that "[they have] been a very important part of China's African portfolio." Investment in hundreds of schools across Africa, such as the recent influx of funding for the Malawi University of Science and Technology, appear to point toward a genuine desire to improve living conditions and provide opportunities for even the poorest of Africans.

Webster ultimately attributes this to the typical socialist goal of attempting to create equality of outcome rather than equality of

opportunity. "China privileges socio-economic rights over civil and political ones," says Webster, bringing to light the underpinning values of the Chinese Communist Party and the belief that freedom of speech and expression should be subordinate to the "rights" to free shelter and healthcare.

*Please turn to page 10*



## Inspector General Exonerates McChrystal

LUCIA RAFANELLI  
NEWS EDITOR

General Stanley McChrystal was relieved of his title amid a storm of controversy when an article in *Rolling Stone* exposed comments that he and his staff supposedly made criticizing the Obama administration, along with other instances of questionable activities. However, now there is some doubt

that *Rolling Stone's* claims were in fact serious enough or grounded in sufficient evidence to warrant McChrystal's resignation and public condemnation.

A recently released memo from the Inspector General's office stated that "Not all of the events at issue occurred as reported in the article." The Inspector General (IG) reported that his investigation found that some of the events described by

*Rolling Stone* did in fact take place, but not in the context established in the article. Further, for other incidents, the IG simply could not find witnesses to confirm their occurrence.

*Rolling Stone* defended its statements by asserting that the IG's memo cited no sources—credible or otherwise—indicating the magazine's statements were false. The magazine also argued that respondents interviewed by the IG likely withheld information that would have corroborated the allegations against McChrystal for fear of endangering their careers. Perhaps *Rolling Stone's* most convincing counterargument was that McChrystal's own response to the article was not a denial of the relevant incidents, but rather an apology.

The IG's office, though, did have another, more intriguing response to *Rolling Stone's* article. After its investigation, the office concluded that the evidence against McChrystal was not enough to prove that his actions, questionable as they may have been, were actually in violation of Defense Department policies regarding expressing contempt for officials or conducting oneself in a manner unbecoming of an officer.

Indeed, one event reported in the article consisted of a celebration held by McChrystal's staff for his wedding anniversary. The celebration was purported to have involved heavy drinking on the part of the staff. While in the wrong time or place, such behavior could rightly be deemed inappropriate on the part of military officers, it hardly seems to be the type of violation that should require an otherwise well-respected general to resign his commission.

The IG's memo echoed this sentiment, stating, "The evidence was insufficient to substantiate a violation of applicable (Defense Department) standards with respect to any of the incidents on which we focused."

Whatever McChrystal's involvement in the events and conversations described in his now infamous *Rolling Stone* profile, it is important that we remember that he was a US General who served his country honorably for many years. As the leader of special operations in Iraq, and head commander of US forces in Afghanistan, McChrystal was charged with making decisions that shaped the lives and missions of US military personnel, and that consequently affected the lives of

*Please turn to page 10*



# Michael Barone Talks Political Reality: 2011 and Beyond

NOAH KANTRO  
NATIONAL NEWS EDITOR

Growing up, Michael Barone was the type of kid who spent his free time sitting in his basement, using a slide ruler to calculate the percentages of votes cast for Nixon and Kennedy in the 1960 presidential election in each of America's over 3000 counties – and wondered why no one else was interested in doing the same. It is an interest he has never lost.

Last week, Mr. Barone, now a policy analyst and political commentator at the American Enterprise Institute as well as a columnist for the *Washington Examiner*, came to Cornell to discuss – what else? – politics.

His main focus was on political trends over the last several years, and the political reality these trends define. Barone began by noting the uniqueness of the 2008 election, citing the 54% to 43% vote in favor of the Democrats as one of the Democrats' largest victories in the past century. "The numbers for Obama were really pretty extraordinary," he said, "We heard from my old friend James Carville that we were in for forty years of Democratic dominance – turned out to be more like forty weeks."

