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NATIONAL REVIEW

The Blue Wave

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES ARE THREATENING TO TURN TRADITIONAL RED STATES BLUE. HOW DO REPUBLICANS SURVIVE?

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Contents

NATIONAL REVIEW

NOVEMBER 7, 2016 | VOLUME LXVIII, NO. 20 | www.nationalreview.com

ON THE COVER Page 26

The Blue Wave

Republicans have carried the white vote in every general election since 1968. But that's not enough anymore. The demographic writing is on the wall; if the GOP continues to repel non-whites, it will cease to be competitive. *Tim Alberta*

COVER: ROMAN GENN

ARTICLES

FEATURES

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

SECTIONS

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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Letters

Looking the Other Way on Abortion

Jay Nordlinger's article "No More Baby" (September 26) concludes that we are a "deeply hypocritical society" because we won't admit that killing a newborn baby is not much different from killing a pre-born baby by abortion. I agree with this conclusion, but I believe the hypocrisy goes much deeper. Nordlinger asks whether Emile Weaver, who was given a life sentence for killing her newborn baby, is "worse—all that much worse—than her counterparts who dispose of their babies earlier and more neatly." But by focusing on this question, we avoid other questions that are even more difficult to face: Are these women "all that much worse" than people who support politicians who take pro-abortion positions only because they calculate it will further their career? As their supporters include friends, relatives, members of religious communities, and possibly someone sitting next to us at dinner, isn't it more convenient for us to place the blame elsewhere? And is what these supporters do "all that much worse" than our choice of easy targets in our determination of where blame is placed?

Joseph Mirra
Bronx, N.Y.

Merit-Based Education Reform

Rarely do we hear intelligent solutions to the problem of America's failing educational system—even from reformers, who get caught up in the "golden goose" approach of alighting on a single issue. Frederick M. Hess's "Ten Priorities for Education Policy" (October 24), however, is a practical and rational approach to the entire issue. While teaching in one of the school systems Hess mentioned—Baltimore's—I had the pleasure of working with fine teachers (and some not-so-fine), but I left, like many others, because of the shortcomings to which Hess intelligently proposes solutions.

Most insightful of all, Hess suggests to "permit for-profit educators to compete on their merits." This was the marrow of education—of all true learning—from the appearance of the human race on the planet until the late 1800s, when schooling became mandatory. Merit-based, "boutique" education was, on the whole, vastly more effective, cost-efficient, and entertaining to students and teachers alike. I would add to this homeschooling and "unschooling," which have recently proven to be extremely effective means of education. These small centers of true learning should receive the benefit of tax breaks, freedom from governmental meddling, and a general approbation from the vox populi—for their efficiency, and for their great virtue of relieving an overstressed system and an overtaxed people.

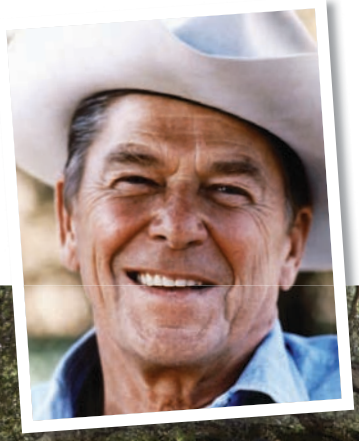
John C. Young
Pensacola, Fla.

Corrections

In "Russia's Bloody Tsar" (August 15), David Satter wrote that in May 2007, when he testified before the House Foreign Relations Committee about the 1999 Russian apartment bombings, he was the only person publicly accusing the Russian government of involvement who had not been killed. He mentioned Alexander Litvinenko, the author of *Blowing Up Russia*, as one of the victims but did not note that Mr. Litvinenko's coauthor, Yuri Felshtinsky is, we are pleased to say, alive and very well.

"Unsullied" (Ross Douthat, October 10) mistakenly identified the flight that Captain Sullenberger famously piloted as United 1549. It was, in fact, US Airways 1549.

Letters may be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com.



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The Week

■ Bob Dylan is to literature as Barack Obama is to peace.

■ "How is that not classified?" That was the stunned reaction of Clinton confidante Huma Abedin upon learning that her boss's e-mails over a private e-mail system included exchanges with the president of the United States, who was using an alias. Abedin knew an insurance policy when she saw one: She quickly asked the agents whether she could have a copy, doubtless realizing that if Obama was recklessly communicating about sensitive matters through a non-secure channel, no one was going to be prosecuted for doing so. And, of course, no one was. Subsequent disclosures of FBI reports and the hacked e-mails of Clinton-Obama operative John Podesta prove that the White House and the Clinton campaign fretted over the Obama–Clinton communications from the moment Clinton's "private" e-mails were subpoenaed by the House Benghazi committee. Nevertheless, Obama first falsely denied even knowing about the Clinton e-mail address, then invoked executive privilege to shield his e-mails with Clinton from Congress and the public. A post hoc acknowledgment that they were classified would have made it embarrassingly clear that he'd engaged in the same criminal conduct she had. Indeed, his e-mails would have been admissible evidence at her trial. That's why, in short, there was never going to be such a trial.

■ Trumpian DNA requires taking even the best point too far. Thus the mogul's declaration that Hillary Clinton should not merely be prosecuted but in jail—and that, were he president, the hoosegow is where she'd be. On cue, the commentariat groused that Trump was vowing a dictatorial criminalization of politics. Let's take a breath. Trump, who said he'd appoint a special prosecutor to investigate the case, was not threatening to prosecute Clinton for being an enemy of his regime. Clinton appears to have committed crimes that have nothing to do with opposing Donald Trump and that endangered national security. As usual, Trump chose his words poorly, but Clinton's offenses merit a credible inquiry. There is no impropriety in saying so.

■ WikiLeaks, Julian Assange's clearing house for purloined documents and e-mails, has been divulging a raft of Clinton-campaign and Democratic-party materials, which show Hillary Clinton and her supporters in a variety of unflattering, sometimes arguably illegal, postures. No one has denied the authenticity of Assange's stuff—which would be easy to do if it were in fact bogus. But it has been clear for quite a while that Assange is a de facto Russian ally, if not an outright agent. Now that the material is in the public domain, it is legitimately subject to examination and discussion (see below), but foreign powers shouldn't be driving the American political debate.

■ "Hillary Clinton meets in secret with international banks to plot the destruction of U.S. sovereignty" was the arresting charge made by Donald Trump. The reference is to a paid speech she gave in 2013 to a Brazilian bank in which she said, "My dream is a hemispheric common market, with open trade and open borders, sometime in the future, with energy that is as green and sustainable as we can get it, powering growth and opportunity for every person in the hemisphere." The Clinton campaign says she was talking only about integrating energy markets. Trump has said this means she favors unlimited immigration from anywhere in the world, "free trade for everybody," and "global governance." These accusations are wild. Even if the U.S. enacted "free trade for everybody," abolishing all import tariffs and quotas, it would remain as sovereign as it had been the day before, with the power to set whatever trade policy it chooses. Nothing in Clinton's remark is suggestive of global governance, either. It is true that Clinton has too rosy a view of supranational organizations such as the United Nations and a much too liberal immigration policy. But we need not ferret out any shadowy cabal to know this: We learn more about it from reading her public record, including her website and her speeches during this campaign.

See page 14.
ROMAN GENN

■ WikiLeaks exposed an e-mail exchange between Clinton communications director Jennifer Palmieri and the Center for American Progress's John Halpin (Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta was copied) in which Palmieri claimed to have uncovered the true motivations for conservative Catholicism. Halpin mused that powerful conservatives were Catholic in part because they were attracted to "severely backwards gender relations." Palmieri said, "Their rich friends wouldn't understand if they became Evangelicals." The presumption that Christians are insincere and motivated by professional expedience and the desire

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to dominate is, of course, itself a form of prejudice. Many secular progressives really do believe that Christians are nothing but bigots in disguise. That's how they justify their own intolerance.

■ An illustrative exchange from the John Podesta e-mails, purloined and revealed by WikiLeaks: After MSNBC host Chris Hayes tweeted the name of one of the San Bernardino, Calif., terrorists, Clinton spokeswoman Karen Finney forwarded the tweet to Podesta, remarking: "Damn." Podesta replied: "Better if a guy named Sayeed Farouk [*sic*] was reporting that a guy named Christopher Hayes was the shooter." The progressive mind, in one sentence.

■ Campaign memos obtained by DC Leaks revealed that Hillary Clinton's appearance on the Steve Harvey show in February was entirely scripted, from a lady in the audience asking Clinton for advice about being a grandmother to Clinton discussing the country's racial divide. Every question and answer was crafted between Harvey and Clinton's staff—even Clinton's photographs shown on the program were prearranged, but she still managed to exclaim "Oh my goodness" when the photo of her at twelve years old appeared. Clinton knew Harvey wouldn't question her political positions: "The tone of the show is generally light so even on policy questions, Steve won't go too deep into details," the memo noted. So, even on a talk show with virtually no political risks, she still didn't want to hazard just being herself.

■ Donald Trump made one of his many careers as a promoter of beauty pageants. But the pageant now swirling about him is of women, some of them former contestants, who say that he ogled, groped, or French-kissed them without their consent. The onslaught has all the look of a prepared trap, into which Trump walked, telling Anderson Cooper that, whatever cringe-making things he might have said to people such as former *Access Hollywood* host Billy Bush, he had never enacted them. Then, the deluge. As with Bill Clinton or Bill Cosby, some of the accusations may be embroidered, but the number is dismaying, as is their consistency: with each other, and with Trump's laughing admission—on an old Howard Stern show—that he is indeed a "sexual predator." Trump meanwhile called his accusers liars and promised to refute their charges. One Anthony Gilberthorpe claims to have been on a plane flight with Trump and one of his alleged victims and seen nothing untoward, though his testimony suffers from his being a self-confessed former procurer of rent boys to English politicians. The Nineties have called, and they want to give us their sexcapades.

■ Trump trotted out Kathleen Willey, Paula Jones, and Juanita Broaddrick, Bill Clinton's three most public accusers from the 1990s, at a press conference hours before the season's second debate. His theatrics smacked of desperation, but on the substance, he was not wrong. As the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* recently reminded their readers in long features, Hillary was instrumental in silencing Bill's accusers. When Little Rock-music groupie Connie Hamzy claimed that Bill Clinton had propositioned her, Hillary responded: "We have to destroy her story." In his memoir, *All Too Human*, George Stephanopoulos wrote that, when the Monica Lewinsky scandal broke, Hillary "had to do what she had always done before: swallow her doubts, stand by her man, and savage his enemies." Bill Clinton was a lech, or worse, and Hillary Clinton concealed it to protect her political future. This is America's great "champion" of women.

■ As birds sing at nightfall, so the Trump campaign is shouting that the election is rigged. "The election is absolutely being rigged," Trump tweeted. Rigged in the sense of stolen at the polls? Yes, according to Trump, but also rigged by "dishonest and distorted media." Ballot fraud exists. But the scope of a national election, and the division of the states' political machinery between the parties, make it vanishingly unlikely that a modern presidential race could be filched. As for media bias, it has existed for decades, but smart Republicans learn how to overcome it (Trump's most loyal surrogate, Rudy Giuliani, won two elections in deepest-blue New York City). The charge of a rigged election, three weeks before most Americans vote, is a salve for the ego of a candidate who fears being branded a loser, and for the self-esteem of those who mortgaged their reputations to support him.

■ What do politicians who have endorsed Trump do when under pressure? The hokey pokey: Now you put your right foot in / Your right foot out / Right foot in / Then you shake it all about . . . The parade of women who said that Trump had groped or assaulted them began the first week of October. Panic time, as Republicans who had once backed him blasted him, or even called on him to drop out. Then Trump turned in an okay performance in the second presidential debate (and Hillary Clinton failed to make a kill). Back came many of the disendorsers. Typical was Senator Deb Fischer of Nebraska, who said on October 8 that it would be "wise" for Trump "to step aside," then said on October 11 that she backed the "Trump-Pence ticket." N.B. Her colleague from Nebraska is Senator Ben Sasse, who has been no-Trump all along. Profile in courage, meet profile in . . . something else.

■ Bucking many of its Evangelical colleagues, *World* magazine called for Trump to drop out of the presidential contest following the revelation of his 2005 *Access Hollywood* comments: "A Trump step-aside would be good for America's moral standards in 2016. It's still not too late to turn the current race between two unfit major party candidates into a contest fit for a great country." *Christianity Today* editor Andy Crouch also editorialized against Trump, chastising the latter's Christian apologists: "Enthusiasm for a candidate like Trump gives our neighbors ample reason to doubt that we believe Jesus is Lord." These publications might well have taken their cue from the Apostle Paul: "Proclaim the word," he writes; "be persistent, whether it is convenient or inconvenient." The present moment is nothing if not inconvenient.

■ The *Arizona Republic* has been conservative and Republican throughout its 125-year history. They had never endorsed a Democrat for president until this year. They decided that the Republican nominee was unfit, and un-conservative, in too many ways. So, they published their opinion. Then came an avalanche of hate and death threats: highly specific threats, which the staff, together with the police, had to deal with. The paper's publisher, Mi-Ai Parrish, has now written a statement, which is a model of thoughtfulness and principle. She stands up for the right to practice journalism. She stands up for the separation of journalism from party politics. She speaks kindly of those Trump supporters who have sent her thoughtful criticisms. She also includes what

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she calls a "personal word": "To those of you who have said Jesus will judge me, that you hope I burn in hell, that non-Christians should be kept out of our country, I give you my pastor grandfather. He was imprisoned and tortured for being a Christian, and suffered the murder of his best friend for also refusing to deny Christ." This was in Korea. Mi-Ai Parrish is in America, demonstrating what an American is.

■ On the morning of October 16, the Orange County, N.C., Republican-party headquarters was firebombed, and an adjacent building was spray-painted with a swastika and the words "Nazi Republicans leave town or else." Donald Trump immediately blamed "animals representing Hillary Clinton and Dems in North Carolina," but the still-at-large culprit or culprits have not been identified. Trump is correct about one thing: If someone had firebombed a Democratic-party headquarters, as he told a radio host two days later, "it would be worldwide news."

■ Evan McMullin is the 40-year-old former CIA agent and Capitol Hill aide who is running as a conservative alternative in the presidential race. By any normal reckoning he is not qualified, and his chances of winning are nil. But two recent polls show him in a statistical tie with Trump and Clinton in his home state, Utah (others show Trump ahead). McMullin is

No Coattails for Hillary?

With the election right around the corner, polls and betting markets agree that there will likely be a big victory for Hillary Clinton. As of mid October, betting markets posted an 83 percent chance that she would defeat Donald Trump, with the margin of victory in polls then averaging about seven percentage points. Granted, false predictions of Brexit taught us that polls may be less reliable in this strange new world. But assuming Clinton does win by margins as wide as the data suggest, what happens next?

The answer, it would seem, depends on what happens to the House and the Senate. A scenario in which President Clinton comes to power in a landslide seems like a scenario that could, at least in theory, deliver her both houses of Congress. At that point we would discover whether she is a Bill Clinton–style moderate Democrat or the Bernie Sanders–like capitalism-hater she has at times portrayed on the campaign stage. But if Republicans maintain a grasp on Congress, there will be more pressure on the deal-making Clintons, who helped give us welfare reform and capital-gains tax cuts, to make a reappearance.

To tether this conjecture to reality, we collected data concerning the 1944 to 2012 elections from the Office of the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, which reports the political divisions of the U.S. Senate and the House going back to the 40th Congress. These data detail the number of seats held by Democrats and Republicans after each bi-yearly election. We also collected data from the American Presidency Project on the percentage of the popular vote won by each Democratic and Republican presidential nominee.

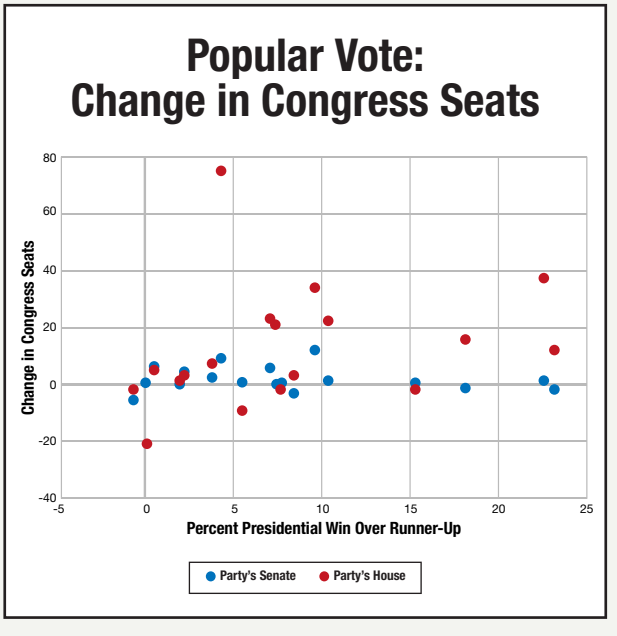
To understand the relationship between the presidential-election outcome and the number of seats held in Congress by the incoming president's party, we took the difference in the popular vote between the winner and runner-up and compared that with the change in the number of seats that the president's party held in both the House and the Senate.

For example, in 1996, Bill Clinton ran against the Republican nominee, Robert Dole, and won with an 8.5-point margin in the popular vote. In that election, the Democrats gained three seats in the House but lost three seats in the Senate.

So how does the percentage by which a president wins affect the number of seats held by the president's party? The graph shows very little relationship between how much a president wins by and how many seats are gained (or lost). In fact, when running a simple regression analysis of the president's percentage win of the popular vote on the change of seats held by the president's party, we find that there is no relationship. This result may appear counterintuitive, but the data we gathered do not tell any other story. Indeed, while one should not get too excited speculating about statistically insignificant results, the patterns in the data suggest that voters may well be wary of both political parties and favor ticket-splitting when the presidential outcome seems certain.

There is, then, no statistical evidence that the presidential victory margin drives pickup of seats in the House or the Senate. So if Donald Trump is trounced in the election but Republican candidates for the House or Senate "surprise" on the upside, it should be considered no surprise at all.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT



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Challenging the Status Quo with Stem Cells

BY CARA TOMPOT | *Staff Writer*

Looking back on history, we remember a time when women didn't have the rights that they do now. Prior to 1919, women didn't have any way to express their thoughts and desires through public policy. Thanks to first-wave feminists questioning the status quo, 1920 marked the first year that women could vote. This social change marked a moment in history when women finally had the right to take control of their own life. In many ways, the history of women's suffrage is similar to the road to regenerative medicine advancements.

Much like women fighting for equality, patients have been fighting for a new way to treat their chronic lung disease. Now, with the advancement of stem cell therapy, sufferers of chronic lung disease are no longer limited to the confines of traditional medicine—which involve managing symptoms rather than the disease. Stem cell therapy, like women's voting rights, helps people take control of their life by giving them a voice.

For years, people accepted the status quo, and for people suffering from chronic lung diseases like COPD, the status quo meant a constant struggle for oxygen. As an incurable disease, most sufferers felt that they didn't have any options. But now, everything has changed.

One state-of-the-art clinic, the Lung Institute, developed an alternative. Stem cell therapy helps sufferers finally breathe easier. People are no longer forced to accept the fate of continual disease progression or an invasive lung procedure. Stem cell therapy harnesses the healing power of a patient's own stem cells to help promote healing in the lungs.

Much like women fighting for equality, patients are fighting for a new way to treat their lung disease.

Today, lung disease can be treated with adult stem cells harvested from the patient's own blood or bone marrow. According to the clinic's website, ***lunginstitute.com***, this innovative procedure can potentially slow the progression of the disease, in addition to, restoring lung function and reducing inflammation.

Similar to the fight for women's rights, doctors and patients have been diligently looking for a new way to treat lung disease. Now, with the advancement of stem cell therapy, patients can finally combat disease progression. As with any change, some physicians and patients may be slower to adopt new ideas while clinging to traditional approaches; however, just as social change made it possible for women to have a voice in the government, clinical advancements like stem cell therapy make it possible for patients to have a voice in their healthcare. If the fight for equality is any sign of the future of stem cell therapy, there is no doubt that stem cells will become the status quo for treating lung disease. ■

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GEORGE FREY/GETTY IMAGES

a Mormon, and Trump's alleged (and admitted) lechery, along with his mockery of his opponents' religions, make Mormons leery of him. And if McMullin took Utah—becoming the first third-party candidate to win a state since George Wallace in 1968—and if neither Clinton nor Trump won a majority in the Electoral College, then the House would choose among the top three finishers—Clinton, Trump, McMullin . . . It's a fantasy; this election will be decided in a dump, if not a landslide. But the fact that such fantasies spring up shows what a weak ticket the GOP has fielded.

■ Attacking Hillary Clinton's foreign-policy record, Libertarian presidential candidate Gary Johnson drew a moral equivalence between U.S. and Syrian military actions, sarcastically telling the *New York Times*, "We're so much better when in Afghanistan, we bomb the hospital and 60 people are killed in the hospital." Given the scores of thousands of their countrymen whom Syrian forces have slaughtered, this demonstrates colossal ignorance about the facts on the ground. Yet ignorance about Syria has become something of a hobgoblin for Johnson, as he has repeatedly courted controversy by demonstrating and even reveling in a lack of knowledge about it. First, he famously asked, "What is Aleppo?" on live TV, which was embarrassing but also forgivable as a momentary mistake. He made it worse later by trying to make the case that this sort of foreign-policy ignorance actually indicates that he would be a better president, since knowing about Syria is a necessary precondition to military adventures there. This is the logic of blind non-interventionism. After he appeared to break with Libertarian ideas on such issues as religious freedom and gun control, it is comforting to see that Johnson does retain some of his party's principles, even if the worse ones.

■ David Clarke is the sheriff of Milwaukee County, Wis. He is a bold and interesting man who has graced our cover. Recently, he tweeted as follows: "It's incredible that our institutions of gov, WH, Congress, DOJ, and big media are corrupt & all we do is bitch. Pitchforks and torches time." He accompanied his tweet with a picture of an angry mob. We favor constitutional order and law enforcement, not pitchforks, torches, and mobs. So should sheriffs.

■ Speaking of pitchforks, the University of New Haven bowed to Black Lives Matter protesters and disinvited Sheriff David Clarke from speaking on campus about the use of forensic science in law enforcement. Of course, the school didn't admit that. It simply said, "Circumstances did not permit Sheriff Clarke's attendance." And here we thought that Yale was New Haven's most craven university.

■ Media "fact-checkers" have risen to defend Clinton from Republican charges that she believes that unborn children should have no legal protections from abortion up until the moment of birth. They note that she has occasionally said that she favors restrictions on abortions late in pregnancy so long as exceptions are made to protect the mother's health. But the Supreme Court's rulings on abortion, which she supports, have made such restrictions unenforceable because they include a very broad definition of health that includes, among other things, emotional health. The leading Democratic proposal on partial-birth abortion, which Clinton supported, included a health exception that similarly vitiated its purported ban. Republicans are justified in clearing away her obfuscation, and fact-checkers worthy of the term would assist them rather than add to the confusion.

■ Clinton said that the child tax credit, now worth $1,000 per child, should be doubled for parents of children under five. She also wants to increase its availability for poor families with little income-tax liability. This idea is far superior to Obama's proposal to expand subsidies for child care, because it would leave parents with the choice of how to use the money rather than direct them to commercial day care. As we have long argued, tax relief for parents is justified because federal law currently overtaxes them: Raising children is a financial sacrifice that contributes to the health of old-age entitlement programs; taxing parents the same as non-parents ignores that sacrifice. Republicans have resisted giving tax credits to people who pay no income tax. But payroll taxes also pay for entitlements, and so should also be reduced for parents—and so Republicans ought to be willing to meet Clinton halfway on the treatment of low-income parents. Which is more than they will be able to do on the vast run of issues should she become president.

■ "Ailing Obama Health Care Act May Have to Change to Survive," reports the *New York Times*. Neither insurers nor individuals are participating in Obamacare's health exchanges at the expected levels, and the exchanges have proven especially unattractive to people who would have to pay their own way rather than use subsidies. The main Democratic solution is to introduce a public option whereby the government would provide insurance directly. Without any need to make a profit, goes the theory, they could keep premiums down and so enroll more customers. But insurers are not making a profit on the exchanges as it is, and the nonprofit co-ops Obamacare created have closed in droves. The article ends with a health-care expert calling for giving people more money to help buy insurance and steeper fines on people who do not buy it. The law needs more and more money and more and more coercion to survive—which is why it needs to go.

■ The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau has always been an odd duck, and now it has been revealed as an unconstitutional one. The CFPB is like one of those high-school clubs started by some ambitious but undistinguished student for the sole purpose of giving himself something to be in charge of, for résumé-building purposes. In this case, the ambitious Tracy Flick was Elizabeth Warren, a largely unknown academic who desired to enter public office and who had written a couple of financial self-help books (*All Your Worth: The Ultimate Lifetime Money Plan*, etc.). Warren ultimately was denied directorship of the agency, but her role in establishing it was enough to launch her Senate career, so the organization's mission is, in effect, complete. But it remains useful for hassling dissident banks and disagreeable financiers, so it has survived long enough for the Court of Ap-

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peals for the D.C. Circuit to discover its patently unconstitutional design and portfolio: It acts in effect as an independent miniature legislature, with open-ended power to regulate financial products and to define "financial products" in any way it sees fit. It can declare business practices "abusive," and therefore forbidden, with no particular statutory justification from Congress. It does not even have the bipartisan board of directors characteristic of so-called independent federal agencies, concentrating its considerable power in the person of one mighty administrator. It is, as currently constituted, a law unto itself. The court demands that it be restructured; the more sensible course is dismantling it.

■ The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals recently upheld a California law requiring crisis-pregnancy centers to advertise public programs that provide abortions. The bill had been challenged by the pro-life centers as a violation of the free-speech and free-exercise clauses of the First Amendment. Once again we learn that the "pro-choice" agenda has nothing to do with respecting conscience.

■ New York's city hall was temporarily converted into a Planned Parenthood facility at the behest of local and national Democrats, the building festooned in pink lights to celebrate a century's worth of massacring unwanted children. New York is one of the nation's worst offenders when it comes to using public facilities for narrow, partisan political purposes—a few years back, a Shakespeare in the Park production supported by the city was turned into a Democratic political rally, with speeches from Mayor Bill de Blasio and Senator Chuck Schumer, who wandered out onto the stage during the second half of *The Winter's Tale*, bellowing "Vote Democratic!" (Seriously, that happened.) Schumer was on hand for the Planned Parenthood festivities, promising that Planned Parenthood "will never be defunded when the Democrats get to political office." We believe him, and hope Americans will therefore vote against them. It is always an ugly and distasteful thing to use what is after all the common municipal property of the city for partisan political shenanigans, but it is especially nasty to do so in celebrating the ugliest aspect of American life.

■ An admirable organization in Washington, the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, has released its first "Annual Report on U.S. Attitudes Towards Socialism." The marquee finding is this: Thirty-two percent of Millennials believe that George W. Bush killed more people than Stalin. There was a hippie song: "Teach your children well." It applies, in ways that the singers of that song may not have intended.

■ What's happening in Yemen resembles the Syria situation and has the potential of turning out as disastrously. It began as a struggle for power between presidential thugs, whereupon Saudi Arabia sponsored one of the thugs on the grounds that he was a Sunni Muslim, like them. Iran responded in kind, sponsoring the Shiite minority in Yemen, known as Houthis. In September 2014, the Houthis suddenly overran Sana'a, the Yemeni capital, in much the same way that Islamists in Iraq had unexpectedly overrun Mosul. Saudi Arabia's sustained bombing has done damage and promises to do more: Sixty-eight hundred civilians are said to have been killed, 35,000 injured, and over 3 million are displaced. Neither side has the capacity to defeat the other, so fighting may well last indefinitely while Saudi Arabia and Iran bid to be the undisputed regional power. In Geneva, our hapless secretary of state, John Kerry, attended a conference to try to put in place a cease-fire in Syria. Nothing doing. At another conference in London immediately afterward, he emerged only to say, "This is the time to implement a cease-fire unconditionally and then move to the negotiating table." He might consider having this mantra engraved on cards to hand out to whomever he meets.

■ Over the course of four years, Juan Manuel Santos, the president of Colombia, negotiated with the FARC, the Communist guerrillas. The guerrillas have waged war on Colombian society for more than 50 years. In August, Santos and his FARC counterpart, who goes by the nickname "Timochenko," reached a peace agreement. On October 2, the agreement went to the people, in a referendum. By an extremely narrow margin, the people rejected it—as too generous to the FARC. The negotiators would have to go back to the drawing board. On October 7, the committee in Oslo announced that the Nobel Peace Prize would go to Santos—alone, i.e., without Timochenko, which was a relief. (There is so much blood on FARC hands.) The committee said that it wanted to reward the president's "resolute efforts." Also "to encourage all those who are striving to achieve peace, reconciliation, and justice in Colombia." One of those is Álvaro Uribe, Santos's predecessor as president, and now a senator. As president, he weakened and dispirited the FARC, bringing them to the negotiating table. He would be our Colombian peace laureate, with an honorable mention to his indispensable partner in the White House, George W. Bush.

■ Hong Kong's Legco (Legislative Council) has limited powers, and since enough of its members are chosen by Beijing-controlled professional groups to give the ruling Communists a permanent majority, it does what the party wants. Still, the chamber's reformist factions tirelessly, if futilely, argue the case for universal suffrage, free expression, and even independence—and sometimes find other ways to protest. After September's Legco election, one newly chosen delegate wore an anti-China flag over his shoulders and kept his fingers crossed as he repeated the oath of office. He was denied his seat, as were two others who altered the oath's wording to make clear their commitment to universal suffrage. Hong Kong may never escape from China's iron grip, but, as with the territory's pro-democracy Umbrella Movement of two years ago, Legco's rebels show how determined Hong Kong's people are to keep every bit of freedom they still have have—and how determined China is to eliminate it.

■ UNESCO, the U.N.'s educational, scientific, and cultural organization, has—to exactly no one's surprise—privileged Muslim claims to Jerusalem's Temple Mount. In a resolution that otherwise noted the importance of the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, it referred to the Temple Mount itself exclusively by its Muslim name—ignoring Judaism's ancient claim on the site—and aired Palestinian grievances about Israel's treatment of the Mount. This is nothing new for the U.N. Its various bodies have raised anti-Israeli rhetoric and anti-Semitism to a perverse diplomatic art form. In this circumstance, familiarity should in fact breed contempt. Bias is business as usual at the U.N.

■ In England, the kids at the University of Bristol have forced the cancellation of the musical *Aida*. This is Elton John and Tim Rice's version of Verdi's opera. The musical, like the opera, is about an Ethiopian princess enslaved in Egypt. The Bristol students cried, "Cultural appropriation." Also, they feared that white students would play the parts of Egyptians and Ethiopians. (By the way, tell an Egyptian he isn't white.) As is standard these days, the show could not go on. Wait till these kids find out that Denyce Graves is one of the foremost Carmens of our time. Graves is a black American, and Carmen is . . . not.

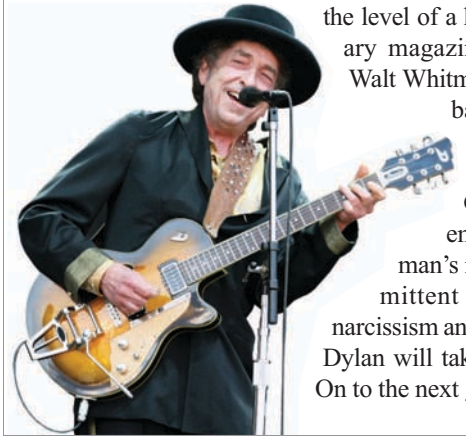
■ NFL ratings are in decline, serious decline. After a ratings year in 2015 that left the league as the cornerstone of live broadcast television, double-digit ratings losses aren't just shaking the NFL front offices, they're rattling entire TV networks. The NFL claims that it's losing viewers to the presidential race, to cord-cutting (which causes consumers to drop channels they rarely watch), and to bad matchups. No doubt these are all factors, but the league seems to be in denial about the very real backlash against player National Anthem protests. It claims that its "data" show that its players are still popular, but how long can this regard last? Americans don't tend to look to the gridiron for political lectures, so as leftists weaponize sports, they risk the very popularity that they now seek to exploit.

■ Who can withstand the mighty social-justice warrior? Not Supreme Court justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg. Days after criticizing NFL quarterback Colin Kaepernick's decision to kneel during the National Anthem as "really dumb," she backtracked. After receiving blistering criticism even from longtime allies, she said that her comments were "inappropriately dismissive and harsh" and that she should have declined to comment. The entire incident represents an interesting window into the Left's ruthless discipline in enforcing the party line. There is no grace in modern political correctness, not even for its most revered ideological heroes.

■ The Smithsonian has a new museum it is calling the National Museum of African American History and Culture. It is in reality no such thing, inasmuch as its curators labor mightily to ignore out of existence major figures in African-American history and culture, notably Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Anita Hill, the obscure federal functionary who made a series of unsubstantiated allegations against Thomas as part of Democrats' efforts to derail his Supreme Court confirmation—Democrats hate a black conservative above all things—is presented as a major figure in black history. Thomas exists only as her purported victimizer. This is preposterous for any number of reasons. Even if Thomas had done everything Hill accused him of (we do not believe that, and several people testified in contradiction of Hill), he would nonetheless be a major figure of his time, unless it is the view of the Smithsonian that African Americans can exist only as victims. Thomas, who grew up in direst poverty in a Gullah-speaking coastal-Georgia community, represents a different aspect of the black experience: triumph over adversity. Edward Brooke, the first black man popularly elected to the Senate, represented another kind of triumph—and Brooke, a Republican, also has been sent down the memory hole. Thomas Sowell? Alveda King? Tim Scott? Shelby Steele? Invisible men, one and all. The Smithsonian seems to have forgotten what a museum is and needs reminding.

■ What pronouns would Jesus use? That question may soon have more than ecclesiastical importance, in Massachusetts at least. A new state law governing "places of public accommodation" forbids them to maintain single-sex bathrooms and requires everyone in them to, among other things, use whatever pronouns any individual prefers. The law applies even to churches. Official state guidelines cite "a secular event, such as a spaghetti supper, that is open to the general public" as the sort of occasion when a church would be subject to the law, but since most church services are open to the public, it seems inevitable that pastors' sermons and even parishioners' conversations will soon be fair game for the pronoun policy. This busybody law shows that the Puritan spirit remains alive and well in Massachusetts, if in a manner that would have confounded John Winthrop.

■ It is good to see an American win the Nobel Prize for literature, especially one who rejected the reflexive anti-Americanism of the milieu in which he began (Bob Dylan's shift from protest songs to songs was at least as drastic as his shift from acoustic to electric guitar). American popular song, from Stephen Foster on, has been one of our great gifts to the world; it is doubly good to see a practitioner of that genre recognized. If only Dylan's poetry were better. Apart from a few anthems and (many fewer) love lyrics, he served up a stew of allusion and portent at the level of a high-school literary magazine. Blame it on Walt Whitman and his many bastard children, from Carl Sandburg to Allen Ginsberg, who emulated not Whitman's real though intermittent genius, but his narcissism and his loose joints. Dylan will take it all in stride. On to the next gig.



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■ Hours before the Indians met the Blue Jays in the playoffs in Toronto, a Canadian judge dismissed a case filed by an activist demanding that the Cleveland team stop using its name and one of its trademarks, Chief Wahoo, a 1950s-era cartoon figure that appears on its uniforms. The Cleveland Indians have withstood such complaints since 1972, when the Cleveland American Indian Center, led by Russell Means, sued the club over its logo, though not its name. The Cleveland Indians are a longstanding American institution. They predate the rise of the Boomer version of social-justice-warrior sanctimony and show every sign of outlasting its Millennial iteration. Reputable polls consistently show that most American Indians have no quarrel with sports teams that adopt Indian motifs. Deferring to the minority who do object, the Cleveland Indians two years ago substituted a block "C" as their primary logo, retaining traces of Wahoo for purposes of historical preservation. It remains a classic specimen of a golden age of American commercial art and is woven deeply into the popular culture of northeastern Ohio. Its critics think their grievance is moral, but it's ultimately aesthetic. Go Tribe.

■ Starbucks's pumpkin-spice latte, a popular seasonal indulgence, has been exposed by two academics as a sinister totem of white privilege in a peer-reviewed paper titled "The Perilous Whiteness of Pumpkins." Its authors, a postdoctoral fellow at the University of British Columbia and a professor of southern studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, pose the question, "Why did PSLs [pumpkin-spice lattes] become the symbol of basic white girlness?" They trace the answer to pumpkins themselves, which they concede "are real, material food plants in addition to being cultural symbols." Given the existence of a "veritable pumpkin entertainment complex, whose multiple manifestations continue the entanglements of pumpkins, social capital, race, and place," the role of the pumpkin is difficult to pinpoint. But, in short, pumpkins have a history of being associated with white people and idyllic "rural spaces" in the popular imagination; lattes are luxury items; so combining the two yields a perfect recipe for white privilege. If you thought the calorie count was sufficiently guilt-inducing, think again.

■ Bhumibol Adulyadej ruled Thailand for 70 years, the right man in the right place at the right time. Born in Cambridge, Mass., and educated in Switzerland, this citizen of the world had been a jazz musician as well as a Buddhist monk. The Thailand that he took over at the age of 19 was in theory a constitutional monarchy. Communism was sweeping away other dynastic rulers in neighboring countries, and the firmness with which he met this standing threat brought him popularity. Throughout his reign, he displayed particular political skills in bringing to heel the succession of military strongmen who wanted power and fortunes for themselves. Imperceptibly taking on the role of a traditional absolute ruler before whom people prostrated themselves, he proved the guarantee of stability. When he died at the age of 88, people cried in the streets. The grief was genuine; they fear they will not see his like again. R.I.P.

2016

Save Congress

DONALD TRUMP is burning through every one of his nine political lives.

The *Access Hollywood* tape that broke in early October sent GOP elected officials fleeing from the Republican nominee in a truly historic rupture (although some quickly crab-walked back to him). Trump's odds of winning the presidency were already long. With the airing of the tape, and the damaging fallout, they are longer still.

The weekend that the tape broke, various Republicans called for Trump to step aside—an understandable, if unrealistic, sentiment. Almost any other Republican would have a better chance of defeating Hillary Clinton, a dreary and corrupt statist who is the Walter Mondale or Michael Dukakis of our time yet is beating her desperately flawed opponent. But this would have required that Trump act the statesman; or that Mike Pence, House speaker Paul Ryan, and RNC chairman Reince Priebus mount a hardball pressure campaign to force him off the ticket. Neither was going to happen. Even if Trump had wanted to step aside, the process of choosing a new nominee and negotiating ballot access for the party's designee this late in the campaign would have been unprecedented and perilous in the best-case scenario.

THE *WASHINGTON POST* VIA GETTY IMAGES

Donald Trump (center) prepares for an appearance in 2005 on Days of Our Lives *with actress Arianne Zucker (right). He is accompanied to the set by* Access Hollywood *host Billy Bush (left).*

Still, the GOP is rightly taking steps to limit the damage from the top of the ticket. Ryan has made it clear that preserving the House majority is his sole mission (he would have been wiser to simply execute this strategy rather than declare it on a conference call that made him the target of Trump's ire). Many congressional Republicans have separated themselves from Trump, and surely more will follow. The party should make saving its congressional wing—an indispensable check on a potential Hillary Clinton presidency, and a Trump presidency as well, should it come to pass—its highest financial and organizational priority.

It may seem odd that, after so many Trump controversies, the *Access Hollywood* tape provoked such a reaction. It is true that it doesn't reveal anything very new about Trump. And surely if hot mics had caught off-color banter from JFK we would have heard similar talk. But that doesn't make it any less appalling. Here was a nearly 60-year-old man boasting about his attempted adultery and groping, and probably not idly. No presidential candidate has ever been heard by the public to utter such things before. Shortly after Trump went on the record at the second debate saying he hadn't engaged in the behavior he described, an array of women emerged to recount their experiences of his unwanted sexual advances.

The rejoinder from Trump's campaign is that Bill Clinton is a lecherous creep, and Hillary Clinton has been his enabler. True enough. It may be satisfying to see Trump make this case so forcefully, but it has very little political upside; swing voters aren't going to be drawn to him—or repelled from Hillary—on the basis of Bill Clinton's transgressions.

It is no secret that we are not fans of Donald Trump, who is not a conservative or an honorable man. He has shown no interest in the Constitution or liberty; has openly threatened to use state power to punish critics and companies that make business decisions he doesn't like; is thin-skinned, conspiracy-minded, immature, and thoroughly dishonest. The only thing to recommend him is that he's not Hillary Clinton, but even this quality has to be weighed against the fact that his recklessly selfish campaign is very likely to make her president of the United States. In this circumstance, Republicans need to do exactly what Trump always does: ruthlessly look after their own interests.

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Ryuho Okawa to America: With Great Power Comes Great Responsibility

On October 2, in an extraordinary lecture entitled "Freedom, Justice, and Happiness," Global Visionary Ryuho Okawa passionately addressed a sold out crowd at the Crowne Plaza in New York City and called on the United States to execute its mission to again "be strong, stronger and strongest" and stop America's 8-years of decline that has brought on a dangerous period of "hegemonic countries in the world."

"Be brave and have this mission in your heart, in your academic work, in your economic work, in your political work, in your diplomatic work," Okawa said "You need a new philosophy for that. It's a definition of God. It's a real meaning of God. Believing in God is good. But what the meaning of God's Will, is the starting point of a new philosophy. This is your mission. Be great. Greater. With great power comes great responsibility. You American people have great responsibility for the world."

After viewing New York City, Okawa, who worked on Wall Street in the 1980s, commented he saw a silence, a lack of vitality and no philosophy. He also has viewed the American Presidential election and decried "how they assault one another" and "speak ill of another person" saying "we Japanese don't like such a tendency."

Mission to reform "Divided United States"

"So this country should not be the 'Divided States of America.' Be American the United States. Red States and Blue States should be aimed at the end to the same goal."

Speaking about what he has seen in this 2016 US Presidential election, Okawa, who has recently authored *The Laws of Justice* said, "From their speech, I found some kind of isolationism. It's just a game. But in the true meaning, if they insist from their heart of their own, it's a problem."

Okawa expressed his concern that the Obama Administration has changed America domestically also — looking down on wealth and success.

"The upper level of American people is fewer and fewer. And the bottom in economic meaning and political meaning, they also are becoming fewer and fewer and the middle class is becoming larger and larger." He went on to say that Obama has prompted an America that "has the tendency of hating or have envy for wealthy people" and "the suit-weared people in Manhattan, especially in Wall Street like me in early years." If the United States of America hesitates to let people be wealthy, it will be the end of America. America is not for Americans only. It's for the leaders of the world. You have the mission to make a new American dream for the world." In *The Laws of Justice* he called it a conflict of two major trends opposing each other in the world.

Beyond the emergency crisis of Asia

Okawa summoned the United States and Japan to unify under a similar set of goals noting that Japan has suffered Depression for 25 years and that the Japanese Constitution does not permit their country to fight enemies. Okawa added that during the Obama Administration's 8-years "the emergency crisis of Asia" became worse as "we Japanese people are now surrounded by countries who have nuclear weapons" especially North Korea. Okawa has stated in his book "Into the Storm of International Politics" that the American military has abandoned its role as the world's policeman and in *The Laws of Justice* he added that this has caused "chaos to increase around the globe." He expressed concern that the Obama Administration's reaction to the latest North Korean nuclear tests has been silence.

"You must think that the citizens of the United States are not American. You are the world citizen, the world leader," Okawa stated. "In terms of earthly meaning, you must decide your freedom, your justice, and your happiness. Don't think about your country only. Don't disregard this point. Ms. Hillary Clinton and Mr. Donald Trump need this viewpoint.

Okawa also spoke about China calling it the "more difficult problem." He asserted that China has no philosophy and the American philosophy has been pragmatism. "Pragmatism only, is very miserable for humankind because we are made from God. God's desire is greater than pragmatism. Your future is how to sophisticate your philosophy."

"America is a great country. You need a new God of America," Okawa passionately stated. "It means the philosophy which can save all the world. It's beyond pragmatism, beyond capitalism. Although China has become capitalistic, they don't have enough political democracy so they need a new type of thinking that must be dispatched from the USA."