It did not take long for resistance to mount against the Obama

administration. "You can see a whole raft of issues that have turned more conservative since the 2008 election," he said, noting the rise of public skepticism in the theory of anthropogenic global warming as one example, as well as the birth of the Tea Party movement, which according to Barone even "started before stimulus, before Obamacare." (Speaking of Obamacare, he had this to say: "Some of the Democrats are now calling that a slur – which suggests to me like they are not very proud of the legislation.")

This movement, he opined, is the rejection of the liberal "culture of dependence, where the ordinary citizen is not considered qualified to make decisions for himself." To reclaim a culture of independence, freedom, and personal responsibility, the right has turned to one thing: the Constitution. The recent rise of a grassroots conservative movement has been marked by the awakening of a public thirst for knowledge of America's founders and its founding ideas. Books about the founders and American history frequently top the best-seller lists, he noted, evidence that liberal dogmas like calling the Constitution outdated or claiming their ideas are synonymous with progress are being rejected. "I think this is bigger than something of just electoral politics in the last

two years," he said. In the modern world, informed citizens are discovering the ideas the country was built on, and they "still ring like a silver spoon on a crystal goblet."

In 2010, the Republican Party won a landslide election of its own. "You had a record Dem year, two years later, a record Republican year," he said. "The Republicans

The Republicans swept just about everything between the George Washington Bridge and the Donner Pass – leaving a few cannibals at either end.

swept just about everything between the George Washington Bridge and the Donner Pass – leaving a few cannibals at either end." The explanation: "I think the Democrats misinterpreted their success in 2008," saying they believed their victory

was a public rejection of the ideology of people like President George Bush. The enormous ongoing public backlash to the Obama regime proved that this could not have been further from the truth. "The Republican's victory was due more to ideology than [to their politicians'] competence."

Barone thinks that this rise in conservative ideology will continue to define the political landscape well through the 2012 election. He predicts that the Tea Party is here to stay, and that it will have a strong and lasting effect on American political culture. Despite his prescience, Barone is just as in the dark as anyone else regarding the 2012 election. He self-described recovering pollster thinks that current numbers show no clear frontrunner – and that there is more than enough time for everything to change. However, he believes that the revolt against the crony capitalism and "gangster government" (Which he defines as hypocrisies such as over 1000 Obamacare waivers being given to the very same unions and companies who supported the law) of the Obama administration will continue. The fight goes on.

Noah Kantro is a freshman in the College of Engineering and can be reached at [nk366@cornell.edu](mailto:nk366@cornell.edu).

WHEREAS, *The Cornell Review* has received, ahead of schedule, a transcript of the upcoming SA Bill of Rights. THEREFORE, We are proud to be the first campus news source to report it:

1. The right to throw plastic water bottles off Thurston Bridge.
2. The right to choose white bread over wholewheatgrainwhateveryoucallithippiemuffin in dining halls without being called an insensitive-redneck-racist-Republican-truck driver.
3. The right to freely and officially change one's racial identity as many times as one wants.
4. The right to refuse drooling over Marx's bearded face in a sociology class taught by a bike-riding socialist.
5. The right to not give a frack about people who give a frack about fracking the frack out of this fracking place.
6. The right to angrily create fan art of PeopleSoft StudentCenter when it crashes.
  - 6.A. Corollary: The right to be angry at Cornell for switching its entire course-numbering system for fourteen colleges from 3-digits to 4-digits simply to comply with fiscally generous alumnus David Duffield's PeopleSoft system.
7. The right to walk to class through a scene of an accident while the Cornell EMS is pretending to do its job while simultaneously waiting for the real paramedics to arrive.
8. The right to actually have a chance at perhaps getting the opportunity to get housing.
9. The right to 'Open Zamboni Night' featuring DJ Zambo-Dave.
10. The right of the Africana Center to refuse funding in the form of Big Red Fuchs.