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Ryuho Okawa is the author of over 2,100 books which have sold 100 million copies worldwide, and been translated into 28 languages. *The Laws of Justice* which is on the semiannual best-seller list in Japan, will be published worldwide. In 1986, Okawa established Happy Science as a spiritual movement dedicated to bringing greater happiness to humankind by uniting religions and cultures to live in harmony. Happy Science global movement spread over 100 countries strives to lead the future of the world by following God's Justice — having impacted individuals, religious organizations and governments including a new vibrant conservative political party, the Happiness Realization Party (HRP) in Japan.

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ROMAN GENN

Maine Divided

Its diverging population is poised to split its electoral votes

BY ELIANA JOHNSON

SOMETHING funny is happening in Maine. For the first time ever, the state may split its electoral votes between the two major-party candidates.

Unlike most states, Maine, which awards four electoral votes, does not dole them out in a winner-take-all fashion. Instead, it grants two to the statewide winner and one to the winner of each of its two congressional districts. Since 1969, when this system was implemented, it has largely remained a quirky afterthought, because the statewide winner has always carried both districts; Maine has spoken with a unified voice.

This year is shaping up differently. Hillary Clinton holds a commanding lead in the state's urban first district, which comprises liberal Portland and Augusta, where political opinion runs to the left of Bernie Sanders. But Donald Trump was crushing her in the second—which encompasses all of rural, northern Maine—before the publication of the 2005 *Access Hollywood* tape and the subsequent allegations from several women that Trump had sexually harassed them. Even after those developments, he holds a slim lead.

The potential political break reflects broader cultural cleavages among America's white population that the 2016 election has exposed not just in Maine but across the country. Those cleavages are particularly visible in Maine, though, where an overwhelmingly white population is divided neatly into two congressional districts, one affluent and urban, the other poor and rural, that have become increasingly alienated from each other.

That estrangement is expressing itself politically. In a state once famous for producing moderate Republicans such as Margaret Chase Smith, Bill Cohen, and Olympia Snowe, there have been signs that the electorate is moving in a new direction. While still represented in the Senate by politicians of the old mold, the Republican Susan Collins and the independent Angus King, Mainers elected the right-wing firebrand Paul LePage to the governorship in 2010 and again in 2014.

He was in many ways a proto-Trump: Running against Libby Mitchell, then the president of the state senate, in 2010, LePage campaigned under the slogan "I'd rather have my foot in my mouth than Libby Mitchell's hand in my pocket." If elected, he promised, he would tell President Obama to "go to hell." Since then, LePage has told the state chapter of the NAACP to "kiss my butt"; left a Democratic state senator an expletive-laced voice message; and, most recently, told a local radio network that the country may need Trump to "show some authoritarian power" in order to restore the rule of law.

LePage won both races on the strength of his support among voters in northern Maine. In 2010, he lost in just four of Maine's 16 counties, all of them in the south, while carrying the majority of the ten and a half counties that compose the northern, second district by double digits. A September poll from the University of New Hampshire's Survey Center had LePage's approval rating upside down in the first district, with 33 percent viewing him positively and 61 percent expressing disapproval, and right side up in the second, with 47 percent of those surveyed saying they approve of his performance and 45 percent saying they disapprove.

Today, the political divide between the two districts is starker than ever. Clinton led the first district by 18 points in a Colby College/Survey USA poll conducted in September, before the *Access Hollywood*–video scandal erupted. In the same poll, Trump led the second district by ten points—a whopping 28-point spread between the two. The latest poll, conducted in the wake of the tape's publication by the Democratic-leaning Maine People's Resource Center, has Clinton up 17 in the first district and Trump clinging to a one-point lead in the second, an 18-point divide.

That represents a radical shift. The second district hasn't voted for a Republican presidential candidate since George H. W. Bush won the state in 1988. President Obama won both districts in 2012, running 13 points better in the first district than he did in the second.

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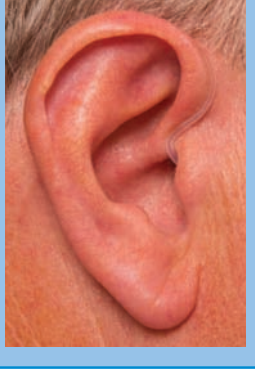

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Some Mainers have dubbed the districts, with their differing politics and cultures, "the two Maines"; others call the northern, second district, geographically the largest east of the Mississippi, "real Maine." But the growing split between the state's urban, liberal south and its rural, conservative north is a microcosm of the broader cultural divide that Trump's candidacy has revealed among white voters: between the city and the countryside, the college-educated and those without degrees, the haves and the have-nots.

"I think Maine, like the rest of the country, is in a transition, and there are pockets that are looking forward to that transition, they're optimistic about the future, and there are pockets that are worried about it," says Dan Shea, the director of the Goldberg Center for Public Affairs and Civic Engagement at Colby College in Waterville. "There's a lot of working-class white voters in Maine that say, 'Both parties have let us down.' They're attracted to Trump and Paul LePage because they're so different. They seem to be breaking that mold."

Most residents of the first district fall into the forward-looking camp. Portland, the state's largest city, has become an economic hub. The population of the Portland metropolitan area is, after Boston, increasing faster than that of any other in New England, and its employment growth outpaces that of any other region of the state. "In terms of where the state is going, certainly Portland is becoming a bigger and bigger and more important piece of that," says Amy Walter, the national editor of the *Cook Political Report*. Its residents are richer and better educated than those of the second district, which is full of once-thriving mill towns that have been hollowed out by competition from abroad. Over 37 percent of first-district residents are college graduates, compared with just 23 percent of second-district residents. The median income in the first district is $59,400, well above the national average of $51,700; in the second district, it's $44,500.

These demographic factors help to explain why the second district has been trending away from Democrats. When John McCain withdrew from Michigan in 2008, after deciding the Rust Belt state was out of reach, he transferred campaign resources to Maine. In 2012, it was the whitest, most working-class district President Obama carried. Given that Trump has accelerated the exodus of blue-collar voters from the Democratic party, Obama may be the last Democrat to win northern Maine for a generation.

Local referenda have helped to accelerate the split. This year, Proposition 3, which would close the so-called gun-show loophole, will appear on the statewide ballot in November. If the liberals in southern Maine are kayakers and mountain bikers, the state's northern residents are hunters and fishermen. "You drive in the northern part of the state and you see 'Vote No on 3' everywhere," says Shea. "You drive in the southern part of the state and you see 'Vote Yes on 3.'" The University of New Hampshire survey showed that first-district residents support the initiative by a whopping 69-to-25 margin.

Maine's cultural divides are not unusual, even if its allocation of electoral votes is. For Republicans, who have eyed the second congressional district for years, the challenge is now to figure out how to win there and in other districts like it without alienating voters in the country's growing population centers. Though Trump may have given the GOP a blueprint for wooing the former, he is performing dismally with the latter. This will be one of the most vexing problems facing the Republican party after the November election: how to meld the politics of grievance and despair, legitimately felt, with the politics of growth and opportunity. Trump's success in Maine is only half the answer. NR

Maine's cultural divides are not unusual, even if its allocation of electoral votes is.

Two Flawed Tax Plans

Congress would have to restrain either Clinton or Trump

BY RAMESH PONNURU

This year's presidential race may be wildly different from past races, but one of the verities of our era still holds: Republicans want to cut taxes and Democrats to raise them. On this issue, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump are running as mainstream representatives of their parties. The public should hope that Congress exercises a restraining influence on either one of them.

Clinton would raise taxes on high earners in a variety of ways. People who make more than $5 million would pay a new 4 percent "surcharge." The value of several tax deductions, such as the one for mortgage interest, would be limited for people in the top three tax brackets (including married couples making more than $230,000 a year). Capital-gains taxes would rise for investments held between two and five years, with higher rates on the shorter-term ones. Clinton would introduce a new set of tax rates on large estates that would reach 65 percent at the top, compared with the current 40.

While Clinton's plan is a net tax increase, it would also cut tax bills for many people. Most parents of children younger than five would see their child tax credit, now $1,000, double in size. Some low-income families would be newly eligible for it. (Some of them already have negative tax liabilities and would come out further ahead under the proposal.) A new tax credit could be applied against out-of-pocket health expenses: That's Clinton's way of responding to popular unhappiness with the rising deductibles and co-pays that have accompanied Obamacare.

Businesses, too, would see a mix of tax increases and cuts. Clinton would allow small businesses to write off the cost of their investments immediately instead of over several years. But she

says the federal government will raise $275 billion over ten years by reforming business taxes in some unspecified way.

Trump's plan, by contrast, cuts taxes on the highest earners. The top income-tax rate would fall from 43.4 to 33 percent. The estate tax would vanish. The standard deduction would more than double. Most people would be eligible for a new deduction for child-care expenses capped at the average cost of those expenses in each state—and Trump has said that stay-at-home mothers would receive the full value of that deduction. (His website is unclear on that point.)

The corporate-income tax, now 35 percent, would fall to 15 percent under Trump's plan. Our corporate tax rate would thus move in one step from the highest in the developed world to one of the lowest. Manufacturers would get a new tax-reducing option: They could write off the cost of their investments immediately or deduct their interest expenses. How the many businesses that pay taxes under the individual income-tax code would be treated is something of a mystery, with different think tanks reaching varying conclusions from the campaign's contradictory comments.

Trump would, however, raise some tax rates. The bottom tax bracket would pay a 12 percent rate instead of 10. Some affluent single people—those making between $110,000 and $190,000 a year—would pay 33 percent instead of 28 percent. The personal and dependent exemptions would disappear.

Overall, it is a very large tax cut. The Tax Foundation produced several estimates of the effect Trump's plan would have on federal revenues. If all businesses get to pay the 15 percent tax rate and the tax cuts boost the economy in the way the foundation's model predicts, the Trumpified tax code would yield $3.9 trillion less than the current tax code is projected to yield over the next ten years.

That is, however, an optimistic take. Many of Trump's tax cuts, and in particular his reduction in corporate tax rates, could be expected to raise economic growth. But the Tax Foundation assumes both that cutting taxes on investment will have much stronger positive effects than many other economists expect and that increased debt will not reduce economic growth. Without any added economic growth, the total revenue hit would be $5.9 trillion. Or even more: The foundation assumes that a Trump administration would save money by letting stay-at-home mothers deduct only a fraction of their states' average child-care costs, contrary to what Trump has said. It also ignores the extra interest the government would have to pay if it went further into debt.

This large reduction in revenues would take place at a time when we are already running large deficits. The Congressional Budget Office expects the government to run a $590 billion deficit this year, and another $594 billion one next year. Entitlement spending is growing fast thanks to the retirement of Baby Boomers, and Trump has opposed reductions in that spending. Under these circumstances, cutting taxes this much would be reckless.

As large a net cut as it is, though, Trump's plan would raise taxes on many people. New York University law professor Lily Batchelder points out that the elimination of the dependent exemption would leave a lot of people with low and moderate incomes paying higher taxes. Representatives of the Trump campaign have said that while a small number of people might fall into this category, a Trump administration would work with Congress to prevent them from seeing higher taxes. But Batchelder's analysis suggests that 40 million people would be affected, and shielding them from higher taxes would require either making the deficit even larger or reneging on some of the tax-cut promises Trump is making.

Clinton's plan has a different problem: It would reduce incentives to work, save, and invest. That's why the Tax Foundation—which, recall, assumes that tax rates have a strong effect on investment—estimates that the economy ten years from now would be 2.6 percent smaller with her plan than without it.

Clinton's deliberate attempts to change behavior, meanwhile, are unlikely to be effective. She would complicate capital-gains taxes to encourage shareholders and therefore companies to look more to the long term. But most corporate stock is not held by taxable investors: Pensions, for example, would not have any additional reason to be long-term-oriented.

Health-policy analyst Chris Jacobs points out that the new tax credit for out-of-pocket health expenses could spur companies to pare back their health benefits. They could raise deductibles, for example, knowing that the federal government would pick up part of the tab.

The good news about both candidates' plans is that Congress might exercise a salutary influence on them. Yes, really.

The good news about both candidates' plans is that Congress might exercise a salutary influence on them. Yes, really. Even a Republican Congress might balk at actually passing a tax cut as large as the one Trump is suggesting. George W. Bush had to scale back his tax cut to get it through a narrowly Republican Senate, and his was smaller than Trump's from the start.

If Republicans keep the House, let alone the Senate, Clinton's tax increases are doomed. No Republican-controlled chamber of Congress has passed a tax increase in more than three decades. (The tax increases that took place at the start of President Obama's second term happened automatically, because Bush's tax cuts expired. The Republican House passed a bill extending some but not all of the tax cuts.) Every Republican senator but one voted in 2015 to repeal the estate tax, and one Democrat joined them. They're not going to vote to raise it.

But a Republican House in 2017 is not assured. If an anti-Trump landslide wipes away the Republican majority, taxes are going up. NR

The Religious Right's Demise

Now what is needed is an authentic Christian voice

BY IAN TUTTLE

In June, Jerry Falwell Jr., president of the largest Evangelical university in the world (Liberty University; total enrollment: 110,000-plus), took a grinning picture with Donald Trump, then the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, in the real-estate magnate's Manhattan office. Behind them, clearly visible on the wall, was a much younger Trump, tuxedoed, smirking from the cover of a 1990 issue of *Playboy*. The judgments of the Lord, it is said, are righteous and just. They are also, on occasion, delivered with a wicked sense of comic timing.

Suffering a series of grievous blows in recent years, culminating in the Supreme Court's 2015 decision mandating official recognition of same-sex marriage nationwide, the traditional "religious Right" has been in its final throes for some time. The embrace of Donald Trump—an uncouth, unrepentant serial adulterer and alleged sexual abuser; a businessman who's bullied widows and stiffed workers; and an apologist for brutalities in China and Russia—is its death rattle. But it may also be the occasion for a new, reinvigorated relationship between conservatives and orthodox Christians, refashioned for an America whose religious commitments are dramatically changed.

The religious Right was the result of a confluence of causes both theological and political. The Protestantism of the dominant WASP political and cultural establishment of the post–World War II years was that of the liberal Mainline, heavily influenced by the thinking of theologians such as Reinhold Niebuhr who encouraged what David Hollinger, in his essay "After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Ecumenical Protestantism and the Modern American Encounter with Diversity," calls a "mood of self-interrogation"—a willingness to undertake a deep critique of American Protestantism's inherited traditions and assumptions in the interest of a bold ecumenism. Such thinking was friendly to, if by no means synonymous with, mid-century political liberalism, so when the cultural revolution of the 1960s began, the Mainline Protestant churches were predisposed to sympathize. The ecumenical impulse in the Mainline prompted the consolidation of Evangelical Protestant denominations, which resisted the call for "diversity" as the siren song of secularism. Accordingly, Haight-Ashbury, Vietnam, *Roe v. Wade*, and the near-adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment constituted a series of related political-cultural disasters to which the Mainline churches assented but against which Evangelicals bucked.

In 1979, disappointed by the first Evangelical president—Jimmy Carter, whose politics did not reflect his religious bona fides—Jerry Falwell, minister of the nation's largest independent Baptist church, founded the Moral Majority. At its height, the Moral Majority claimed 7 million members (one-third of whom, Falwell later estimated, were politically homeless Catholics), and for ten years it was an umbrella institution coordinating organized opposition to abortion and to legal acceptance of homosexual acts and support for Israel and for school prayer. Other organizations, such as James Dobson's Focus on the Family and Family Research Council and Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, also played crucial parts. And the effort was aided by a mass-media presence: Falwell's *Old Time Gospel Hour*, which had been on the air since 1956, and Pat Robertson's *700 Club*, aired on his own Christian Broadcasting Network.

This mobilization had significant consequences. Evangelical voters went overwhelmingly for Ronald Reagan in 1980, among them a sizable minority who had voted for Carter in 1976, and they did so again in 1984. (Falwell later claimed that Reagan never would have won the White House without the Moral Majority.) In 1988, the Evangelical bloc of the Republican party was sufficiently strong for Pat Robertson to capture 9 percent of the national Republican vote in his upstart primary bid.

Over the course of the 1990s, some of the original infrastructure associated with the religious Right was devolved to smaller, more narrowly tailored organizations (such as Alliance Defending Freedom, formerly Alliance Defense Fund, founded in 1993 by Dobson and other Evangelical leading lights). But its influence did not wane. In 1992, Pat Buchanan declared to the Republican National Convention, following his primary loss, "There is a religious war going on in this country. It is a cultural war . . . for the soul of America." The notion of "culture wars" was a handy paradigm for the battles that ensued over Bill Clinton's in-office lechery. In Deal Hudson's *Onward, Christian Soldiers: The Growing Political Power of Catholics and Evangelicals in the United States*, Tim Goegelin, special assistant to President George W. Bush and now a Focus on the Family executive, explains: "The reason the religious Right's hatred for Bill Clinton was so venomous is that Bill Clinton was a proxy for '60s behavior; he embodied the same issues that created the movement in the first place." It was little surprise when Evangelicals formed George W. Bush's core constituency in 2000.

During this time, the religious Right—which, by the 1990s, included a contingent of outspoken conservative Catholics, such as *First Things* founder Richard John Neuhaus—was transforming the country in extraordinary if often little-noticed ways. By the mid 1990s, Evangelicals were better educated and higher-earning than the average American, and Evangelical institutions of higher learning, such as Wheaton and Calvin colleges, had begun punching well above their weight in terms of scholarship; by 2007, D. Michael Lindsay, a sociologist at Rice University, could publish *Faith in the Halls of Power: How Evangelicals Joined the American Elite*.

Meanwhile, religious conservatives pulled the Republican party rightward. By the time of his death in 1984, Evangelical theologian Francis Schaeffer had made abortion—until then widely seen as a Catholic issue—a central concern in Evangelical circles. In the 1990s, when many prominent Republicans thought the party's future lay in the direction of an accommodation with *Roe*, the religious Right pushed back. Today, the Republican party's official platform declares that "the unborn child has a fundamental right to life which cannot be infringed," and opposition to abortion is generally a litmus test for Republican office-seekers.

These and other victories should not be understated. But when Jerry Falwell disbanded the Moral Majority in 1989, he declared that "the religious conservatives in America are now in for the duration." That turned out not to be the case.

It has been widely noted that self-described Evangelicals exhibited surprising enthusiasm for the candidacy of Donald Trump. That observation must be qualified—most churchgoing Evangelicals preferred other candidates during the primaries, and there have been significant dissenters from the Trump fad, including the student body of Liberty University and figures such as Andy Crouch, executive editor of *Christianity Today*—but the general tilt is further evidence for the thesis proposed by sociologist James Davison Hunter in his 2010 book *To Change the World: The Irony, Tragedy, and Possibility of Christianity in the Late Modern World*, that the emphasis on personal charisma in Evangelical theology (think megachurch pastors) inclines the average Evangelical voter to a similar theory of political leadership. That goes a long way toward explaining the lasting affection for George W. Bush among Evangelicals, or the cults of personality that cropped up around, among others, Mike Huckabee, Sarah Palin, and Ben Carson.

Jerry Falwell Jr. and his wife, Becki, pose with Donald Trump in his office, June 21, 2016.

1But the embrace of Trump is also a sign of the times. The 2016 presidential contest has been strikingly devoid of discussion about *any* of the social issues that were prominent as recently as 2012. At the first general-election debate, in late September, abortion, same-sex marriage, and religious liberty were never mentioned—just one year after a series of sting videos exposed the savagery of the country's largest abortion provider, and amid ongoing attempts to use the power of the state to coerce same-sex-marriage dissenters. That lacuna is certainly due in part to the fact that both of this year's major-party candidates generally endorse a liberal sexual culture. But the power of the old religious Right was to force conversation about topics over the objections of policymakers. That power is gone.

Of course, those whose theological conservatism entails political conservatism have not vanished. Moreover, their leavening influence on a rapidly secularizing culture is arguably more important than ever before. But how right-leaning Christians ought to participate in public life is, once again, a wide-open question.

What's obvious is that they will require a new model. The Evangelical energy that animated so much of the religious Right has been lost first and foremost *because* of the manner of the religious Right's political participation. The political ardor of many of the religious Right's charismatic leaders was so fierce that their commitment to mobilizing large constituencies on behalf of social reforms appeared to, or actually came to, outmatch their theological or pastoral commitments. Likewise, often beholden to nostalgia for a postwar cultural consensus that in reality only ever half-existed, Evangelicals quickly became reflexive Republican partisans, and American Evangelicalism started to be seen as baptized Reaganism or Bushism. In a word, the religious Right became more right than religious. And the eyebrow-raising comments of Falwell and others (e.g., that "AIDS . . . is God's punishment for the society that tolerates homosexuals"), and the hucksterism that became associated with mass-market Evangelicalism (e.g., Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker, Jimmy Swaggart, et al.), encouraged the notion that Evangelical moral authorities really had none.

What's a Christian conservative to do? Different alternatives are on offer. Rod Dreher, a senior editor at *The American Conservative* and an adherent to Eastern Orthodoxy, proposes what he calls "the Benedict Option," in which Christians would focus on building up tight-knit, local communities to be "loci of Christian resistance" against the fragmentation of the larger culture. *First Things* editor and Catholic theologian R. R. Reno, in his book *Resurrecting the Idea of a Christian Society*, follows T. S. Eliot in suggesting that a core of engaged Christians living the Gospel intently—raising up the poor, defending the weak, promoting solidarity, etc.—is well situated to speed the collapse of a weak, failing secular establishment. In *Onward: Engaging the Culture without Losing the Gospel*, Russell Moore, president of the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission, submits that Christians are called to "engaged alienation, a Christianity that preserves the distinctiveness of our gospel while not retreating from our callings as neighbors, and friends, and citizens."

The paths overlap and diverge in various respects, but noteworthy about all three is that they reject any easy concord with conservative politics (let alone the Republican party). The priority is the authentic living-out of the Christian faith and the jealous guarding of its integrity. Theology and politics are integrally related, but the interests of the Church must be prioritized over those of the state when the two come into conflict. And that may mean that theological faithfulness entails positions that transgress against conservative orthodoxy.