# TEACHER'S LOUNGE

BY OLIVER RENICK

## HEARD

**Christopher Barrett**, professor of applied economics and management and international agriculture at the Dyson School  
April 29, 2011

*On the impacts of rising oil and gasoline prices on international food prices and global hunger:*

“Higher fuel prices are a major driver behind increased food prices, hunger and poverty around the world today.”

•••••

**Robert Hockett**, international finance expert and Law professor  
April 27, 2011

*On Fed Chairman Ben Bernanke’s press conference:*

“The move comes at a time when the Fed’s role in overseeing monetary and financial conditions is as important as, if not more important than, it ever has been, and at a time when Fed transparency – a cause long championed by Mr. Bernanke – is increasingly viewed as a political necessity.”

•••••

**Robert Travers**, British history expert, associate professor in modern British and European history  
April 25, 2011

*On the royal marriage of William and Kate:*

“This couple is projected as very modern. William and Kate are trying to behave in a less aristocratic and regal way, and presenting a more middle-class, sensible image. It helps that Kate was born a ‘commoner’ not an aristocrat. She will be driven in a car to the wedding, not in a state carriage. They’ll have a buffet for the wedding, not a banquet. While they are living under elite circumstances, they are trying to make themselves less estranged from ordinary people.”

•••••

**Stephen B. Wicker**, professor of electrical and computer engineering  
April 21, 2011

*On iPads and iPhones detailing where users are and what apps they’ve installed:*

“It is vitally important to recognize that cellular telephony is a surveillance technology, and that unless we openly discuss this surveillance capability and craft appropriate legal and technological limits to that capability, we may lose some or all of the social benefits of this technology, as well as a significant piece of ourselves. Most people don’t understand that we’re selling our privacy to have these devices.”

•••••

**Matt Brashears**, assistant professor of sociology

*On developing new ways to break into terrorist networks:*

“What we’re trying to do is to develop ways to identify and trace covert social networks.”

“Fighting terrorist organizations is a bit more like fighting a disease or an infection. So you can develop new antibiotics and those will kill some new strains of organisms, but then these organisms evolve, so then we have to innovate again”

•••••

**Dr. Ronald Crystal**, chairman of genetic medicine at Weill Cornell Medical College in New York City  
May 2, 2011

*On the DNA testing used by the United States Government to confirm the death of Osama bin Laden:*

“As humans, all of us are 99.9 percent identical. It’s that 0.1 percent variability that distinguishes us, and that’s what DNA testing looks at.”

“The chances that they’re a match are probably 99.999 percent.”

“The probability that two unrelated DNAs would match so closely is extremely small, but you can never be 100-percent sure.”

## PUBLISHED

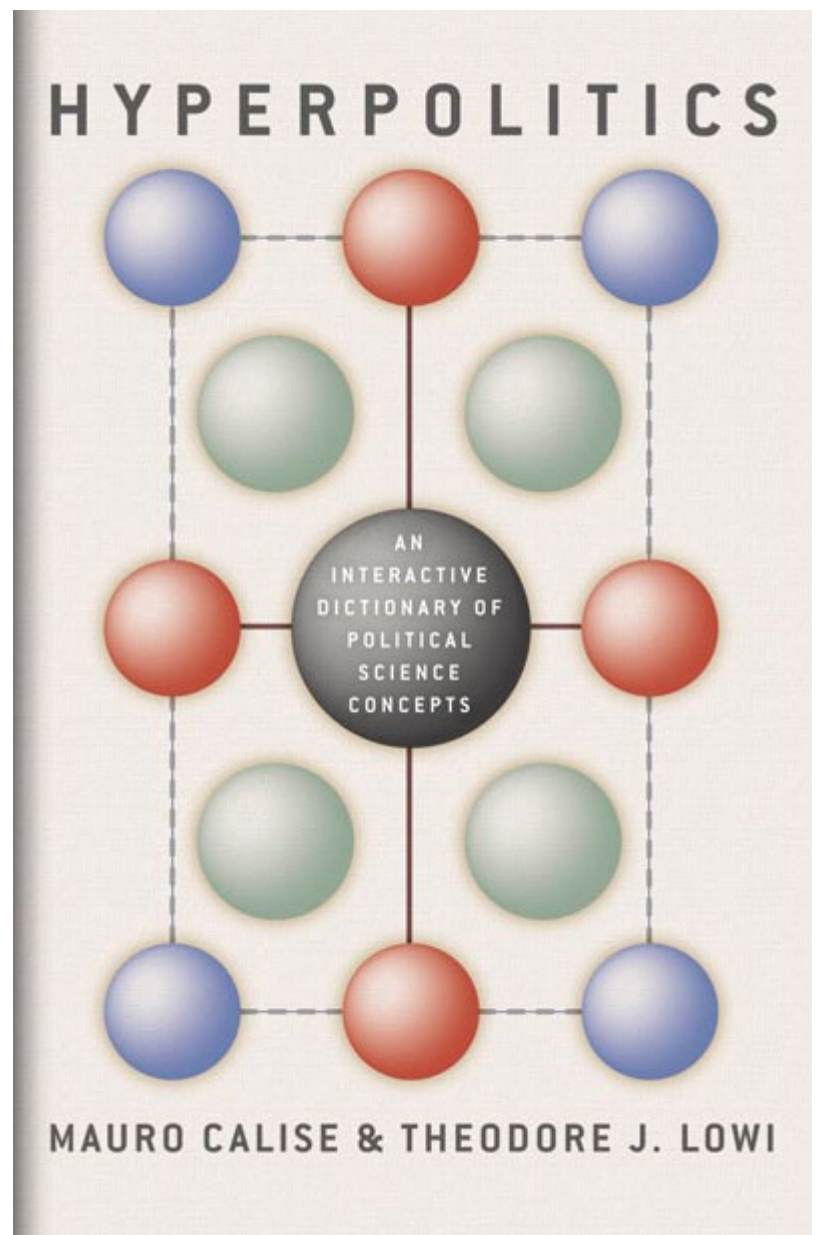
Theodore J. Lowi, John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions at Cornell, along with University of Naples professor Mauro Calise, published “Hyperpolitics: An Interactive Dictionary of Political Science Concepts” (University of Chicago Press) last month.

The 272-page book and accompanying open-access website hyperpolitics.net will provide readers – and users – with an evolving political dictionary. The two offer critical insights about international political concepts and provides logical relationships among them. Readers can contribute to the site with variations or alternatives to the given definitions, making it an evolving dictionary, “which addresses the growing complexity of political science disciplinary domains,” according to the preface, according to a Cornell news release.

According to the book’s website, the publication took nearly 20 years in development, during which Lowi’s Cornell students provided feedback. The book/website combo not only functions as an informative dictionary but “also represents an innovative teaching aid, fostering analytical skills and interactive discourse among students.”

“The innovative design allows free yet logically controlled navigation through the universe of competing meanings and observations, structured around the matrix of logically interrelated keywords,” Lowi said in the press release. “By showing all the matrices [18 main keyword essay-length entries plus 17 shorter entries where each keyword is used], ‘Hyperpolitics’ offers a comprehensive overview of a keyword’s conceptual domain, making the reader aware of the complex interactions in the discipline’s vocabulary,” Lowi explained.

Lowi has taught at Cornell consistently since 1972, and from 1959 to 1965. From 1990-1991, he served as President of the American Political Science Association.