That is not a blueprint for a "new religious Right." But, in truth, such a thing may not be what is needed right now. Far more pressing would seem to be the need for an authentic Christian voice crying in the wilderness, wielding a moral authority independent of party politics, preparing a way for a renewed public life. NR

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A Case of Compassion

One woman's act of mercy invites us to reflect on the suffering of animals

BY MATTHEW SCULLY

Anita Krajnc gives water to pigs in Toronto on their way to slaughter.

WIKIPEDIA.ORG

DEPRESSED about large and momentous events beyond our control, perhaps we had best think of humbler matters in which, at least, the decisions are ours alone to make. If that's your state of mind in the fall of 2016, I've got just the news story for you. A morality tale out of Ontario, Canada, it's known locally as the "thirsty pigs" case and presents choices that are, in their way, momentous enough.

In a court of justice, a 49-year-old woman named Anita Krajnc stands accused of criminal mischief. Her offense, as alleged by complainants and provincial authorities, was to give water to pigs bound for a nearby abattoir. It was a hot day in June of last year. A trailer hauling 180 or so of the animals had stopped at an intersection. Seeing the pigs looking out through the vents, panting and foaming at the mouth, the defendant let them lap water from a plastic bottle, provoking this videotaped confrontation related by the *Washington Post*:

> At that moment, the truck driver emerged in protest.
>
> "Don't give them anything!" he shouted, his own camera phone in hand. "Do not put anything in there!"
>
> "Jesus said, 'If they are thirsty, give them water,'" she yelled back.
>
> "No, you know what?" he shouted. "These are not humans, you dumb frickin' broad! Hello!"

The driver, Jeffrey Veldjesgraaf, called police and eventually continued on with his doomed cargo down Harvester Road to the suitably named Fearmans slaughterhouse (what pig shouldn't fear man's slaughterhouse?). The next day Eric Van Boekel, owner of Van Boekel Hog Farms, pressed charges for what he regards as an interference with his livelihood and property: a case of tampering with the food supply and nothing more.

Anita Krajnc, moreover, didn't just happen to be at that intersection. She leads a group called Toronto Pig Save. Part of its mission is to offer water to pigs and other farm animals in their final moments. In the way of mass-confinement farming these days, that ride to Fearmans affords their very first glimpse of the world and their very last. Often these journeys are hundreds of miles, the pigs crowded into trucks for as long as 36 hours with no food, water, or rest. Krajnc is there to "bear witness," that they might go to their deaths having encountered at least one human face that wasn't glaring indifferently at them, felt one touch of human kindness. Viewing the woman as incorrigible, Van Boeckel decided this was his chance to put an end to it.

Meanwhile, the Ontario Federation of Agriculture, representing hog farmers, informs members that "our coordinated action plan has been established" in case the controversy gets out of hand. "Developments in the case and associated actions by interested parties are being monitored very closely," and "we sincerely hope the court continues to focus on the specific issue at hand." They are understandably wary of any inquiry extending beyond the property-interference question, wishing to steer as far clear as possible of a public moral debate, to say nothing of a religious debate, about the mistreatment of farm animals in general and about Krajnc's last-hour benefactions in particular. Allow the spirit of the Comforter and Good Shepherd at the end of the creatures' lives, and attentive men and women will start to wonder where it was all along. Not good for business when people get too unearthly about these things. Save your prayers for grace over the meal.

For her part, the dumb frickin' broad with the water says that she was "just following the Golden Rule," understood as applying wherever human empathy can reach. She explained in court that she prefers the word "intervening" to "interfering," since whatever the law says about Van Boekel's property, she was simply living out her Christian obligation of compassion for animals, thereby serving the public good. It was an act of mercy, and in what kind of enterprise is it forbidden to be merciful? *I was thirsty and you gave me drink*. Nothing in the ring of those words to encourage help for an afflicted fellow creature? Do humans alone know thirst?

The reputations of revered saints instruct us in gentleness toward animals, along with firm admonitions in Scripture and felony-level penalties recognizing, toward some creatures, anyway, an obligation of justice. So to Krajnc's supporters it seems unfair that she should be the one compelled to explain herself, facing imprisonment for being merciful, while Van Boekel, who shows nothing of that quality, steps into court like some aggrieved pillar of the community. Change.org, petitioning for Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's attention to the case before a verdict comes next month, frames the matter this way: "What is wrong with our legal system, when attempting to alleviate the suffering of another being is seen as

Mr. Scully, a former literary editor of NATIONAL REVIEW *and senior speechwriter to President George W. Bush, is the author of* Dominion: The Power of Man, the Suffering of Animals, and the Call to Mercy.

criminal, and those who are inflicting the pain and cruelty are left unchallenged?"

A satisfactory answer from the prime minister would top his viral-video performance back in April, when he explained quantum computing to a dazzled audience of reporters and academics. Merely addressing the problem of factory farming at all would show a truly searching mind at work. How often do liberals who lay blame for the world's ills on the greed of other people, or conservatives on the weak will of other people, ever question their own habits and appetites, or consider how a change in these might help to avoid vast animal suffering? In neither case do we see the moral idealism of serious people at their best, and liberals in particular receive far more credit than is merited for thinking and caring about animal causes. So it would be nice if Canada's progressive prime minister set a helpful example. Should he answer the question put to him by Change.org, it is a challenge of mental prowess less theoretical than quantum theory, and the test of truth is consistency.

For instance, it was pointed out in Krajnc's trial that if the court had the same basic set of facts, replacing only the word "pig" with "dog," the weight of law would shift instantly in favor of the defendant, even though dogs also fall rather uneasily into the category of legal property. A conscientious person, seeing a trapped, desperate, overheated dog, would be expected to offer relief, and in some places, parts of Canada included, the law encourages exactly that. What would we do? And why should we care in the least what the owner thinks, when the creature is clearly suffering from deliberate or reckless neglect?

Social norms basically say that dogs are awesome and pigs are worthless. Provably, however, pigs are every bit the equals of dogs in their intelligence, emotional depth, and capacities for suffering and happiness alike. Though badly maligned, pigs are really quite impressive and endearing when they are not being tortured, terrified, scalded alive (as often happens), and dismembered amid the bedlam of places like Van Boekel's factory farm and Fearmans's abattoir. In countries where dogs are mostly appreciated, admired, and loved, while unseen pigs are killed by the hundreds of thousands every day, people need to pretend there's some subtle yet all-important moral difference between abusing one and abusing the other, or eating one and eating the other. And it falls to guileless souls like Anita Krajnc to remind them it's all just made up. Charge her with a lack of sophistication, being too naïve to play along with convenient cultural distinctions that have no basis in reality.

Indeed, we can easily imagine a Chinese or Korean version of the story, a "thirsty dogs case" in which some Golden Rule dogooder dares to offer a merciful bit of water to one of the millions of dogs ensnared in the canine meat trade—complete with a driver shouting "These are not humans! Hello!" and a seller insisting that she take her damn hands off his food animals. Dogs in China, South Korea, and elsewhere are subjected to devilish torments; as with our farm animals, thirst is the least of their miseries. Call up a few pictures on the Internet if you can bear reminding of how utterly depraved some people are toward animals. And then try explaining why *that* meat trade is needless, selfish, and hard-hearted but ours is not. If anything, the dog butchers and their customers may be credited with greater consistency, being unselective in their inhumanity toward animals.

Wait on the day when all such scenes are in our past, finally left behind in what Wayne Pacelle calls the "humane economy" (in a powerful book by that name). For every product of human cruelty, human creativity will offer something better, as it does already with an abundance of far healthier substitutes for meat. We will need no witnesses like Anita Krajnc to gentler, saner ways, because the slaughterhouses will be gone. The little acts of mercy will lead to great ones; the ruthless instead of the kindly will be counted disturbers of the peace. You can take that on the authority, as well, of Charles Krauthammer, a man educated in Canada, who observed recently on Fox News that "in a hundred years people are going to judge us as a civilization that killed wantonly and ate animals. There's going to be a time when we're not going to need to do that. And they're going to end up judging their ancestors, meaning us, harshly for having been that wanton and that cruel."

Or, you can take it from Anita, this gracious person whose real offense is to see what we are not supposed to notice, and to say what the world both dismisses as foolish and knows to be true. "When someone is suffering," she told the *Post*, "it's actually wrong to look away. We all have a duty to be present and try to help. In the history of the world, that's how social movements progress." NR

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The Gimlet-Eyed

On the craft of D. Keith Mano

BY RICHARD BROOKHISER

I KNEW D. Keith Mano long before I met him. My family first subscribed to NATIONAL REVIEW in 1969. Mano's regular column, "The Gimlet Eye," appeared in 1972. His mandate, described by WFB, was "to go about seeking strange and remarkable things." This he did, for 17 years, writing a thousand words in every issue—two or three columns in a row, punctuated by a book review.

He was, I would argue, the best writer to appear regularly in NR. WFB at his best was unbeatable, but his ubiquity pulled at his batting average. James J. Kilpatrick's presidential-campaign pieces, beautiful and wise, came and went like comets. Garry Wills and Florence King (this must be the first sentence in history to include them both) shone. But for sustained energy, issue after issue, Mano won the gold.

Journalism tracks change, for every day brings something new. But journalism also relies on the familiarity of repeating frameworks, or features, whether they be columns, cartoons, or centerfolds. Mano thrived on the push/pull of this regimen. I took a bound volume from NR's library shelf, 1975, and read (reread) every one of his pieces. The book reviews come closest to being dutiful, but even they sparkle. *Myron*, by Gore Vidal: "Gore Vidal is such a *bitch*" (Mano liked a strong lede). *Humboldt's Gift*, by Saul Bellow, "gets its talkative, awkward form from its genre: It belongs, with Crockett's or Franklin's autobiography, to confessional not novelistic literature." Of *The Connoisseur*, by Evan S. Connell, Mano asks, Why do we collect? "To share the thing's strength, its age, its creator's talents, as cannibals collect brave human hearts?"

Mano could listen. Here is Robert, a 15-year-old street magician. "A blind man approaches," Mano writes, "and I aim two dimes at his cup. Robert intercepts my throw. 'He sees better than I do. You can tell when they're faking, with their pupils all rolled up.'" Here is an executive for public-access television, on those who make use of his service: "One man took a record of Ezio Pinza singing 'Some Enchanted Evening' and lip-synched himself to it. The whole business is frustrating and silly and sad."

Occasionally Mano did impressions; his favorite fake voice was a ruder version of himself, talking Queens. Outer-borough Mano buys a card that identifies him as a Talent Scout, and reads the accompanying packet. "'If you are a red blooded male' (me for sure) 'or female and are eager to make money and have fun meeting beautiful women and photographing them . . . even in the Nude.' That kept coming up. And I liked the way they put a capital N on it, like it was Peoria, or Des Moines, made it seem even Nuder."

Over and over, he described. A crowd at an Upper West Side synagogue, waiting to hear Abba Eban. "You've seen them before: From park benches on a sunlit afternoon they captain those squat, barge-prowed islands in the middle of Broadway." Bella Abzug, a raucous far-left congresswoman. "Grossness is a tool, used as Belle Barth [a Sixties comedienne] used grossness. To shock. After all, what you can't cosmetize must be made a virtue." Mano visits Miami Beach. "Beaches are a savage hoax. . . . Read? Pages snowblind, one might as well read the wattage on a lit bulb. Sleep? The sheets are never changed. Cigarette butts bristle, filter end up. Beaches are sand-filled marble ashtrays from some gigantic hotel lobby."

Divorce. "Out my way a male black-widow spider has better odds of survival in marriage. I can count eight couples uncoupled or uncoupling in 1974, about a third of our acquaintance. When they visit us by halves, we sterilize the glasses afterward. It's a virus, I think: Gauze masks are recommended." Transcendental meditation. "They pass around a pamphlet full of bar graphs, where TM initiates stand out like the World Trade Center next to a Greenwich Village brownstone on scientific skylines." Marian visions in Bayside. "For more than five years now, two or three times a month, the Virgin Mary has been visiting Mrs. Veronica Lueken. That's pretty good: I don't even have friends who visit me that often."

Republicans in Manhattan. "I thought they got stored away with the Christmas balls: those rapt, secure faces you see fox-trotting to Guy Lombardo on New Year's Eve. They look most at home in cardboard hats, all webbed up with paper streamers like Laocoön and his immediate family." Overeaters. "Obesity makes drug addiction look like thumb-sucking. A trifle. You can give up heroin cold, but you can't give up food. Every third TV commercial is a pusher." Pre-season football workouts. "This is the awful time, windsprint time. Some scream while they run, getting a jump on their agony. Nostrils shear with inbreath; throat linings come apart."

Church bingo. "The numbers come, come. Women of seventy shame me. There's a cortisone in bingo that frees arthritic joints. One old woman who can hardly walk plays five dozen cards at once, broadcasting chips, dabbing with her marker bottle, fast, sure as a Benihana chef." Pornography. Mano was cast in a 16mm skin flick once. "Then the director put me on a hard-boiled-egg diet to lose ten pounds in ten days. It was only after the 15th hard-boiled egg that morality asserted itself. I quit and had three club sandwiches on the way home." And finally, in 1975's 20th-anniversary issue, there was an

D. Keith Mano in 1971

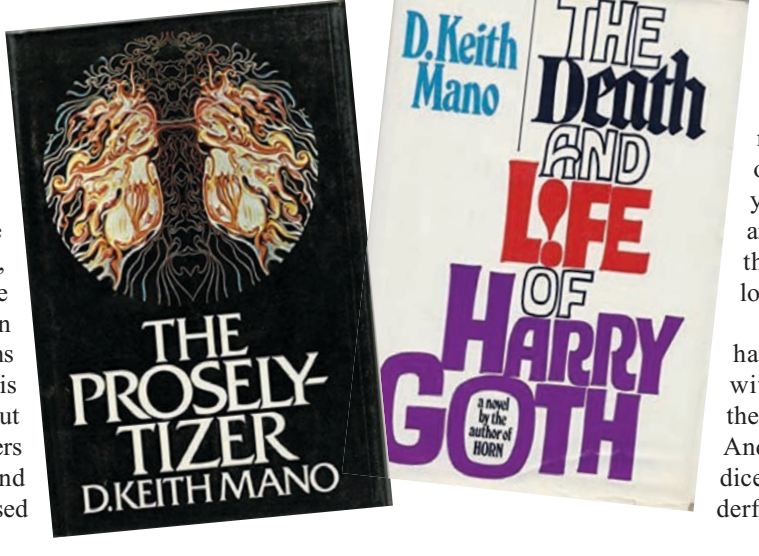
inserted parody of NR, edited by Mano. One of the bogus letters to the editor scolded "The Gimlet Eye." "D. Keith Mano's Gimlet Eye, 'Chickie on the LIRR,' was a shameless outrage," wrote Betty Prole. "The teenagers of Baldwin, L.I., do not—repeat, do not—stand on railroad tracks to see who will 'chicken out' first. The sordid fact is that Mr. Mano paid my son, John, and his friend Peter five dollars apiece to stand in front of the 6:15 express from Penn Station."

Mano ran a family business in Queens, which made expandable cement, but his vocation was art. He went to Columbia and Cambridge, studying with Lionel Trilling and F. R. Leavis (a path also trod by Norman Podhoretz). He wrote a string of novels, culminating in *Take Five* (1982), a 600-page showpiece. The book had an intimidating reputation. NR gave it to the critic Hugh Kenner to review. Kenner, who read Pound's *Cantos* with ease, was late with his copy. What had Mano done? When I took the plunge, years later, I found it, after two gnarly opening pages, to be easy reading, in the best sense: lively, fresh, flowing. The picaresque hero is Simon Lynxx, an indie filmmaker from Queens (almost-Mano again) who is trying to fund a movie about Jesus' sex life. He encounters a plethora of mishaps and characters (two of them based on real New Yorkers: Andy Warhol and Bishop Paul Moore, a once-prominent liberal Episcopalian). A deeper plot gradually takes over as Lynxx loses his senses one by one, finally left only with grace.

Mano wrote a lighter, late novel, *Topless*, about an Episcopal priest inheriting a topless bar. He sold it to Hollywood as a one-sentence treatment, with the hook that Tom Cruise play the priest. The movie never got made, but Mano made a nice payday. For the book party he hired a strip club at the foot of the Empire State Building and stood at the door, giving guests dollar bills to tip the dancers. Mano was as interested in sex as Donald Trump is, and far more interesting about it. Late in life, he experienced a shift: He told me he prayed every night for the women who worked in bars and clubs: "They lead a hard life."

Keith was warm, generous, and funny; his marriage to actress Laurie Kennedy blessed them both. He had a hard life writing, though. Talent often comes accompanied by anxiety, which is why so many writers drink, smoke, or practice magic. Kipling had to have certain knick-knacks on his desk, arranged just so, before he could produce. Keith produced systems that relieved stress by limiting choice. He had a set of rules for writing, which he never fully explained to me; the point was to avoid similar constructions in adjacent sentences. He did explain his rules for reading: He pulled books blindly from a bag. One source for the bag was the Strand, the great used-book store below Union Square. Keith would visit it with a pair of dice; the first throw picked the aisle, the second the shelf, the third the order in from the end of the book he would buy. You must have got some odd ones, I said. An Indian five-year plan from 1959, he answered. You read the whole thing? I asked. There were lots of charts, he said.

Keith, Keith, you could have begun every sentence with "I think that . . ." and they still would have flashed. And I will never have to roll dice to come back to your wonderful words. NR



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Voters line up for registration at a caucus precinct in East Las Vegas, Nev.

RYAN ANSON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The Blue Wave

Republicans must adapt to a diversifying electorate or lose their influence

BY TIM ALBERTA

Prescott Valley, Ariz.; Salem, Va.

Lee Stauffacher and Pam McKinney love their home state of California—its paradisiacal climate, its sublime topography—but they had to leave. The state had been overrun, first by immigrants legal and illegal, their cultures and traditions in tow, and then by liberal politicians who seized control of the government by catering to these constituencies and turning their communities into Democratic garrisons. The state became majority-minority in 2001; whites are now 39 percent of its population and dwindling. In turn, the GOP is essentially extinct, representing conservative enclaves around California but irrelevant in statewide elections.

So Stauffacher and McKinney, a staunchly Republican couple in their 60s, moved last year to Kingman, an 82 percent–white town in Arizona's ultraconservative northwest corner. They figured, given the state's ideological reputation—owing to hawkish immigration policies championed by generations of GOP officeholders as well as Maricopa County sheriff Joe Arpaio—it was the ideal regional antidote to California.

But not for much longer. Over the last 25 years, the state's Hispanic population has tripled, and whites have gone from 74 percent of the population to 54 percent. Minorities will be the majority by 2022. Arizona's changing population means a changing electorate; and a changing electorate usually means a changing government. Stauffacher and McKinney, it seems, can't escape this cycle.

They woke early one October morning and drove three hours east here, to Prescott Valley, where Donald Trump was campaigning. The area is rural and overwhelmingly white—hardly representative of Arizona, but perfect for reaching his core audience. Some 20,000 people came, law enforcement estimated, though only a fraction could squeeze inside the event center for Trump's speech. Stauffacher and McKinney were among them.

"When I listen to Donald Trump, I hear the America I grew up in. He wants to make things like they used to be," McKinney, a retired court clerk, says afterward. "Where I grew up, in the San Joaquin Valley, it was a good, solid community, but it fell apart when the government started pandering to all of these immigrants who don't understand our culture and don't want to assimilate." She stiffens. "I'm okay with immigrants as long as they're legal. But they need to assimilate to our culture. They can have their culture at home. In public, you're an American. They're celebrating their own holidays instead of ours."

"The good people like us are leaving California because of all that—the influx of immigrants, many of them illegal, who are

getting state ID cards, welfare benefits, and other government programs, and not even assimilating," says Stauffacher, 65. "And now it's happening here. This state is up for grabs." A Navy veteran and a retired engineer, he shakes his head in disgust. "The entire country is changing because they're letting people in who will only vote for Democrats."

Stauffacher is right: The United States is experiencing a sweeping and unprecedented demographic transformation. It's becoming younger, more diverse, more urban, more secular, and better educated. These trends show no sign of reversal and portend ominously for today's GOP, which depends heavily on older, white, rural, working-class, religious voters. This isn't lost on Trump's loyal supporters. In dozens of interviews across numerous states, they express uniform disapproval of the change swirling around them. They want a return to the America of their youth. But Trump cannot deliver that; nobody can. The country will soon look very different. And the biggest contributor to that change—the single trend that could propel the GOP toward oblivion—is the ethnic diversification of the electorate.

Republicans have failed for the past half century to attract non-white voters. Richard Nixon won 32 percent of non-whites in 1960, according to Gallup; no GOP nominee has approached that number since. (George W. Bush won 22 percent of non-whites in 2004.) This was not an existential threat when Democrats won the White House in 1992; after all, white voters had cast 87 percent of those ballots. But whites' vote share has declined in every election since, from 83 percent in 1996 to 72 percent in 2012. Today, whites are 69 percent of America's eligible voters. By 2024, that number will be 64 percent, the Census Bureau estimates; by 2044, it will be 54 percent.

Republicans have carried the white vote in every general election since 1968. But that's not enough anymore: Mitt Romney won whites, 59 percent to 39 percent, in 2012, but President Obama won the overall popular vote by nearly 5 million. How? Romney won just 17 percent of non-whites, including 27 percent of Hispanics, the electorate's fastest-growing group.

The country will soon look very different. And the biggest contributor to that change is the ethnic diversification of the electorate.

This is a math problem for the Republican party, and its elected officials differ sharply over potential solutions. Some Republicans believe that salvation lies in comprehensive immigration reform; they say it will fix a broken system once and for all, while demonstrating the party's compassion toward Hispanics and depriving Democrats of a devastatingly effective wedge issue. But many of their comrades see it differently: Any comprehensive endeavor would necessarily promise legalization, if not full-fledged citizenship, to parts of the undocumented community, and would include higher levels of legal immigration as well. This, they say, would add to the electorate even more less-skilled, low-income immigrants, many of whom might never warm to the GOP regardless of its modulation on immigration. (Ronald Reagan legalized nearly 3 million undocumented immigrants in 1986; only 30 percent of Hispanics voted Republican in 1988, compared with 34 percent in 1984.) To be clear, the party's predicament isn't limited to Hispanics. Blacks and Asians, another fast-growing voting bloc, have also turned against the GOP in large numbers. Because of this, some believe that Republicans should prioritize issues—poverty, education, the welfare state—that would mend their image among all non-whites, not just Hispanics. That said, it's impossible to quantify how much doing so would endear the GOP to minorities; it's similarly impossible to quantify how much passing immigration reform would improve the party's standing with Hispanics. What *is* quantifiable is the historic rate at which the country and the electorate are diversifying. And because Hispanics are the main driver, immigration reform continues to be the subject of intense disagreement inside the Republican party.

This divide is equal parts ideological and geographic. The majority of reform advocates are politically center-right and hail from rapidly diversifying states and congressional districts, whereas opponents are typically tea-party conservatives who are concentrated in heavily white patches of flyover country. They represent the binary worldviews of their constituents and of the Republican base: on one end, comfortable with the changing nature of the country; on the other, alarmed at the scope and pace of the change, especially when it threatens to overload the entitlement system or put them out of work.

This tension started in 2013, when four Republicans joined four Democrats as the Senate's "Gang of Eight" to pursue comprehensive immigration reform. Two of them, Arizona's John McCain and Jeff Flake, saw the population trend lines in their home state. The third, South Carolina's Lindsey Graham, warned that Republicans faced "a demographic death spiral." The fourth, Florida's Marco Rubio, aspired to run for president and to heal the fraught relationship between Hispanics and his party. But it wasn't meant to be: The Senate-passed bill was blocked in the House, where many Republicans represent deep-red, mostly white districts, and Rubio flamed out in the primaries in part because he couldn't live down his role in the Gang of Eight.

And then Trump became the Republican nominee for president.

In sweeping to the nomination, Trump took a sledgehammer to the party's elite consensus on immigration. Now the fear among GOP strategists isn't just that his no-holds-barred, ad hominem campaign will hurt Republicans with Hispanics in 2016—but also that it's antagonizing a generation of voters Republicans will need if they ever hope to reoccupy the White House. According to the Pew Research Center, 4 million Hispanics have become eligible voters since 2012. That pace will only accelerate. With the youngest population in the U.S., Hispanics will drive the number of eligible minority voters ever higher, eclipsing white eligible voters by 2052.

"For the past 20 years, looking at the rate of change over every four-year presidential cycle, we've been running like clockwork nationwide with a 2 percent increase in minority voters, a 1 percent

increase in college-educated whites, and a 3 percent decrease in white non-college voters," says Ruy Teixeira, an acclaimed demographer and senior fellow at the Center for American Progress. "That might not sound like much in the span of four years. But over 20 years—six presidential cycles—that's twelve points more minority and twelve points less white."

The implications are neither abstract nor academic. Several once-safe Republican states now lean Democratic in presidential-election years, when voter turnout, especially among minorities, is higher than in off-years. And barring a dramatic change in voter attitudes, others will soon follow. Two regions in particular, the mountain West and the Middle Atlantic states, are undergoing the speediest transformations.

In the mountain West, the traditionally competitive states of New Mexico (five electoral votes), Nevada (six), Colorado (nine), and Arizona (eleven) either are already beyond reach for Republicans or soon will be, thanks to booming Hispanic populations and diminishing numbers of non-college-educated whites. In the Middle Atlantic states, the same can be said for Virginia (thirteen electoral votes), North Carolina (fifteen), and Georgia (sixteen), all of which have diversifying economies and swelling college-educated urban outgrowth to complement fast-growing minority populations.

Is all hope lost for the GOP? Not yet. But if Republicans hope to defy the notion that demography is destiny—and prevent a host of red states from turning blue—Arizona is probably the best place to start.

THE question isn't whether Arizona will flip, but when. At least, that's what political scientists and party strategists say. For years, they've looked to 2024 or 2028 as the election in which Republicans will finally succumb to the state's demographic headlock. It will have been one hell of a run: From 1952 to 2012, the GOP carried Arizona in 15 of 16 general elections. The exception was 1996, when Bill Clinton edged Bob Dole by two points en route to a reelection landslide.

Something else happened in 1996: Natalie Arambula was born. The daughter of Mexican-American immigrants, she's now taking general prerequisite courses at Phoenix College, a two-year school in the heart of Arizona's biggest city. Between classes, she explains why she recently registered to vote for the first time. "Trump is a racist," Arambula says. "I don't think I'll ever vote for a Republican because of him." An afternoon spent at Phoenix College finds a bottomless well of similar sentiment. Many Hispanic students say they've also recently registered—assisted by the white-haired out-of-state activists patrolling the campus with clipboards—because of the threat one party poses to their community. This could make all the difference in November: Trump leads Clinton by one point in the *RealClearPolitics* polling average of Arizona, and her campaign announced a $2 million investment in the state three weeks before Election Day.

This is a nightmare for the GOP. The Hispanic vote share was climbing long before Trump descended his golden escalator to seek the presidency. Nationally, Hispanics were 8 percent of the electorate in 2004, 9 percent in 2008, and 10 percent in 2012. In Arizona, the trend is sharper: Hispanics went from 12 percent in 2004 to 18 percent in 2012, while whites dropped from 79 percent to 74 percent. In a state where Hispanics are now roughly one-third of the population—half of them under 18—the last thing Republicans wanted was to mobilize them. After all, the Hispanic community's political impact has been diluted by its anemic turnout; only 48 percent of eligible Hispanics voted in 2012, according to Pew, compared with 64 percent of eligible whites and 67 percent of eligible blacks.

This year could be different. The Arizona Hispanic Chamber of Commerce estimates that nearly 200,000 Hispanics have been registered since 2010, thanks to the work of well-organized liberal groups. Voters such as Arambula—predisposed to vote Democratic by virtue of their age and ethnicity—represent a potential tipping point in the partisan struggle for control of Arizona. The question now is whether they'll show up on November 8.

"There's still a gap, not just between eligible voters and registered voters, but between those who are registered and those who vote," says Mónica Villalobos, the Hispanic Chamber's vice president. Her organization, along with the non-partisan firm WestGroup Research, conducted a recent poll that found that 40 percent of Arizona Hispanics felt their vote wouldn't "impact" the election, and another 40 percent felt that neither candidate represented them. "That means 80 percent of Hispanic voters here are disengaged," she says.

This is welcome news for the GOP. Until their relationship with the Hispanic community improves, Republican strategists acknowledge, depressed turnout is their ally. (There's a reason conservative groups aren't funding voter-registration drives in Hispanic neighborhoods; even the Libre Initiative, a Koch-brothers enterprise that hosts free tax-preparation seminars and English-as-a-second-language courses, doesn't register voters in Arizona.) If Trump provokes any meaningful uptick in Hispanic turnout, the state could turn blue ahead of schedule.

"We did a report last year, before Trump came along, with straight-line projections," says Joe Garcia, director of the Latino Public Policy Center at Arizona State University's Morrison Institute for Public Policy. "And it showed that even with low registration and low turnout among Latinos, around 2030, Arizona will change from a conservative red state into a progressive blue state. With Trump, there's a galvanizing effect on the Latino community that could accelerate the change we predict is going to happen anyway."

What makes Arizona tough for Democrats—even with fierce demographic tailwinds—is the state's conservative bent going back to Barry Goldwater. Generations of GOP dominance are difficult to surmount. Even now, after a multi-year campaign to enlist Hispanic voters, registered Republicans outnumber registered Democrats in Arizona by more than 160,000; that margin was roughly 96,000 in 2008. This can likely be attributed to many new Hispanic registrants' identifying as "other" instead of with either party. But for now, it gives Republicans hope.

"For either party to win the Hispanic vote, they're going to have to invest. And I have a lot of Hispanic kids telling me that Democrats are taking them for granted," says Robert Graham, chairman of the Arizona GOP. "So yes, the state could go blue. But it could also go a brighter shade of red."

It wouldn't be without precedent. Texas became majority-minority in 2004, and whites today are just 43 percent of its population. Yet Democrats haven't carried the state since 1976. This speaks not only to the conservative worldview of the state's white electorate but also to the relative independence of its Hispanics. Romney won 25 percent of Hispanics nationally in

2012; there was no exit poll of Texas, but multiple private surveys showed him taking nearly 40 percent of Hispanics there. It's a similar story in Florida, the nation's biggest battleground. After it spent 60 years teetering between parties, Democrats hoped its bulging Hispanic population would tip the scales. But it hasn't, thanks to the conservative Cuban vote. Romney won 39 percent of Florida Hispanics, exit polls showed.

That's the good news for Republicans. The bad news: Arizona Hispanics have a more liberal voting record. Only 22 percent supported Romney in 2012. Four years earlier, an impressive 41 percent backed the Republican nominee—but that was McCain, their home-state senator, an avowed immigration reformer. Graham, who might challenge Reince Priebus for the Republican National Committee chairmanship, points to McCain and Flake as a model for attracting Hispanic votes. Yet in demonstration of the GOP's internecine struggle, after praising the senators' work in the Gang of Eight, he dodges repeated questions about whether citizenship or even legalization should be considered for undocumented immigrants.

Much of the GOP base rejects any such amnesty, as evidenced by Trump's ascent. And even if Republicans defied their constituents, there would be no guarantee of the party's being rewarded at the ballot box. Not only does Reagan's example loom large, but polling shows that Hispanics—while culturally conservative and entrepreneurial—hold a fundamentally liberal view of the role of government, especially in the areas of health care and the environment.

Without a clear electoral incentive, Republicans may never take meaningful action on immigration; if they don't, they may never win Hispanics. The status quo is unsustainable, GOP leaders say, because the endgame is unforgiving: Declining white populations almost always foreshadow Democratic gains at the ballot box. Arizona can look around the region for proof.

Colorado voted Republican in nine of ten elections from 1968 to 2004. But from 1984 to 2004, whites decreased by ten points as a share of the population. Unsurprisingly, Democrats broke through in 2008 and repeated their victory in 2012 (when just 23 percent of Hispanics backed Romney). The state is safely Democratic in 2016, and Republicans will struggle to reclaim it. Colorado is now 67 percent white; based on Census Bureau projections, it will be 60 percent white in 2030 and majority-minority by 2050.

Or take Nevada. It was a Republican lock from 1968 to 1988, carried by the GOP in each of those six elections. As its population diversified, it became a swing state, carried narrowly by Democrats in 1992 and 1996 and by Republicans in 2000 and 2004. But Obama's wins in 2008 and 2012 were lopsided. The obvious explanation is demographic change. Nevada was 63 percent white in 2004; today it's 52 percent. It will become majority-minority by 2020, and by 2040 it's projected to be 36 percent white. Trump has been surprisingly competitive in Nevada due to its sizable population of working-class whites, but this is likely to be their last stand. Barring the unforeseen, Nevada will become a permanently blue state.

New Mexico provides a glimpse of the future. Republicans carried the state in six consecutive elections, from 1968 to 1988. But its non-white population grew steadily throughout. By 1992 it was essentially split 50–50 between minorities and whites. Democrats won five of the next six elections, the lone exception being 2004, when George W. Bush won a record-high 44 percent of Hispanics nationally. The last two elections haven't been close. And with a white population that's currently 37 percent and falling fast, New Mexico is no longer considered by either party to be competitive in presidential years.

To drive south through Virginia from its northernmost point is to traverse polarized empires. It is to leave behind the soaring structures and paralyzed expressways and claustrophobic commuter subdivisions, suddenly to discover a landscape of serrated mountains and abandoned roads and sprawling farms. Virginia as a whole was once like its southern region is now: white, rural, agricultural, religious, and blue-collar. It voted that way too: Republicans carried the commonwealth in 13 of 14 presidential elections from 1952 to 2004. (The lone exception was Lyndon B. Johnson's 44-state romp in 1964.) Even in his tough campaigns, George W. Bush carried Virginia by eight and nine points in 2000 and 2004, respectively.

That seems a distant memory. Obama won the state by six points in 2008 and by four points in 2012, and Trump's campaign has effectively ceded it to Clinton. Why? The Old Dominion has changed significantly since Bush's second victory. For starters, whites were 71 percent of Virginia's voting-age population in 2004; today that number is 65 percent, and it is projected

BROOKS KRAFT/GETTY IMAGES

Supporters of Hillary Clinton hold a sign saying 'I'm with her' written in Spanish, Miami, Fla., July 23, 2016.

to be 60 percent in 2030. More consequentially, the state has seen a pronounced population shift toward urban areas. As the *New York Times* noted, "in 1970, as the first Republican governor since Reconstruction was taking office, just one in eight Virginians lived in the suburban counties outside Washington. By 2008, about one in three did." That trend has continued unabated thanks to the proliferation of government-related jobs and a vast corollary expansion of the suburban-D.C. housing market. As a result, Virginia as a whole now resembles (and votes like) its northern region, having grown more diverse, more urban, and better educated.

Pat Counts has watched this transformation from Salem, a town of 25,000 tucked in Virginia's scenic southwest corner. Counts, 65, was born in Salem and never left; he raised a family, served as fire chief for 40 years, and is now retired. As he waits for Trump's running mate, Mike Pence, to address a cap-and-flannel-clad audience at the local community enter, Counts says his children have all moved to bigger cities—including a son who lives in Loudoun County, a wealthy Washington exurb. "He took a while to get used to it," Counts says, laughing. "Down here, we're more middle class and laid back, compared to the hustle and bustle up there. Plus, those people are much more liberal in their beliefs." Counts supports Trump's immigration proposals, and wishes his state could go back to the way it was. But he knows better. "Every election now, it looks good for Republicans, until all those votes start coming in from northern Virginia."

These same trends—the diversification, urbanization, and education of Virginia's electorate—are slower yet still noticeable in neighboring North Carolina. Like Virginia, the Tar Heel State was dominated by Republicans for several generations; the GOP carried nine of ten presidential elections from 1968 to 2004. But it's now among the nation's premier battlegrounds: After two double-digit Bush wins, Obama carried the state by one-third of a percentage point in 2008, and Romney took it back with a two-point victory in 2012. Though North Carolina remains more competitive than Virginia, it may not be for long. The state's black, Asian, and Hispanic populations are all projected to increase steadily over the next 30 years, while whites, who were 75 percent of the state's population in 1986, are 63 percent today and heading toward minority status by 2050. It's not just the racial complexion of North Carolina that's changing; the state has seen an influx of young, college-educated residents drawn to the banking industry in Charlotte and the research triangle in the Raleigh-Durham area. (Between 1980 and 2010, the share of North Carolinians living in cities of 75,000 or more "nearly doubled" from 14.5 percent to 28 percent, according to Rebecca Tippett of the UNC-Chapel Hill Carolina Population Center.) These changes have come at the expense of a vanishing manufacturing industry that once employed the state's white working class.

Skipping across ruby-red South Carolina, Republicans also have cause for concern in Georgia. Once a bastion of the solid Democratic south, the Peach State swung into the GOP column in 1984 and stayed there for six of the next seven elections, the exception being Bill Clinton's 14,000-vote victory over George H. W. Bush in 1992. Republicans have carried Georgia by an average of eight points in the five elections since; they control the governor's mansion, both legislative chambers, both U.S. Senate seats, and ten of fourteen congressional districts. Yet Georgia's white share of the population has dropped sixteen points since 1984. The state is currently 54 percent white and will become majority-minority by 2026. Like North Carolina, Georgia owes its minority growth to a mix of blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. And though it has fewer metropolitan areas than North Carolina, Georgia has seen massive outgrowth from Atlanta as college-educated, white-collar voters have moved in. As Josh Putnam, a lecturer in the University of Georgia's political-science department and the founder of the elections website *FrontloadingHQ*, says, "If North Carolina is tipping toward Democrats now, then Georgia won't be far behind."

As Ebenezer Scrooge asked the Ghost of Christmas Yet-to-Come, "Are these the shadows of things that will be, or are they the shadows of things that may be only?"

That question can be answered only by the Republican party. The demographic writing is on the wall; if the GOP continues to repel non-whites, it will cease to be competitive. "Trying to win a presidential election by getting a larger and larger share of a smaller and smaller proportion of the electorate is a losing strategy," says Whit Ayres, a top pollster to many Republicans, including Rubio, and the author of a book on America's demographic transformation. "It's very clear that Republicans are going to have to do much better among non-white voters to have any hope of electing a president in the future."

Mindful of this imperative, House speaker Paul Ryan, for example, has toured the nation's poorest neighborhoods and met with community leaders to craft anti-poverty proposals, and has long been a supporter of comprehensive immigration reform. He pushed the House GOP to produce a far-reaching policy agenda in hopes of convincing skeptics—especially those in minority communities—that Republicans have a proactive, inclusive blueprint to improve their lives. But Ryan, for the time being, is noticeably out of step with his party, as evidenced by its choice of a candidate whose sincerest pitch to black voters is, "What the hell do you have to lose?"

Hence the roles of Trump and Ryan as enemy generals in the Republican civil war, plotting their irreconcilable paths for the GOP's future. Ryan knows the country is changing and wants the party to evolve for long-term survival; Trump knows the party's base rejects this change, particularly the looming threat of higher immigration levels under a Clinton presidency, and wants their votes for short-term victory.

Trump is unlikely to succeed, of course. But even an improbable November 8 victory wouldn't change the fact that his coalition—older, white, and not college-educated—is small and getting smaller. Instead of choosing a leader who could appeal to these voters as well as to the ones changing the mountain West and the Middle Atlantic states, Republicans nominated a man who implicitly denies the demographic changes that make his candidacy such an electoral challenge—and who indulges the fantasy of returning to an America that no longer exists.

Helen Best, a 69-year-old loyal Republican and lifelong North Carolina resident, says it's no mystery why Democrats are ascendant. "The country's morals have changed," she says. "This is going to sound racial, but it's all the free handouts—they're teaching people you don't have to work for what you get anymore. And people are voting for them." Standing outside a Pence rally in Raleigh one brisk October evening, she shrugs with dismay. "People say it's just a changing of the times. But why do we need to change at all?" NR

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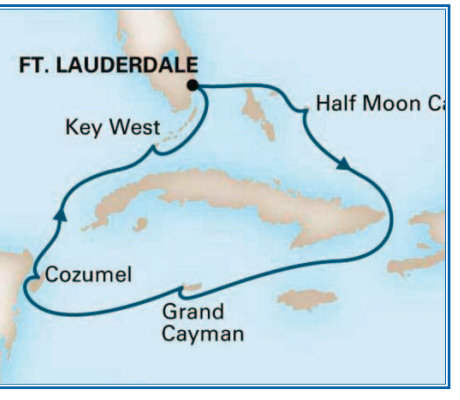

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The Cronyist Threat

Conservatives should act to restore confidence in free markets

BY YUVAL LEVIN

The past year has highlighted many problems with the ways conservatives tend to approach the broader public—including Republican voters. A lot of these problems come down to two kinds of failure: On one hand are failures to take seriously some key public concerns, and on the other are failures to articulate some key conservative priorities. The combination has meant that conservatives have sold themselves short as sources of solutions to what ails America.

This twofold failure is evident in many arenas, but the Right's approach to the question of "cronyism" may offer an especially instructive example. Voters of all political stripes seem increasingly to think that the economy is somehow rigged against them, and to the benefit of some wealthy and powerful interests. This isn't always true, of course, and it can easily become a convenient excuse for demanding special favors or protections. Indeed, resentment against the wealthy and powerful is frequently channeled by the Left to empower greater government intervention—ironically creating new opportunities for the wealthy and powerful to lobby and to curry favor.

But the Left's tendency to misdirect concerns about favoritism and cronyism is not an excuse for the Right to pretend that such concerns are baseless. It is important to take those concerns seriously, both because they are in many cases valid and because cronyism badly undermines the kind of market economics that conservatives think is essential to America's wealth and freedom. The failure to take complaints about cronyism seriously is in this sense both a political and an intellectual failure for conservatives—and the two reinforce each other.

Everybody knows that conservatives in America are champions of the market economy as an engine of prosperity. But too many Americans, including too many conservatives, seem to believe that defending the market economy means serving the interests of business. That is certainly how our government has too often approached its role as steward of the economy—advancing the priorities of established, well-connected interests, sometimes at the expense of the needs of individuals, families, communities, and the nation as a whole, and claiming to do so in the name of economic growth and freedom.

But a commitment to the goals and principles of the market economy is by no means the same thing as a commitment to the interests of the businesses that compete in that economy. On the contrary, markets require a government dedicated to open competition for the benefit of consumers and citizens—which very often means subjecting powerful incumbents to competitive pressures they would rather avoid.

Such fair and open competition is precisely what makes markets engines of prosperity and innovation, and what makes the free-enterprise system well suited to helping a free society address some of its biggest problems. Providing business interests (or labor interests, or any other established, well-connected group) with special benefits or shielding established market actors from competition is therefore anathema to the ethic of capitalism and of democracy. That our government now frequently engages in precisely such preferential treatment for the well connected is a grave danger to democratic capitalism in America. And that the public identifies such cronyism with capitalism itself is a failure of the friends of the market system. It is as such a failure of conservatism, and it threatens all that conservatives hope to achieve.

It is so grave a threat because cronyism runs much deeper than we generally think. Some examples are obvious and much discussed: Direct subsidies to agribusiness and loan guarantees for some of our largest exporters use public resources to protect the standing of established market giants. The staggering array of tax carve-outs and targeted regulations benefits businesses with the resources to lobby and to ensure compliance, and comes at the expense of new competitors. The corporatism that has defined the Obama administration's domestic policy—protecting large, powerful companies from competition in exchange for their willingness to serve as agents of government power in finance, health care, and elsewhere—has advanced the progressive agenda of consolidation at the expense of dynamism and prosperity.

But cronyism reaches much farther than these relatively obvious examples, to the core of the problems of modern American government. Self-dealing is, for instance, at the heart of our primary- and secondary-education crisis, as schools and districts are run in the interests of administrators and tenured teachers rather than students. It is a driving force behind our higher-education dilemmas, as the already accredited run the accreditation system and keep out new competitors and new models of schooling and financing. It undermines upward mobility, as established players in one industry after another use licensing and certification requirements to keep out competitors. It distorts our immigration debate, as the national interest and the interests of powerful employers are willfully confounded. It is a primary barrier to market-oriented health-care reform.

For all these reasons, cronyism also leaves the public mistrustful of conservative claims to offer solutions on these various fronts, and of conservative assertions that the competitive provision of public services or benefits could help the poor, elderly, and vulnerable better than today's welfare and entitlement systems. Cronyism thus lies at the heart of our liberal welfare state and is a massive overarching problem for conservative reformers.