# The Militarization of the CIA

RAJ KANNAPPAN  
STAFF WRITER

President Obama has once again reshuffled his national security team, this time nominating General David Petraeus for Director of the CIA, nominating Leon Panetta for Secretary of Defense, and in the process, removing Robert Gates from his current position as the Defense Secretary. Rather than adding new blood to his coterie, he has rotated the same brains throughout his administration. In what amounts to a repudiation of his seemingly valiant call for transparency in government, President Obama has chosen General David Petraeus for the position of CIA Director. This not only foreshadows the emergence of a new brand of CIA-military relations, but it will also change how American deals with international issues, particularly the War on Terror. General David Petraeus has been a top military man for what seems like ages, and he has done an exceptional job by the standards of both Republicans and Democrats. However, one wonders why President Obama would make such a big change at this point in time, just when the U.S. presence in Afghanistan and Iraq is winding down. Does he not want a Petraeus, with all of his experience, to lead the military's transition into an era he has looked forward to for some time? Does he not want a smooth transition from

Take, for example, the drone strikes on targets in Pakistan. This policy goes against what President Obama stood for as a presidential candidate. Not only has he expanded the role of the CIA significantly, but he has also magnified its role in cer-



tain areas. For instance, the CIA no longer serves as just an intelligence branch of the government; rather, CIA teams work with U.S. special ops forces throughout the Middle East, especially in countries like Afghanistan and Yemen. Since Obama entered the White House, 192 drone missile strikes have been carried out. The strikes have, according to the administration, eliminated hundreds of threats, such as militant Islamists, Al-Qaeda operatives, and

in addition to collecting and analyzing intelligence. President Bush authorized 42 drone strikes in his second term; President Obama has already more than quadrupled that number. As a result of this strategy, much of the CIA has grown accustomed to engaging in a shadow war in which targets that may possess important information are killed instantly. The Obama administration pointed to the nefarious interrogation and torture techniques used by Bush administration officials to draw out information from potential targets as an ineffective policy. However, what does the Obama administration's killing of targets instantly, sometime in their hometowns, and sometimes in front of their families, accomplish? This strategy does not provide new information to U.S. intelligence and it has only increased the opposition to American presence by the governments of countries in which it has been carried out.

In a time in which a successful War on Terrorism relies increasingly on international cooperation, the Obama administration's strategy of relying heavily on covert operations and drone strikes seems to be hurting international morale. Collateral damage from drone strikes has also increased the opposition of the American public to the administration's shadow war. When one suc-

If he hopes to keep the already decreasing support of the American public for the presence of American troops in the Middle East, President Obama will have to change the way the CIA carries out its responsibilities.

an era of war to what will seemingly amount to a period of peace?

This reshuffling will likely cause one primarily harmful change; the responsibilities of the CIA will become more intertwined with the responsibilities of the armed forces. First off, General Petraeus is very qualified to become the CIA Director and has proven himself many times in the Afghanistan and Iraq wars. However, his ascendancy to the Director of National Intelligence will likely militarize the CIA, throwing out the window the rhetoric of transparency and international humility on which President Obama ran his 2008 campaign.

terrorist conspirators. However, the strikes have also killed many civilians, which is why many in Afghanistan and Pakistan, countries in which drone strikes have been used heavily, oppose the Obama administration's shadow war policy.

If he hopes to keep the already decreasing support of the American public for the presence of American troops in the Middle East, President Obama will have to change the way the CIA carries out its responsibilities. However, in doing so, he will likely decrease the effectiveness of CIA personnel, who have adjusted quite well to having what were traditionally military responsibilities

successful drone strike is estimated to kill ten civilians on average, of course opposition will rise. The President needs to work with his national security team to change America's strategy on combating terrorism if he hopes to continue receiving international support. Collateral damage and a shadow war will not only hurt America's public relations strategy, but it will also hurt America's goal of discrediting the appeal of Islamic fundamentalism.

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## McChrystal

Continued from page 7

all Americans. After his years of service, he deserves to be remembered for these contributions, not simply for a few misguided statements and (supposedly) poorly-thought-out actions.