Indeed, corporatism, or the consolidation of social power in the hands of large, centralized public and private institutions, is a core principle of modern progressivism, such that picking winners and losers has long been understood by many on the left to be a necessary purpose of public policy. "In economic warfare," wrote the progressive theorist Herbert Croly in 1909, "the fighting can never be fair for long, and it is the business of the state to see that its own friends are victorious."

Cronyist progressivism is thus coherently wrong. But cronyist conservatism is incoherent and inexcusable. And leaving the public with a choice between only these two alternatives, as our politics too often does, is a failure of our political system that is again attributable to a failure of the defenders of the market economy and of American democratic capitalism.

Indeed, the very idea of the market economy arose in large part to combat cronyist economics. Adam Smith offered his case for markets in the late 18th century in opposition to mercantilism—the then-prevailing economic system, which equated the interests of a nation with those of its largest manufacturers and trading companies. The economy should instead be geared to the benefit of consumers, Smith argued. Large companies and powerful merchants should be neither preferred nor oppressed; they should be subject to the rules of open competition without exception.

Our constitutional system, too, was intended in part to help combat this scourge by creating a stable and predictable legal regime. Cronyism, by bending rules for special interests, undermines the predictability and fairness essential to republican government. A key effect of the resulting instability, as James Madison put it in *Federalist* 62, is

> the unreasonable advantage it gives to the sagacious, the enterprising, and the moneyed few over the industrious and uniformed mass of the people. Every new regulation concerning commerce or revenue, or in any way affecting the value of the different species of property, presents a new harvest to those who watch the change, and can trace its consequences; a harvest, reared not by themselves, but by the toils and cares of the great body of their fellow-citizens. This is a state of things in which it may be said with some truth that laws are made for the *few*, not for the *many*.

Both the nature of the public problems we now confront and the character of the solutions that conservatives are inclined to propose therefore demand that the rejection of cronyism and the promotion of fair and equal competition be central planks of any conservative economic agenda.

WHAT would this mean in practice? First and most obviously, it would mean combating particular instances of abject cronyism in public policy. Such instances are legion, and addressing them would help conservatives make the case for market economics as a way to advance not only prosperity but also fairness in our economy.

The federal government now uses a number of programs to subsidize American companies that export their products, for instance. Most notable in recent years (though far from alone) has been the Export-Import Bank. It provides taxpayer-backed loan guarantees, among other forms of subsidy, to lower the financing costs of foreign consumers who buy high-cost American-manufactured goods (such as aircraft and construction equipment). These subsidies benefit foreign buyers and domestic manufacturers at the expense of American consumers and taxpayers. They often simply reduce costs for purchases that would have been made anyway, while putting the domestic competitors of foreign buyers at a disadvantage (such that, for instance, an American airline pays more for a jet than does a foreign airline that has its financing backed by U.S. taxpayers).

Champions of such subsidies try to pass them off as protecting American manufacturing workers, and so try to package cronyism as populism—but choosing some American workers over others is not nationalism, and subsidizing powerful corporations and foreign buyers is not populism. The purpose of trade policy should be to make all Americans wealthier, not just to enrich selected manufacturing firms and protect only their workers—while hurting others and raising everyone's cost of living.

Our approach to regulating the financial sector, meanwhile, also expressly protects large, incumbent institutions from competition and implicitly protects them from risks inherent in their own investment decisions. The sheer complexity of financial regulation gives an advantage to larger banks over smaller ones, since the former are able to afford the immense compliance apparatus required to live by the rules.

Large companies and powerful merchants should be neither preferred nor oppressed; they should be subject to the rules of open competition without exception.

A similar pattern prevails in many other industries. The federal government now subsidizes both fossil-fuel production (especially through the enhanced oil-recovery tax credit and the marginal-well production tax credit) and renewable-energy resources (through the wind-production tax credit, the electric-vehicle credit, and others). These policies distort the incentives for energy innovation, pick winners and losers in what should be a competitive marketplace, and redistribute taxpayer dollars upward.

In health care, federal policy frequently privileges large, consolidated hospital systems at the expense of smaller provider groups, and Obamacare is packed full of corporate welfare, particularly for insurers and hospitals. In agriculture, farm subsidies are almost pure corporate welfare. They now cost taxpayers some $20 billion each year, much of which involves upward redistribution from taxpayers to both corporate and family farms whose owners are generally wealthier than most Americans.

At the same time, the federal government has certainly been too lax in enforcing basic antitrust rules in many industries, and has permitted and encouraged a degree of economic consolidation that has hurt consumers to the benefit of large and influential economic actors. Conservatives should champion a revival of antitrust enforcement and defend it as an appropriate responsibility of a limited government in a free economy.

And at the state and local levels, many incumbent businesses and professions (barbers, manicurists, interior designers, and countless others) have successfully lobbied for enormous barriers to entry to their occupations. Such rules not only constrain competition, and so tend to increase consumer costs, they also severely restrict upward mobility and close off paths to better lives. They should be rolled back and resisted.

PREVALENT and infuriating though such explicit favoritism is, we must also recognize that cronyism in public policy is not only a matter of direct subsidies and protections but also an essential feature of the administrative state and the welfare state. Both frequently become captives of private actors over whom they have regulatory authority or from whom they are charged with procuring products or services. To ameliorate this, the state would need to become a neutral arbiter of competitive marketplaces rather than a manager of inefficient monopolies.

Today's fee-for-service Medicare program, for instance, is an absurdly micromanaged single-payer health-insurance system in which a federal bureaucracy determines prices for thousands of procedures and sets payment rules for millions of providers. The system is thoroughly captured by the largest of these providers: It subsidizes their operations, protects them from competition, and encourages mass consolidation in American health care. Moving from a single-payer, fee-for-service Medicare program to a premium-support model would take the government out of the business of setting prices and micromanaging providers and would instead empower seniors to choose among real alternatives. This would move Medicare toward being a competitive market in which insurers and care providers have to vie for consumer preference rather than for government favors.

A similar logic applies to education, where parental choice is restricted by systems that protect incumbent teachers and their unions at the expense of students. In many large school districts, teachers' unions use their financial and political muscle to control the election of school-board members and so effectively choose their own negotiating partners, leaving parents and the rest of their communities powerless to change things. Breaking up such monopolies, by allowing some of the public funds that now flow to school systems to be put instead in the hands of parents and by giving those parents a real choice among educational options, can help these public dollars serve the public rather than a particularly powerful pressure group.

These kinds of reforms are not normally what we think of when we consider the fight against cronyism in public policy, but they are essential to it. Self-dealing and targeted favoritism are unavoidable byproducts of an overgrown administrative state, and one of the foremost reasons to pare back the scope and reach of our government is to reduce the potential for and the reality of such abuses.

Indeed, an anti-cronyist agenda is implicit in much of the conservative reform agenda of our time, across a broad range of issues. But it is important that conservatives make it much more explicit. This would help to clarify both the substantive centrality and the political necessity of the fight against cronyism for our larger cause, and would help voters see that it is the champions of the liberal welfare state, not their conservative critics, who stand for crony capitalism today.

The failure to advance this argument is an instance of a larger pattern in which conservatives have become disconnected from public concerns because we have forgotten the foundations of our own view of the world. A complacent repetition of vague slogans about freedom too often turns the Right into a caricature of itself. A concerted reengagement with the actual conservative case for freedom would instead let the Right offer serious answers to today's most pressing public concerns. NR

Masters of The Game

A word of defense for elitism

BY KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

Miami

THE sun is blazing, and Steelers Nation is restive. It may be that the tribe members gathered at the newly rechristened Hard Rock Stadium in Miami aren't used to getting serious sunburns in October—or it may be that they just aren't used to losing, at least not to a bunch of second-raters like the 1–4 Dolphins with their dopey Jimmy Buffett fight song and their just-this-side-of-Scores "cheerleaders" and their communal "HOO-AH!" after every first down. The visiting fans down in the high-dollar seats turn ugly in a hurry, with one couple—you know the couple, sitting on the seatbacks, feet in the seats, Oakley sunglasses, lots and lots of Coronas—cursing those "f***ing retards" on the field, that "f***ing overpaid p***y" Ben Roethlisberger, who has led the team to two Super Bowl victories but is wavering today with a bum meniscus in his left knee. Two bored rich old guys with the look of bored rich old guys come in halfway through the first quarter and do a Statler-and-Waldorf act until they disappear at halftime.

Two things become quickly obvious. One is that these dedicated Steelers fans, for the most part, don't know the first thing about football, even as they lay out big money for away-game travel and high-dollar tickets. They shout encouragement (and, later, abuse) at the quarterback while the defense is on the field and get a little confused between punts and field goals. (Lots of Coronas, we're talking about.) They loudly encourage linebacker Lawrence Timmons to "get the ball," a strategy that probably has occurred to him. (Timmons answered that advice by—no kidding—simply *puking on the field* after a Dolphins touchdown.) The second undeniable fact about Steelers Nation is: They resent—and maybe even *hate*—the Pittsburgh Steelers. They hate the star players' giant paydays (Roethlisberger's theoretical pay ceiling is $108 million over five seasons, and his *guaranteed* payday is $65 million), they hate the offensive coordinator (the Steelers had the No. 3 offense in the NFL in 2015), and they intensely hate Mike Tomlin, the team's stoic, unflashy, undemonstrative head coach, whom they charge with a lack of "passion" and a deficit of "intensity."

In reality, things like "passion" and "intensity" matter about as much to a football contest being played at this level as they do to the functioning of a nuclear weapon or the outcome of a grandmasters' chess match. What's at work on the gridiron under the merciless Florida sun is a question of foot-pounds of energy, endless and minutely specialized drilling, athletic choreography, and bio-mechanics. It is important, for commercial reasons, to maintain the illusion that the fans matter, but the reality is that the fundamental game—the game

itself—could be played without them, and might even be played better and more interestingly without them.

But that isn't about to happen. The gyrating cheerleaders and the thumping AC/DC–DMX–Lil Jon–Lee Brice soundtrack changing its tune every 18 seconds and the beer and the salutes to our veterans and the salutes to our schoolchildren and the kiss cam and the flex cam and the smile cam may distract the gathered clans from what's actually going on, but the reality is that professional football is an esoteric athletic competition embedded in a multibillion-dollar media empire embedded in *Idiocracy*.

But despite all that, it is not quite a *perfect* metaphor for presidential politics: In the NFL, the players know better than to ask the boobs in the stands what the next play should be.

Not so in politics.

In April 2015, left-wing groups around the country spent months agitating for a $15 federal minimum wage. New York City's feckless Sandinista mayor, Bill de Blasio, wanted to announce his support for that proposal to highlight "our efforts to organize progressives nationally to take on income inequality," as he put it in an e-mail to Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign goons. But there were some problems with that. For one, the candidate herself was pressing for only a $12 minimum wage—raising it by a mere 66 percent rather than more than doubling it, as socialists such as Senator Bernie Sanders, Clinton's primary rival, were demanding.

E-mails released as part of the WikiLeaks trove reveal that Neera Tanden, president of the left-wing Center for American Progress, advised that "a fair number of liberal economists" advised that the move "will lose jobs"—which is to say, "a fair number of liberal economists" agree with conservative economists, libertarian economists, and, you know, *economists* that demand curves slope downward—but also advised that these concerns could simply be ignored. "Politically, we are not getting any pressure to join this from our end," Tanden wrote. "I leave it to you guys to judge what that means for you. But I'm not sweating it."

Contemporary progressives like to pose as disinterested empiricists, as pragmatic managers who are simply interested in "what works," as Barack Obama likes to put it. There's enough question-begging in that formulation to fill a three-foot shelf of philosophy and economics texts (what works to do *what*?), which does not much matter—because it always has been a lie, with millennial "empiricism" simply being the latest brightly colored, New, Improved! and Under New Management packaging for the strange brew of 19th-century Taylorism and what used to be known as "scientific" socialism to which our so-called pragmatists still cling. When it comes down to the basic facts of political life—the seizure and the maintenance of political power—that empiricism goes out the door. Liberal economists say that more than doubling the minimum wage might put some downward pressure on full-time employment for the low-skilled workers whose interests Democrats claim to represent? Sure, but there aren't a lot of economists, and there are a great many people who earn less than $15 an hour: How many electoral votes does the Brookings Institution have?

The Democrats have shown time and again that, for all their purported reliance on dispassionate "just the facts" empiricism and expert opinion, they can be bullied and mau-maued into accepting whatever insane policy happens to catch the whimsy of their constituents, so long as the chanting in the stands is loud

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enough. In 2008, both Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton were opposed to gay marriage; today, the default Democratic position is that if you look askance at a man in a dress who prefers to use the ladies' locker room at the gym, then you are morally identical to Bull Connor. They're cowards and hypocrites, but the Democrats at least make a ceremonial bow in the direction of expertise and informed opinion from time to time.

A terrifyingly wide swath of Republicans, on the other hand, has come to reject that as "elitism."

That is partly understandable. Hierarchy is basic to conservative thought—every one of Russell Kirk's ten principles assumes implicitly or makes explicit the contrast between the natural hierarchies of the harmoniously ordered society and the "deadening egalitarianism of radical systems"—but there are worthwhile hierarchies and defective hierarchies. As progressives colonized the commanding heights of culture and education, they drew the elite institutions they occupied, from Yale to the Modern Language Association, into disrepute. The American Medical Association ceased to be a medical concern and was converted into a lobbyist for gun control and other lifestyle-liberal priorities; Harvard and Princeton got into something like a bidding war over Cornel West that was not *obviously* about the greatness of the celebrity academic's scholarship, such as it is; teachers' associations and unions are apostles of social radicalism and foot soldiers for Democratic campaigns; Hollywood, Broadway, the publishing houses, and the major newspapers are almost exclusively monopolies of the center-left, sneering at those bitter non-cosmopolitans who "cling to guns and religion," as President Obama put it; the NFL is infested with risible black-power posturing. Even the leaders of the political party purportedly dedicated to the interests of those held in intense contempt by coastal progressives tend to be products of the same schools, institutions, and in many cases neighborhoods as their counterparts on the left, the elites of both political parties having more in common with one another than they do with truck drivers from northern Louisiana or combine mechanics in Nebraska. Sometimes, as on the question of illegal immigration, those cultural fault lines are contiguous with very powerful political fault lines. On immigration, the elites are simply wrong on the substance; on the similar issue of trade, the elites (including Democrats such as Hillary Rodham Clinton, when she feels secure enough to be honest) have the policy more or less correct, and the anti-elitists hate them all the more for it.

It falls to conservatives to do the politically difficult and thankless work of defending the very elitism that has a non-trivial portion of the Republican electorate up in arms—metaphorically, and perhaps literally if we take seriously the torches-and-pitchforks talk from the likes of Sheriff David Clarke.

THERE are two reasons for that.

The first is that the policy questions before us really are complicated, but the American public has neither command of those questions nor the appetite to acquire such command. Hence the endless stupidity that characterizes our discussions of the national debt and deficits, which are dominated by such picayune concerns as foreign-aid spending (generally less than 1 percent of federal outlays) or discretionary military engagements that do not in the end add up to very much in a budget dominated by Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, interest on the debt, and ordinary military costs that we incur whether our troops are stationed at Kunsan Air Base or Fort Bragg. That's why cries of "GET TOUGH!" with Islamic terrorists actually resonate, as though the CIA and the Marines had never considered getting tough with the enemy. Any set of effective policy reforms is going to be expert-generated and expert-driven, and those experts are not going to be, for the most part, graduates of the Continental Truck Driver Training and Education School, worthy though that institution may be. They're going to be from Harvard and Stanford and the University of Chicago, and they'll probably have investment banks and management consultancies and the State Department or the Federal Reserve on their CVs. They're going to be elites, and we are going to need them.

The second reason to defend elitism is that where elites prevail, policy outcomes are generally more conservative, or at least more libertarian, especially on economic questions. In *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*, Princeton politics professor Martin Gilens finds that while there tends to be broad agreement about policy questions across income groups, on those issues where the rich (standing in, imperfectly, for our elite) and the middle-class and poor disagree, the rich generally prevail. The rich are less enthusiastic about heavy-handed progressive projects such as that $15 minimum wage, less interested in trade protectionism, and generally more open to free-market policies than are the poor, and U.S. policy reflects their outsized influence. The economist Bryan Caplan notes that on a number of important and emotional issues—and not only economic ones, but also questions such as free speech—U.S. policy is in fact well to the libertarian side of public opinion. That may not make conservatives happy when it comes to gay marriage, but it is generally a win. "Democracy as we know it is bad enough," Caplan writes. "Democracy that really listened to all the people would be an authoritarian nightmare."

Listen to 20 minutes of Michael Savage's amusingly bonkers radio program and see if the pointy-headed fellow from George Mason U. is wrong on the merits.

Everyone is an elitist when it really matters: If your child needs brain surgery, you go to the most elite neurosurgeon you can find, not the one you'd most like to have a beer with. We get away with anti-elitism in politics and in culture because the stakes are so low. (What's the most you've ever lost on a presidential election?) (Besides your country.) We should not replicate the progressives' error—pretending that there are empirically right and wrong answers to questions of *preference* and *priority*—but we should be forthright about the fact that properly functioning elites are necessary to a healthy and free society. The current populist vogue notwithstanding, amateurs are ill suited even to the pursuit of political power at the highest and most demanding level, much more to the actual exercise of that power. The people raging along to talk radio as they stew in traffic could no more do Paul Ryan's work than the frustrated Steelers fans could do Ben Roethlisberger's.

The Miami Dolphins entered the field beneath a splendid display of fireworks; Kim Jong-un and Ali Khamenei dream of fireworks of a different kind—and those fireworks are not merely decorative but central to the game that is in fact being played. We are going to need to rely upon people who know the difference, who know that the exhortations of the cheerleaders ("WE THE PEOPLE!" "DOWN WITH THE ELITES!") are at most incidental to the contest, and who understand that we don't always get to try again next Sunday. **NR**

Athwart

BY JAMES LILEKS

'Tear Down This Big, Beautiful Wall'

We were sitting outside a Chicago hotel, waiting for the Uber. This was the modern world in all its glory; the proud towers of this bustling and bankrupt city rising above, a glass-clad slab in my hand summoning a private ride to the airport. America has its problems, sure—but from here it looks pretty darn Great already.

Daughter: Did you get my book from the hotel room?

Me, in my head: *Pretty sure I didn't.* Out loud: What is it?

The Cold War book for school! I have to have it!

Me: We have to go to the airport! What do you need to know? It was the Commies' fault. We won.

DAD! I have to have it.

Me: Does the front cover show Ronald Reagan kicking down the Berlin wall while holding an American flag with an eagle on his shoulder? No? Then you don't need it.

But of course this wouldn't fly. So. I jog back to the hotel, thinking I'll get housekeeping on the line before I get there. Get out the magical pocket computer, summon up the digital assistant, and ask her to get the phone number for the Holiday Inn Mart Plaza Chicago.

I found 17 Holiday Inns around Jacksonville.

What? No! Chicago!

I'm sorry, I didn't find anything for Whatno Chicago.

Eventually the digital assistant came up with the phone number, which went straight to a reservation center several hundred miles away, and they couldn't connect me to housekeeping. The actual number of the hotel was apparently a company secret. Post it online, and heck, everyone's going to be calling up, wanting to talk to someone.

By now I am thinking it would be fine to make America incrementally greater again.

By the time I got to the hotel I was cursing everyone for this delay, certain we would miss our plane, all because of the Cold War. Because of STALIN. Partly my daughter, but mostly STALIN. Had to be greedy. I'm sure the book said it was partly the United States' fault too, because it's a public school and the teacher will probably finish the subject by playing Peter, Paul and Mary and assigning an essay test on what, exactly, was blowing in the wind. HIPPIE POT SMOKE AND B.O., THAT'S WHAT.

Two sets of long elevator rides later, I was on our floor. I could see four housekeeping carts. Ran to each one, and looked for a book with THE COLD WAR: TOTALLY OUR FAULT on the cover, or maybe COLD WAR: REALLY, COULD YOU BLAME THEM? But no. Sunglasses container, children's shirts, a lost shoe—who leaves behind a shoe in a hotel room? Did he come for the Cubs game and decide to have an amputation while he was in town?

No book. Found a housekeeper, and she refused to do anything. She spoke no English except "Talk to lady downstairs." Apparently the lobby was chock full of ladies milling around with baskets of cast-off items.

Found the concierge, said we'd lost a book. He asked: What was it? I wanted to say, "It's about a long twilight struggle that played out on distant stages, a war that concluded without a treaty or triumphal parade," just to see if the concierge would say, "Got it. The Cold War. I don't know what's worse, the historical amnesia or the revisionism. Let me make a call." But I babbled "It has 'Cold War' on it," and the concierge called lost and found. Seven minutes on hold—during which I imagined our plane boarding and departing—and then he said they had it and someone would bring it up.

The elevator doors opened, and out stepped a nice young lady holding an ancient tattered ledger that said LOST AND FOUND. It looked like the first few entries would be "Spats" or "Celluloid collar stay."

"Cold War book?" I panted, and she said "Cold War book!" And I was off. Down the elevator, out to the Uber. Daughter greatly grateful.

"The West had better be the good guys in this book," I said, "or I am not running six blocks and talking to a reservation center in Missouri before rifling through maids' carts ever again."

Sigh. "Everything has to be 'America is great' with you."

"Kidding! Except, sort of. Yes."

Earlier we'd been on a riverboat cruise to study the architecture of the great city. We came across an enormous modern building, and the guide explained its genius. The architect had a challenge: The building would be in the middle of several beautiful historic buildings. He could defer to them or overwhelm them. He chose the former. She described how the massing of the building turned and stepped back, with tall grey horizontal bands located below the roofline of the neighboring structures. After it had paid homage and admiration to its predecessors and established its role in this great tableau, it rose on its own terms—making the building an individual but part of a process, tying together all the different voices from the past.

And then she fell silent.

The name TRUMP hung off the side of the building in yuuuge letters. I looked around; no one was taking pictures. Everyone was just staring up at the name in silence.

It's odd: If you look at them from one angle, the silver letters shine; from another, the reflections make them look as if they're peeling. It's hard to imagine them crowbarring the letters off the building in a few years because the brand is poison, but in the Cold War I'm sure the East Germans kicked the wall and thought: Sure. That'll last. NR

Mr. Lileks blogs at www.lileks.com.

The Long View

BY ROB LONG

Wilson & Sterling
A professional corporation

IN RE: CLINTON–CLINTON CONTINUATION OF MARRIAGE AGREEMENT 2000, AND ADDENDA, UPDATED OCTOBER 2016

Dear Steve:

Many thanks for your phone call yesterday.

As you no doubt agree, the wisdom of our clients, in order to protect their loving and committed and deeply normal relationship, led them to engage separate counsel. Over the past 16 years you and I have, faithfully, negotiated the terms of their solid and affectionate and utterly not weird marriage. In all areas, including the number of public moments of skin-to-skin contact (e.g., hugs, pecks, hands brushing against each other, proximate standing positions, etc.), we have engaged in what I would term "good faith" discussions.

Thus it is difficult for me to take your recent proposal (Appendix CXXVI (ii): Proposal to Include White House Domicile, and Furtherance of Occupational Interests) to my client, Secretary Clinton. My reasons are as follows:

1. It is premature to begin discussions of the Hillary Rodham Clinton White House before the November 8 election. My client remains focused on winning the necessary 270 electoral votes via popular voting in each state by (for the most part) living and breathing voters whose votes cannot be challenged effectively in court;
2. It would be counterproductive to amend the current agreement (see Appendix XLV (ii): Plus-Ones, Steadies, and Awkward Misunderstandings) to include the possibility of a "flexible" domestic arrangement with respect to the Lincoln Bedroom.

I look forward to discussing these matters and continuing to represent my client to you and your client in the weeks and months ahead. As you know, our work here (alas, unsung) has been instrumental in the maintenance and hygienic continuance of our clients' long, happy, loving, and totally not fake marriage, and I am eager to continue in that role.

With best wishes,
Greg
[dictated but not read]

Wilmer, Patton
A professional corporation

IN RE: CLINTON–CLINTON CONTINUATION OF MARRIAGE AGREEMENT 2000, AND ADDENDA, UPDATED OCTOBER 2016

Dear Greg:

I am in receipt of your disappointing letter from last Thursday. Both I and my client are puzzled as to why you and your client insist upon delaying the commencement of discussions, as Nate Silver has pretty much called it.

Look, let's not get bogged down in details. (That was a joke!) My client is willing to entertain an ambassadorship to any beach-adjacent nation with a legal age of consent within his personal target range, subject to negotiation. The rest of the points can be addressed on your timetable.

Sincerely,
Steve
[dictated but not read]

Wilson & Sterling
A professional corporation

IN RE: CLINTON–CLINTON CONTINUATION OF MARRIAGE AGREEMENT 2000, AND ADDENDA, UPDATED OCTOBER 2016

Steve:

Not saying we're against talking. Let me see what I can do re: an ambassadorship and all-access WH pass for your client. The plus-one issue will have to be tabled until January.

Between us: There are still some raw nerves and hurt feelings here re: the pneumonia incident when your client could not be located for his contractual obligations (see Appendix XV of the Basic Agreement and the agreed-upon "List of Essential Behaviors Defining a 'Loving Relationship'"). So I counsel patience. Look for an e-mail tomorrow.

Best,
Greg
[dictated but not read]

Wilmer, Patton
A professional corporation

IN RE: CLINTON–CLINTON CONTINUATION OF MARRIAGE AGREEMENT 2000, AND ADDENDA, UPDATED OCTOBER 2016

Greg:

Please be informed that the e-mail you sent was not read, nor was it stored on any memory device within or controlled or administered by this firm.

Let's meet at the Peet's Coffee on 17th Street NW to discuss this in public privacy. From your recent communication, I think we are close to an agreement. My client is eager to once again resume his role as a "loving" and "devoted" "husband," as these terms are defined in the Basic Agreement, Appendix H, sections 129–398, pages 12,954–16,982.

Steve

Wilson & Sterling
A professional corporation

IN RE: CLINTON–CLINTON CONTINUATION OF MARRIAGE AGREEMENT 2000, AND ADDENDA, UPDATED OCTOBER 2016

Steve:

I am here at the Peet's on 17th Street. Just realized you don't know what I look like. I'm wearing a grey suit with a white shirt and a red tie. I'm sitting next to another man wearing a grey suit with a white shirt and a red tie, but his shoes are lace-ups and mine are not. The only other person in this Peet's who is wearing a grey suit with a white shirt and a red tie is clearly homeless. Hope this is not you.

G

Wilmer, Patton
A professional corporation

IN RE: CLINTON–CLINTON CONTINUATION OF MARRIAGE AGREEMENT 2000, AND ADDENDA, UPDATED OCTOBER 2016

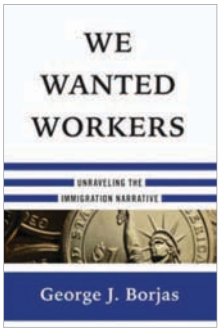
Greg:

I am wearing the lace-up shoes. I have the documents ready for signature. Will report back to my client when we sign that they have a legal agreement to continue their warm and loving marriage for another four years, with addenda.

Steve

The Facts on Immigration

MARK KRIKORIAN



We Wanted Workers: Unraveling the Immigration Narrative, by George J. Borjas
(Norton, 240 pp., $26.95)

GEORGE BORJAS's new book doesn't tell you *what* to think about immigration, but *how* to think about it.

Borjas, the nation's leading immigration economist (and an NR contributor), is also the author of one of the top college textbooks on labor economics, now in its seventh edition. But *We Wanted Workers* requires no math you didn't learn in the third grade.

This is a user's guide to the policy debate over immigration, summarizing some of the basic things we know about its economic and other effects, explaining the caveats, and pointing out the assumptions hidden in footnotes that can radically change the results of widely touted studies.

The overarching lesson of the book is not to take at face value the assertions of immigration advocates, even (or especially) if they're academics. Enforced "narratives" repel Borjas. Listening to "Marxist-Leninist nonsense" in school in Castro's Cuba (he emigrated in 1962 at age twelve with his mother) "taught me to distrust authority and to be skeptical—*very skeptical*—of expert opinion."

Later, as his academic work exploring the declining skill level of new immigrants started to get noticed, he encountered another kind of ideological enforcer. Libertarian immigration advocate Julian Simon wrote him warning that "anti-immigration people" were citing his work. Simon suggested that Borjas write a disclaimer to be read aloud at "meetings about immigration" by a lobbyist (whose name Borjas redacts) to "embarrass those who would use you to that effect."

Borjas never wrote the disclaimer, but Simon's request made a deep impression: "There was certainly a lot of pressure to make sure that the 'correct' interpretation was attached to whatever academics were writing on immigration, lest the 'xenophobes and racists' get the wrong idea and actually begin to cite data from research studies." Borjas doesn't hew to party lines, whether set by Fidel Castro or Julian Simon.

That is not to say this is an anti-immigration book. Toward the end, he makes clear he's not opposed to immigration as such, and even favors a certain amount of unskilled immigration: "I still feel that it is a good thing to give some of the poor and huddled masses . . . a chance to experience the incredible opportunities that our country has to offer." Nor is that merely a piety for print; I've heard him say something similar to a crowd that probably didn't want to hear it.

Beatles fan Borjas devotes his first chapter to imagining there's no countries—the economics of John Lennon's borderless world. This may seem fanciful, but it's a standard talking point among pro-immigration thinkers that abolishing frontiers would yield tens of trillions of dollars' worth of additional economic growth, and that supporters of limits on immigration are "leaving trillion-dollar bills on the sidewalk," as economist Michael Clemens puts it.

So Borjas decided to read the footnotes. It turns out that the mathematical model that predicts a $40 trillion increase in world GDP from the abolition of all immigration barriers presupposes the relocation of 5.6 *billion* (with a "b") people from the Third World to the advanced industrial countries. He notes dryly that "glossing over this number is the politically sensible thing to do if one wishes to advocate these types of models in policy circles." You can say that again.

A more basic assumption of this fantastical calculation, which isn't in the footnotes at all, underlies much immigration research (and policymaking): the assumption that immigrants are simply labor units. Thus the book's title, which is from writer Max Frisch's observation about guest workers in his native Switzerland: "We wanted workers, but we got people instead." Borjas notes that even in economic terms the immigrant-as-worker perspective is false: "Viewing immigrants as purely a collection of labor inputs leads to a very misleading appraisal of what immigration is about, and gives an incomplete picture of the economic impact of immigration." In other words, Immigrants Are People, Too.

Beatles fan Borjas devotes his first chapter to imagining there's no countries—the economics of John Lennon's borderless world.

The heart of the book is Professor Borjas's taking readers on a survey of what we think we know (and what we don't know), in chapters covering "the self-selection of immigrants," "economic assimilation," "the melting pot," "the labor-market impact," "the economic benefits," and "the fiscal impact." It's a brief book, so none of these chapters is especially long, and there's nothing here that any reasonably intelligent layman can't understand. The material is familiar to me, but even I found his digest of it useful.

And there are many notable bits along the way. For instance, he looks under the hood of the estimates of the size of the illegal population, and especially at one key assumption in such calculations: that the Census Bureau's surveys miss 10 percent of illegal aliens, an error known as

Mr. Krikorian is the executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies.

the undercount rate. Our research at the Center for Immigration Studies uses this same estimate for the undercount, since it's the only one there is. But where's it from? A single unpublished paper presented at a conference 16 years ago looking solely at Mexicans in Los Angeles County. Professor Borjas's lesson: "There are good reasons for Americans to be skeptical about government pronouncements that purport to describe demographic or economic conditions in politically sensitive issues."

Elsewhere he illustrates differing opinions over immigration's harmful impact on low-skilled Americans by quoting a blog post from libertarian economist Bryan Caplan titled "Are Low-Skilled Americans the Master Race?": "Economists are used to rolling their eyes when people object to better policies on the grounds that some special interest will suffer from the change. It's time to cross the final frontier, and start rolling our eyes when the special interest is low-skilled Americans." (No, this is not a parody.)

Borjas also discusses what he calls "saving-the-narrative research," which whips the data until they sing that immigration doesn't have an impact on low-skilled Americans. He specifically focuses on his reappraisal of earlier research on the impact that the Mariel boatlift had on wages in Miami. Contrary to the old saw that academic disputes are so bitter because the stakes are so small, here the stakes are large and the bitterness, while masked, is nonetheless evident. His main target is Giovanni Peri, a pro-immigration economist who, with a co-author, wrote, "We think the final goal of the economic profession should be to agree that . . . we do not find any significant evidence of a negative wage and employment effect of the Miami boatlift." Borjas's reply is visceral: "Such a call to arms reminds me very much of the Marxist-Leninist teachers at that revolutionary school in Havana long ago: *They believed.* All that was left was to compel everyone else to believe as well."

Aside from that, Borjas's tone is measured and sober throughout. But "measured and sober" doesn't mean ambiguous or equivocal: "The politically correct narrative is wrong: Immigration is *not* good for everyone." "After all is said and done, immigration turns out to be just another government redistribution program." "The claim that mathematical modeling and data analysis can somehow lead to a scientific determination of social policy is sheer nonsense."

The main takeaways of his survey will be familiar to those who follow the issue: There are winners and losers from immigration. The small economic gain (the "immigration surplus") arises from a large-scale redistribution of wealth from Americans who compete with immigrants to those who use immigrants. And that small economic gain may be entirely canceled out by the fiscal burden of providing government services to immigrants.

Perhaps the most important lesson comes in the final chapter, "Who Are You Rooting For?" Here the economist acknowledges that economics can't determine immigration policy—this is ultimately a political question, not a technocratic one: "In the end, different beliefs about the right thing to do will often lead to different immigration policies, regardless of what the underlying models and data say."

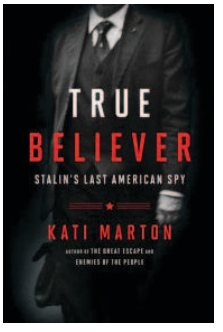
Borjas devotes a few pages to spelling out some of his own policy preferences. He would continue the current mixed system "that generates economic gains by admitting high-skill immigrants but that also 'does good' by admitting some of the huddled masses." He doesn't specify numbers and categories, but does offer some concrete items: secure the border, punish law-breaking employers, engage in benign neglect of the current illegal population until we fix enforcement. He devotes the most space to calling for an immigration counterpart to the Trade Adjustment Assistance program, to ensure that some of the gains from immigration are redistributed to those who suffer from immigrant competition.

You might not agree with all of his choices—I don't—but this isn't a book about his preferences. Instead, Borjas offers a roadmap for thinking through the consequences of your own policy preferences, with the added counsel that "prudence and caution are traits that would serve us well in the immigration context."

However much you think you know about immigration, you'll learn something from this book. And buy a second copy for your congressman—he needs it even more than you do. NR

Dark Loyalties

RONALD RADOSH



True Believer: Stalin's Last American Spy, by Kati Marton (Simon & Schuster, 304 pp., $27)

Those familiar with the Alger Hiss case may remember Noel Field as one of the people Whittaker Chambers identified as a Soviet spy. Like his friend Hiss, Field was an upper-crust young man: He grew up at a lakeside villa in Switzerland, returning to the U.S. only to attend Harvard. In 1918, when Field was 14, he met his father's friend Allen Dulles at a lunch held at the villa. Decades later, Dulles must have been stunned to learn that the young man he had turned to and asked "What do you plan to do with your life?" had grown up to become an agent of Stalin.

In her riveting page-turner, which includes information from previously unavailable archival manuscripts, Kati Marton offers us Field's entire story, following him as he evolved from an idealist and pacifist to a committed Communist, willing to sacrifice literally everything for Stalin and the Party. Field was not alone. His pro-Soviet activities took place in the era described in Arthur Koestler's novel *Darkness at Noon* (1940) and in the period immediately after its publication. Koestler's protagonist, a committed Soviet police operative, willingly goes to his execution—not because he

Mr. Radosh, an adjunct fellow at the Hudson Institute, is the author or co-author of many books, including The Rosenberg File *and* Spain Betrayed: The Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War.

is guilty of anything, but because he believes it is necessary to serve the Party's current line. Field would illustrate the truth of Koestler's fictional character. Koestler's novel had a major impact on his generation's view of Stalinist barbarism; Marton's biography of Field will acquaint a new generation with how the search for utopia ultimately led Field to sacrifice his own well-being and that of the people he loved for the Party's needs.

After graduating from Harvard with honors in two years, Field, with his wife, Herta, went off to Washington, D.C., where he entered the West European division of the State Department. Working there through the 1920s and into the Great Depression, Field, like others of his generation and social class, turned to Communism, believing that it could put an end to the failed capitalist economics that was producing such disastrous effects around the world. He thought Herbert Hoover lacked compassion; he drew comfort from Hoover's defeat and hoped that FDR would be open to radical solutions.

But Field did not want to wait, and had something bigger in mind than open participation in the American Communist movement. He met two Soviet agents, Hede and Paul Massing, who were dispatched to the capital in 1934 to set up American cells for the Soviet intelligence network. They, along with the American spymaster J. Peters, established the Ware group, which included both Alger Hiss and Field's close friend Larry Duggan. The network's goal was to steal government documents to be sent to Moscow and to gain entry into critical departments such as State, War, Treasury, and Interior, where they could influence U.S. policy. Peters immediately saw the potential in Field. As Marton writes, he preferred "tall, pedigreed WASPs," since no one would believe that "a well-mannered young man with deep New England roots and immaculate appearance such as Noel Field could betray his country."

So began Field's journey. The Massings successfully recruited him to work for the NKVD. In 1935, he agreed to spy for the Soviet Union. Lest they question his commitment, Field drove the couple to the Lincoln Memorial, ascended the steps, and serenaded them with a full-throated performance, in Russian, of "The Internationale," the Communist anthem.

In 1936, Field was presented with a new opportunity that matched the Soviets' goals. He was asked to take a job with the League of Nations disarmament section in Geneva, where he could be of use to the already existing Communist-led anti-Nazi movement. Paul Massing, who later broke with Communism, noted that, unlike himself and his wife, Field remained a true believer: "The more irrational, nonsensical the Soviets behaved, the more devoted he was. For Noel, the leaders of the Revolution can do no wrong."

Field certainly proved his loyalty and his willingness to follow Stalin's orders when Ignace Reiss, a former top Soviet agent in Europe, became disillusioned after the purge trials in Russia. Field was asked to meet Reiss and help lure him to another agent, who would see to it that Reiss was killed. Reiss was found with twelve bullets in his back in a forest near Lausanne. Later, Field told the Massings: "I helped arrange the assassination of your great friend. He was a traitor. He deserved to die."

Like leftists the world over, Field supported the Republican Popular Front government in Spain, which had won power in 1936. Now it was threatened with overthrow by the invading forces of General Francisco Franco. The international Left saw this as a fight between Fascism and democracy, and, with Nazi and Italian Fascist support of Franco, as a dress rehearsal for a new world war. Field would spend four months in Spain for the League, helping to repatriate members of the International Brigades after the Republic's collapse. Since the majority of the Brigade's fighters were Communists, it was a way for him to blend humanitarianism and solidarity with the Soviet Union.

In Spain, the Fields took responsibility for Erica Glaser, the 14-year-old daughter of a doctor and his wife who had to flee the country after Madrid fell to Franco in 1938. Erica had been working with her father in makeshift hospitals when she contracted typhoid fever and was unable to travel. The Fields became her surrogate parents. As Marton puts it, next to his wife, Erica was "the most important person in Noel Field's life." But she eventually rejected his ideology, becoming a fierce, independent-minded opponent of totalitarian regimes, who made her own way and ended up suffering the consequences of her relationship with the Fields.

Then Field began working out of Marseilles for a relief group, the American Unitarian Universalist Service Committee. His job was to get the interned refugees settled in Eastern and Central Europe, hoping that the Communists he sent back to their homelands would be in place to build Communist states in Europe. "My goal," Field bragged, "was to set up a Red Aid—to save our *cadres*." Marton writes that what he worked for was simply to rescue and return "Communists to their homelands, to start the revolution of his dreams."

One family that was notably anti-Communist and waiting for passage to Martinique had their small stipend from the Unitarian committee cut off by Field. Yet the Communists interned in France whom Field supported, Marton notes, were kept "healthy, well fed, well funded, and connected to each other."

Ironically, when the war ended, the people Field had helped who went on to have leadership positions in local Eastern European Communist parties became the very people whom Stalin and his secret police would use to "prove" Field guilty of espionage against Communist powers. In Stalin's view, all those Communists who had escaped the Nazis and gone to the West or gone to Spain to fight against Franco were suspect, possibly "contaminated" by reactionary ideas.

Field was the perfect American scapegoat who could be tied to the now-despised Tito of Yugoslavia, who had broken with Moscow and taken an independent path. Stalin's henchmen asserted that, while working with the Unitarian relief agency, Noel Field had brought back to Eastern Europe imperialist spies, all of whom were coordinated by none other than CIA chief Allen Dulles. Soon, Stalin would stage a major purge trial in both Hungary and Czechoslovakia, in which the leading Communists confessed to treason and implicated Field as the agent they served in the supposed Titoist conspiracy.

Deciding to stay and live in the new Communist countries, Field went to Czechoslovakia. Once there, he was

immediately grabbed by the secret police, drugged, and taken to Hungary, where he was put in a secret prison in which he was interrogated, brutally tortured, and brought almost to the brink of death. Other Hungarian Communists were tortured until they corroborated that they had been recruited by Field. Eventually, Field, too, confessed, saying that his recruitment of Communists was a cover for getting them to join the CIA. Men were put to death as a result of Field's false testimony.

Later, when Erica, Field's brother Hermann, and Hermann's wife, Kate, went to Eastern Europe to search for him, they too disappeared and were imprisoned and tortured. Only Erica bravely refused to grovel. She was kept up 24 hours a day for five days and nights, suffering "icy nights of mental and physical torture," leaving her unable to stand up or walk. The Hungarians sentenced her to death at the age of 31 and packed her off to Russia. She was sent to Vorkuta, north of the Arctic Circle, where she laid railroad tracks in subzero temperatures. Only Stalin's passing allowed her to escape death. She was freed in 1955, as the most brutal form of Stalinism was in retreat.

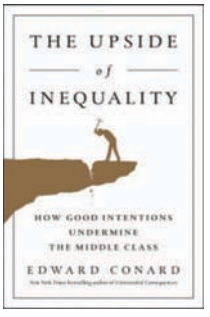
Apparently, Noel Field did not learn anything from his experiences. He was finally freed because of the defection to the United States of the very Hungarian Stalinist torturer who worked on Field and who then told the United States of Field's whereabouts and of his situation. Freed by the regime, Field chose to live in Czechoslovakia and help build the Communist system that had imprisoned him.

Field explained himself in an article he wrote for an American Communist magazine. He said he bore no ill will toward those who tortured, jailed, and abducted him because they "hate the same things and the same people I hate. . . . Given their belief in my guilt, I cannot blame them. . . . I approve their detestation." What he called the "fundamental truths" of Communism would "inevitably win out over temporary aberrations."

With those chilling words, one finds the essence of the totalitarian mentality. One cannot be "right against the Party," as Leon Trotsky once famously wrote. Only the cause matters; the individual is but its humble servant. NR

The Downside of Romneyism

JASON WILLICK



The Upside of Inequality: How Good Intentions Undermine the Middle Class, by Edward Conard (Portfolio, 320 pp., $29)

Mitt Romney nostalgia is cresting among conservative intellectuals, and for good reason. In 2012, Romney offered an inclusive center-right politics, one with an appeal starkly different from that of Donald Trump's 2016 campaign. Trump has a withering disdain for policy specifics; Romney demonstrated comprehensive mastery of the ins and outs of governance. Trump's moral record is highly questionable; Romney seemed to epitomize personal integrity and virtue. Like many others, I entertained the fantasy of Romney-as-white-knight well into the long, hot summer of 2016.

In this new book, Edward Conard—Romney's longtime friend, business associate, and high-dollar fundraiser—has produced an extended defense of the economic philosophy that drove the Romney-Ryan campaign. And while the thrust of his argument—that inequality is a necessary condition for and by-product of economic growth in the 21st century—is correct, the book also serves as an inadvertent reminder of the profound flaws in the donor-class economic ideology that was a more significant force in pre-Trump Republican politics than we nostalgists sometimes remember.