Moreover, although McChrystal's apology, as indicated earlier, does suggest that he did in fact make some poor decisions, the mere fact that he apologized for his showing in *Rolling Stone* should not be used as an excuse to condemn him, especially given the recent IG determination of his ultimate innocence. After all, while it is likely that McChrystal has some regrets about the period leading up to his retirement, his apology alone does not show that these regrets are in fact due to his having committed deeds so extreme as to be deemed "unbecoming of an officer." His apology may simply have been his attempt to rectify a lamentable situation and to do the honorable thing in preserving his image and that of those under his command. Given his record of service to his country, and the IG's recent findings, the American people should surely afford him this benefit of the doubt.

Lucia Rafanelli is a sophomore in the College of Arts and Sciences. She can be reached at lmr93@cornell.edu.



## China

Continued from page 7

Certainly, the past decades of African investment by China have yielded some beneficial results which have helped to lift Africans out of poverty. Yet, much like the growth and political decisions in its own society, the Chinese government has made it clear that its actions are not driven by a desire to see a boom in free-thinking Africans but by a wish to see an Africa that is in the strong, dependent economic orbit of China and subservient to will the Chinese Communist Party.

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a blog by the writers of the Cornell Review

## Final Thoughts on the Student Trustee Election

Posted by MICHAEL ALAN

Earlier this morning, the Sun released its endorsement in the election for Student Trustee. Writing off the other two candidates I saw as serious contenders in Monday's debate, Kat Balram '13 and even their very own Assistant Sports Editor, Lauren Ritter '13, the Sun sees it as a race between Alex Bores '13 and Nate Rosen '13. They're probably right. What was frightening, however, was how much their endorsement of Bores actually painted a far worse picture of the ILR sophomore than one would gather from the rest of the campaign, no matter their political affiliation.

On paper, Bores and Rosen aren't very different. Both are Greek sophomores; Bores in DU and Rosen in TEP. Both are very articulate and seem as well versed in the issues of higher education as is to be expected from a candidate for Student Trustee. Both have run campaigns with the same general theme; so similar that, at Monday's debate, Bores seemed to preempt Rosen on his signature idea, the "Big Red Binder" of student ideas and concerns, all while Rosen was waiting with said binder in hand. And both, unfortunately for the seriousness of future campus campaigns (even mayoral candidate Svante Myrick '09 is heading down this absurd road), have made cringe-worthy music videos.

There are, however, some major differences. For one, authenticity. While both are clearly ambitious, Bores is almost too polished for his own good. This comment, posted on the Facebook page set up by the organizers of Monday's debate, really nails Bores to a T:



That isn't to say that Rosen isn't resume padding as well. But it was impressive to hear him say, "I actually got into the race because I was complaining of rising tuition costs and figured I should do something about it." Sure, this problem isn't unique to Cornell and Rosen's blaming the problem on flawed methodology in college rankings like those in the US News and World Report doesn't directly address the issue. But it is a genuine concern of students and one that is probably heard the most on campus. That's really all that matters.



The undergraduate Student Trustee is one representative amongst sixty-four adults at the top of their fields looking out for the best interests of Cornell and its mission, be they ex officio members Governor Andrew Cuomo and Speaker Shelly Silver or billionaire business tycoon and University superbenefactor Ratan Tata '62. Their role is to relay the concerns of the student body to the experts and then simply act as the eyes and ears of the student body. The experience Bores cites and the proposals he puts forward, however, don't suggest that this is the role he wishes to play.

Bores frequently brings up his role in the leftist Cornell Organization for Labor Action's campaign to punish Nike, which produces Cornell-licensed apparel, because of allegations against a Nike subcontractor in South America as experience qualifying him for Student Trustee. As far as a leadership qualification goes, this is fine, but Bores sees this as an example of him helping exercise "the students' voices." Therein lies the problem. Bores wasn't representing "the students," he was representing the narrow goals of his specific interest group and it seems this is the approach he wants to bring to the Board of Trustees. Whether he's touting endorsements from other narrow interest groups like the Sustainability Hub or putting the complaints of narrow race-specific groups like the folks looking to give the Africana Center near complete autonomy on center stage in his campaign videos and

platform, Bores has proven himself to be more concerned with courting the concerns of small, but vocal interest groups than the student body as a whole and this is a destructive path for a Student Trustee to take, especially considering there is only one undergraduate representing thousands of voices.

Not to bury the lede, but, finally and most importantly, the Sun's "endorsement" of Bores raises serious questions about the candidate's credibility and character. They write:

We are not without our qualms with the way Bores conducted his campaign. Bores has not been straightforward about his involvement with some of the initiatives he has taken credit for, including some involving The Sun, and the role he had in crafting them with student leaders. We hope and believe that outside the context of a political campaign that Bores would act with more professionalism and integrity.

This kind of behavior, an obvious reference to Bores' apparent exaggeration of his role in the Sun's expansion of student polling, should disqualify that candidate in voters' minds. But while concurrently endorsing a candidate and completely rebuking said candidate's misleading campaign is typical Stun behavior, it is a sad day when even a sophomore campus politician resorts to such tactics to win an election. With that, I encourage you to consider the consequences of electing that kind of candidate and go into the voting booth (or, rather, open the voting tab) well-informed on the issues facing this campus and ready to decide who is knowledgeable, caring, and humble enough to serve as your Student Trustee.

### Comments:

#### Sam said

What "radical" defined vision does Bores seem to have for Cornell? My understanding is that your own affiliated publication, The Cornell Review, endorsed Bores for the position. Rosen has no experience whatsoever in campus governance nor does he have any ideas of substance. Students should vote based on a candidate's proven ability to serve as a student voice, given the primary role of the trustee position. Rosen isn't in the race because of tuition- he's in it just for himself. Like Bores. And every other candidate. To indulge Rosen's obvious campaign lingo while going after Bores is irresponsible, Mr. Alan. I would expect more from you.

#### Michael Alan said

Bores' praise for and connections to radical campus groups like COLA/USAS, Black Students United, and the Sustainability Hub speak for themselves. Many of the ideas advocated by these groups are very far out of the mainstream, even at normally progressive place like Cornell, and do not represent the "student voice." I didn't say Rosen wasn't "in it for himself," either. I simply said that the way he ran his campaign suggested that he has a better understanding of the proper role of a student trustee.

Also, I wasn't involved in or even aware of the decision by the executive staff to provide a statement for Bores' website until after publishing this post. Either way, my criticism of the Sun's halfhearted "endorsement" still stands.



# Wisemen & Fools

Obama is dead.

Osama is dead.  
**Geraldo Riviera**

We don't want him.  
**Hell** upon receiving Osama

Facebook in particular is the most appalling spying machine that has ever been invented. Facebook, Google, Yahoo, all these major U.S. organizations have built-in interfaces for U.S. intelligence.  
**Julian Assange**

Choose Your Privacy Settings.  
**Facebook**

Were it left to me to decide whether we should have

a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.  
**Thomas Jefferson**

If we do everything right, if we do it with absolute certainty, there's still a 30 percent chance we're going to get it wrong.  
**Joe Biden**

Government is not reason, it is not eloquence - it is force; like fire, a dangerous servant and a fearful master. Never for a moment should it be left to irresponsible action.  
**George Washington**

The republican is the only form of government which is not eternally at

open or secret war with the rights of mankind.  
**Thomas Jefferson**

The ten most dangerous words in the English language are "Hi, I'm from the government, and I'm here to help."  
**Ronald Reagan**

You must obey the law, always, not only when they grab you by your special place.  
**Vladimir Putin**

Underlying most arguments against the free market is a lack of belief in freedom itself.  
**Milton Friedman**

To my mind, the single essential element on which

all discoveries will be made is human freedom.  
**Barry Goldwater**

In the eyes of the government, we are just one race here: It is American.  
**Justice Antonin Scalia**

We are an exceptional nation and we plan to keep it that way! Mediocrity is not in our DNA.  
**Herman Cain**, Republican 2012 hopeful

Change change change change change change change change change change change change

**Barack Obama**

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