Mr. Willick is a staff writer at The American Interest.

Conard first achieved notoriety with another election-year book: *Unintended Consequences* (2012), a Wall Street–friendly account of the financial crisis and an extended attack on the Obama administration's first-term fiscal policies. "Because my business partner, Mitt Romney, was running for president when *Unintended Consequences* was published," Conard writes in the introduction to *The Upside of Inequality*, "the media held up my book as a defense of the 1 percent." Though this characterization was unfair, he decided to take it as a challenge. "The critics' demand for a comprehensive defense of income inequality," he says, in a preview of the gleefully contrarian attitude that animates his argument, "planted the seeds for this book."

Mounting an intellectual defense of the market and the unequal outcomes it produces is a critically important project, especially in the face of a newly energized Left increasingly convinced that government can command and control the allocation of resources with few if any trade-offs. But Conard's effort to do so falls short on a number of fronts, beginning with his tone and style of argument. Like his former colleague, Conard has a tendency to lionize "entrepreneurial risk-takers" and use value-laden consultant buzzwords that obscure more than they illuminate. For example, the top 1 percent of income earners are never "rich" or "wealthy" or "affluent"; they are only "successful." (Relatedly, the government does not tax the "incomes" of high earners, it only taxes their "success.")

While Conard is confident that lower top marginal tax rates would make successful people work harder and invest more, he is concerned that cutting taxes on the middle and working classes (i.e., non-successful people) would have the opposite effect. "The lower price of government services will motivate demand for more services," he says (in an interesting inversion of traditional starve-the-beast fiscal policy). "Lowering the middle-class tax rate . . . will likely lower work efforts and increase government dependence." The view that people of modest means are if anything *not taxed enough* might raise eyebrows today, but it was sadly at the heart of Republican orthodoxy during Obama's first term, forming the basis of Paul Ryan's "makers-vs.-takers" framework and Romney's infamous "47 percent" remarks. And

while both candidates from the 2012 ticket have distanced themselves from these positions, Conard unabashedly doubles down, insisting that people who pay less in taxes than they consume in government services should be "more appreciative of the benefits they are receiving from others."

The Manhattan multimillionaire's moralism flows from his confidence that the distribution of wealth in America is a near-perfect reflection of individuals' talent and hard work. "The evidence shows the top 1 percent of income earners have largely earned their success by commercializing successful innovation," he says. Moreover, the economic surplus from the innovations they create is captured overwhelmingly by working- and middle-class families. So why are demagogues "demonizing" entrepreneurs?

Conard makes important and underrecognized points about the proceeds from innovation; Steve Jobs made Americans as a whole far wealthier than he made himself. But his representation of America's 1 percent as consisting almost entirely of Silicon Valley innovators (most of the wealthy people he cites with admiration are technology tycoons) is highly misleading. As Jonathan Rothwell demonstrated in a Brookings paper last March, just *one in 20* 1 percenters are employed in high-tech fields.

The vast majority of America's wealthiest people are not entrepreneurs but doctors, lawyers, dentists, bankers, consultants, and even university administrators. While most of these people are talented and highly trained, they are also well positioned to use government power to extract rents from the rest of the public. Doctors, lawyers, and dentists all control access to their professions through guilds that are often more concerned with maximizing their members' compensation than with advancing the public interest. (Think of the American Bar Association's strict barriers of entry to the legal market.) As Steven Teles has argued in *National Affairs*, bankers are also implicitly subsidized through the "insurance of the too-big-to-fail status" and "the creation of a huge pool of assets for investment managers through a variety of tax-advantaged savings devices." College administrators benefit from federal higher-education regulations, which favor entrenched institutions, and from student-loan subsidies, which enable them to raise tuition prices. And armies of consultants and accountants are enriched by the complexity of the U.S. tax and regulatory codes.

This type of "upward redistribution," as Teles calls it, doesn't account for all of the rise in economic inequality over the last several decades. But it has played an important role, and an effective center-right party would seek out and eliminate forms of rent-seeking and state-enforced special privileges rather than howl with wounded indignation when the public expresses concern that the gains from decades of economic growth have accrued disproportionately to those who were already wealthy.

Though Conard's tone is aggressively anti-populist, he parts with the *Wall Street Journal* consensus in offering populist prescriptions on immigration and trade. "To advocate both for more immigration and for faster wage growth for the working and middle class is to work at cross-purposes," Conard says, recognizing that the post-1970 wave of less skilled immigration has suppressed wages. He also highlights the uneven impact of U.S. trade policy: "Lesser-skilled workers," he says, "suffer the entire burden of lower wages but capture only a portion of the benefits from lower-priced offshore goods." Moreover, massive U.S. trade deficits have depressed productive investment: Foreign governments park their surpluses in U.S. government bonds rather than "risk-bearing capital" that promotes innovation and wage growth. Conard muddles these points somewhat when he says that the elite that engineered and benefited from the trade and immigration policies has no responsibility for working- and middle-class wage stagnation (and that people who get more in benefits than they pay in taxes have nothing to complain about, anyway).

The Upside of Inequality is flawed, but it is also admirably forthright. Conard has no qualms about expressing views he knows will be highly unpopular. Some of his insights—on the importance of supply-side incentives, the payoffs from innovation, and the role of trade—are well reasoned and worthy of attention. But most of all, this book is useful for displaying what Conard, despite his obvious intelligence and business acumen, fails to grasp: that attention to middle-class priorities is not optional in politics, that the GOP's supply-side shibboleths can easily veer into self-serving moralism, and that, as journalist Michael Brendan Dougherty has said, "the market was made for man, and not man for the market." In other words, if and when the Republican party recovers from crude Trumpian populism, it must be careful not to succumb to the plutocratic temptation that afflicted the last GOP campaign. **NR**

HOMELAND

"... I cannot sing
Amid this horror."

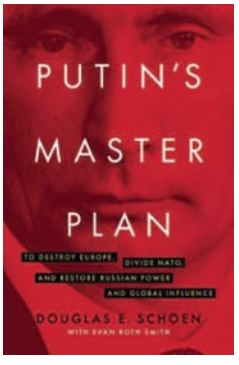
—*Anna Akhmatova*
(early draft of "Poem without a Hero")

Months pass without a single word recorded,
Eliminating each suspicious link:
The terrorizing, barbarizing, sordid,
The ones who poison tea, with those who drink.
"O, most false love, where be the sacred vials
Thou should'st fill . . . ?" A subject lethally dosed,
I lurch at each new week's compounding trials
Exploding round, like Hamlet's father's ghost.
Official, noncommittal X-ray vans
Roll swiftly past with purpose, formal seal
A tip suggesting something heavy scans
For cruel contraband, through stone and steel—
Their fluid cool and zero room for error
Lending an added facet to the terror.

—JENNIFER REESER

Cold War Redux

JOHN FUND



Putin's Master Plan: To Destroy Europe, Divide NATO, and Restore Russian Power and Global Influence, by Douglas E. Schoen with Evan Roth Smith (Encounter, 200 pp., $23.99)

Rarely has a book been as timely and relevant as this one, a valuable summary of how Russia's aggressive foreign policy is reshaping the world. This fall, news shows have continually led with evidence of Russian president Vladimir Putin's overseas meddling, including a worldwide propaganda campaign, stealthy subversion of adversaries, and possibly even interference in U.S. elections.

Consider just a few examples. A humiliated Obama administration broke off talks with Russia over the Syrian crisis, after it became clear that our government was being played for a fool by Putin. Russia has subverted various negotiated cease-fires and has pursued a scorched-earth strategy to keep its ally, Bashar Assad, in power. As part of that strategy, Russia works closely with Iran and its proxies, including Hamas and Hezbollah.

Putin, who was a KGB secret-police officer before the collapse of the Soviet Union, has presided over the resurrection of the old KGB. A major reshuffle of Russia's security agencies this fall has created a new super-agency called the Ministry of State Security. The agency, which revives the name of Stalin's secret police between 1943 and 1953, will be as large and powerful as the old Soviet KGB, employing as many as 250,000 people.

Russian hackers appear to have broken into computer systems throughout the U.S. government and American political organizations, not to mention local election systems. This appears to be part of an effort to spread uncertainty and turmoil about the legitimacy of this November's presidential election.

A brand-new report by Dutch authorities conclusively proves that the missile launcher that destroyed a Malaysian airliner over Ukraine in 2014—killing 298 people—was brought across the border from Russia and that the missile was fired from a field controlled by pro-Russian fighters.

The Kremlin recently sponsored a conference on the right of "self-determination" in Western countries. It hosted Texas, Hawaii, and California secessionists in an effort to stir up tensions in the U.S. This "Dialogue of Nations" conference received a specific grant from Putin's office.

Longtime observers of Russia and Putin say that recently Russia has, at every turn, held the upper hand in its dealings with the U.S. "Obama says whatever he wants to say, Putin does whatever he wants to do," says Garry Kasparov, a former Russian chess grandmaster and current head of the Human Rights Foundation. "And if you look at the map—you look at the Middle East, you look at Europe—for any observer, Putin is winning. Obama keeps sending John Kerry to the Middle East and Putin keeps sending tanks and jet fighters. Obama retreated from some key parts of the geopolitical map. Putin immediately filled the vacuum."

Anders Aslund, a senior analyst at the Atlantic Council, shares Kasparov's view of the complacent Western response to Putin. "The e-mails of the Democratic National Committee were hacked and released, effectively ousting its chair just before the Democratic National Convention," he writes. "This looks like a Russian special operation in the U.S. presidential election, and the most shocking element is that most Americans do not understand that or seem to care." In addition, Donald Trump's former campaign manager worked for Putin's puppet in Ukraine until the pro-Western uprising there, and Trump, his family, and one of his foreign-policy advisers have done tens of millions of dollars' worth of business in Russia.

Douglas E. Schoen and Evan Ross Smith contend that, when all the pieces of Russia's actions are assembled, they represent nothing less than a global strategy to break up NATO, reestablish Russian influence in the world, and, most of all, marginalize the United States and the West. The strategy is multifaceted. It includes military action (as seen in Georgia, Ukraine, and Syria) and support to rogue regimes and terrorists, as well as espionage, propaganda, cyberwarfare, and the use of energy policy to blackmail European nations into supporting Russia.

Longtime observers of Russia and Putin say that recently Russia has, at every turn, held the upper hand in its dealings with the U.S.

Putin's advisers have been quite open about their methods. The chief of the Russian general staff, Valery Gerasimov, has said that Russia is now pursuing a "a new kind of war" that relies heavily on cyberwar and influence operations. "A perfectly thriving state can, in a matter of months and even days, be transformed into an arena of fierce armed conflict," Gerasimov pointed out in a now-famous 2013 article, through "political, economic, informational, humanitarian, and other non-military measures—applied in coordination with the protest potential of the population."

Schoen and Smith report evidence of little-noticed Russian involvement. On

North Korea, for instance, the authors write: "Since Putin became president in 2000, Russia and China have provided North Korea with $17 billion in aid and $10 billion in debt forgiveness. The total assistance of $27 billion is two and a half times the GDP ($11 billion) of the North Korean economy."

And when it comes to the European Union, the Syrian conflict has, in addition to allowing Russia to cement a permanent military force in the Middle East, driven millions of refugees into Europe and thereby further attenuated the EU's resistance to the Putin regime: "Europe's struggle to deal with the social, political, and security ramifications of the mass Muslim migration has not only distracted the world from Putin's invasion of Ukraine, but also strengthened Putin's hand against an increasingly fractured European community—and further weakened the EU as an institutional force."

Then there is Turkey, whose president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, is increasingly looking to Russia for assistance and even inspiration in establishing an authoritarian state. Schoen and Smith point to the danger that Putin could help destabilize Turkey, a valuable NATO member, and lead to increasing division within NATO ranks.

The book concludes with some suggestions for a sober, realistic approach to contain Putin. "In the short term," the authors write, "we can send a clear message by deploying additional bomber-borne nuclear weapons in NATO countries that agree to host them. Since the Russians have already violated the 1987 Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, we should scrap it and deploy land-based nuclear missiles." They also suggest adding to NATO troop deployments in Poland and the Baltic States.

By the end of the book, one is left with the clear impression that the Cold War is returning, simply under new Russian management. The levers of Western power that helped defeat the Soviet Union have grown rusty, and Putin is exploiting that fact. For now, his moves look like those of a master chess player, while the countermoves of Obama and too many Western leaders resemble a game of Wiffle Ball. NR

Books in Brief

SURREPTITIOUSLY—one might even say, with Sandburg, "on little cat feet"—a social revolution has overtaken America. It has been joked that the Internet was invented for national-security and industrial purposes but is now dominated by, about evenly, porn and cat videos; and it took the Internet to make people realize just how dominant the feline presence in our national life has become. The number of house cats in the U.S. is approaching 100 million, reports journalist Abigail Tucker in ***The Lion in the Living Room: How House Cats Tamed Us and Took Over the World*** (Simon & Schuster, 256 pp., $26)—and she tries to explain how this happened.

Unlike other domesticated animals, cats serve no obvious utilitarian purpose: They do not (outside of certain highly questionable restaurants) provide human beings with food, nor do they protect our homes or carry our burdens. So how did they become a household fixture? Tucker

explains that the house cat is the rare animal that took the lead in its own domestication: As wild cats, such as lions, started heading toward extinction, the smaller animals that eventually became house cats scrounged for food in the garbage surrounding human settlements. That's how they got involved with human beings. They were subsequently accepted into the households because of their cuteness—which, Tucker points out, "is not an arbitrary . . . quality":

> House cats are blessed with a killer set of what Austrian ethologist Konrad Lorenz calls "baby releasers": physical traits that remind us of human young, and set off a hormonal cascade. . . . [They] cue a pleasurable, drug-like "oxytocin glow" in human adults and trigger a set of nurturing behaviors, including enhanced fine-motor coordination that prepares us to cradle a baby.

This fascinating book goes on to explore many other aspects of the house-cat phenomenon, including the much-discussed question of whether the pussycats literally cause mental illness in their owners. (The evidence is suggestive but still inconclusive.) If you have relatives or friends who are mad about cats—and the strong statistical probability is that you do—consider putting this book under their Christmas tree.

—MICHAEL POTEMRA

Film

Today's Nat Turner

ROSS DOUTHAT

Nate Parker in The Birth of a Nation

FOX SEARCHLIGHT PICTURES

The Birth of a Nation starts with a crackerjack idea for a historical epic: the story of Nat Turner, the rebel slave, and his 1831 uprising in Southampton County, Va. If you liked the brutal realism of *12 Years a Slave* and the slaveowners-get-theirs catharsis of *Django Unchained*, Turner's famous story promises both experiences for the price of one. And at first the promise seemed fulfilled: Produced and directed and co-written *and* headlined by Nate Parker, a young African-American actor who had nothing like this on his résumé, *Birth* earned standing ovations at Cannes, got purchased for a ridiculous $17.5 million by Fox Searchlight, and looked poised to ride a wave of adulation (plus a little "Take that, Trump" sentiment) to the Oscars.

But then came the intersectionality buzzsaw. Along with a wrestling teammate, Parker had been accused of sexual assault in 1999, while he was a sophomore at Penn State. His teammate was convicted, he was acquitted; their (white) accuser accused them of inciting racial harassment against her on campus; years later, in 2012, she killed herself. On the promotional trail, Parker did not handle the revival of this story particularly gracefully, and people began to point out unsettling resonances in the film itself—particularly the (invented, ahistorical) rape of Turner's wife and the broader use of sexual violence as a spur to the character's rebellion.

Amid all this social-justice controversy, the reviews turned lukewarm. There was more talk about the movie's various historical inaccuracies, some angry think-pieces accusing Parker of making a male revenge fantasy that condescends to African-American women, and a general sorrowful take that *The Birth of a Nation* just wasn't the movie that those Cannes ovations had led people to expect.

As a critic of the social-justice wars' effect on criticism—and as a defender, just last issue, of Mel Gibson's artistic talent—I was hoping to report that *Birth* is better than its uncomfortable reception, that its creator's personal sins are obscuring what those initial audiences saw. (That Gibson had counseled Parker during the making of the movie, and that a few critics had compared *Birth* to *Braveheart*, made me particularly hopeful that it might rise above its director's demons.)

But no: The Cannes audience was wrong, and the wan reception is mostly justified. *The Birth of a Nation* has the raw material of a great American epic, but the execution is disappointingly ham-handed, and the main character—one of the most fascinating of the entire slave era—never comes fully into focus.

The structure of the film is sound enough: We meet Nat first as a boy, playing happily with Samuel, his master's son, and having his talents noticed by Samuel's mother (Penelope Ann Miller), who fatefully gives him a Bible and teaches him to read. But then the master of the house dies, and it's decreed that Nat be sent back out to pick cotton, his gifts set aside in favor of a field hand's lot.

Flash-forward to adulthood: Samuel, now played by Armie Hammer, is a decent but dissolute master of a failing plantation, while Nat has taken up a role as preacher to the slaves. Again his talent is noticed, this time by the local minister, who recommends that Nat be rented out to preach to other mistreated slaves, to keep them quiescent under their masters' cruel rule. Needing money, Samuel agrees, and Nat goes forth to preach and—more important—to witness the crimes that will inspire him to rebellion.

Unfortunately the movie isn't content just to show us a devout man's gradual radicalization; it feels the need to pivot to typical revenge-drama motivations as well. The real Turner was a zealot and a mystic, an African-American John Brown, something far stranger and more fearsome than Tarantino's Django or any other cinematic revenger. But Parker's performance is trapped betwixt and between: The movie grants him piety and bloody visions, but the script keeps swinging back to Ordinary Man Pushed Too Far tropes, with the rapes of his wife, Cherry (Aja Naomi King), and a little later his friend's wife, Esther (Gabrielle Union), as the crucial moments in a "Charles Bronson in magnolias and moonlight" arc.

All of this leaves the story overly cluttered, so that by the time we arrive at the final, *final* turning point—Nat decides to baptize a white man, some sort of outcast, which finally brings his master's wrath upon him—it feels rushed and confusing and lacks the theological weight that it should bear.

And weight is what the movie lacks across the board. Parker has a painterly eye at times, but too often his imagery veers kitschward: Some of the religious visions feel like *The Passion of the Christ* by way of Thomas Kinkade. The musical cues are potent but obvious: "Swing Low" for the cotton fields, "Strange Fruit" for a hanging. The dialogue is often flat and modern-sounding; the script desperately needed a working-over in the successful faux-antique style of *12 Years a Slave*. And for a movie about a radical black preacher, the sermons in *The Birth of a Nation* are mostly perfunctory, and even the fieriest moments get cut off before they can reach a real King James–style climax.

Finally, the women are, as those think-pieces suggested, mostly props, about as fully realized as Liam Neeson's family in the *Taken* movies. On this point, and on the larger question of whether Parker's movie is artful enough to make the viewer forget about his sins, the social-justice police turned out to be decent film critics after all. NR

Country Life

Apple-Picking Time

RICHARD BROOKHISER

You can buy autumn produce in the stores, but if that were enough, why do the country u-pick places fill this time of year with customers? Cars nuzzle in the dirt parking lots hood to tailpipe, fender to fender; extra help directs overflow traffic to otherwise unused fields. Inside the barn or outbuilding where the cash registers live, harried parents make last-minute decisions about whether to buy their broods hayrides or food for the donkeys. There is a brisk side business in ice-cream sandwiches, humorous rustic postcards, and freshly fried donuts. When the sky is blue and the wind is still, it can be a heavenly experience, the earthly curtain call that seems as if it will never end in a darkened, shut-up theater.

Going out to see fruits and vegetables on trees and in the dirt rather than on a shelf in aisle three satisfies an ancient fantasy. The day after men discovered cities, they hankered for the countryside. The desire runs from Theocritus to Jefferson to Eddie Albert and Eva Gabor. We are not there ourselves anymore, yet we know we once were, and we understand, however sketchily, that our next meal will have begun there. Behind both the tasting menu and the frozen TV dinner lurks the farm. Earth is mother, and for those too denatured to have any experience of the fact, culture, high and pop, supplies a hundred clues. Even the digitalized sex mania that is 92 percent of our intake (in this particular election cycle, make that 98 percent) gives a hint: What are the divas and selfie-takers but fertility goddesses decked out in bling and not much else? Taking a day-long agrication is fun, a little exciting, a little atavistic, but mostly consoling, because Mother never lets us down.

Except when she does. We were driving, as we drive every October, to the hillside orchard of the agronomist. For ten bucks, you get a bag of apples and a lecture on the history of every variety. The way goes past the spring pipe—a never-failing rope of water, where people go to fill plastic jugs when their pumps fail, or for any other reason. Doug was parked there, so we stopped. We told him our destination; he said, don't bother. There was a late frost in the spring; there is not one apple in the entire valley. We had heard about the frost in April when it happened, after a warm March; at the time we thought we had heard that it nipped all the peach buds, but nothing else. Yet when we drove on, past the Trump signs and the abandoned farm and the pokeweed, we were greeted at the orchard by a hand-lettered sign confirming Doug's account.

We inquired, in person and online. The owner of the biggest u-pick place has a parvenu surname, since his ancestor arrived in the valley only in the 19th century, but the ancestor wed the daughter of a family that had arrived in the 17th century, so he became native by marriage. The 21st-century farmer was selling pumpkins, late tomatoes, late sweet corn, late raspberries, anything and everything he can coax out of the ground. He had had a few apples, but they were sold long ago. The Italians who bought a little old farm on a back road and made it as artsy as Tuscany—we call it (not to them, of course) *sprezzatura in campagna*—had *al fresco* oven-roasted pizza, homemade hard cider, and a selection of books on country living. But no apples. The rambling, shambling hilltop orchard that never sprays, and looks it, yet somehow goes on from year to year, had no apples. But the website of the biggest orchard in the valley said they had some.

This orchard is behind the fancy town—the one with a handful of old stone houses, an old wooden barn, an old inn, a grange (that is now something else), a church (still praying), and an old stone library. I bought a de-accessioned book there once, *The Cape Cod Lighter*, a collection of "23 new stories" by John O'Hara; it was published in 1962, and the withdrawal slip pasted to the first page said it had been checked out twice, in 1976 and 1988. Behind this town is a big, rolling orchard. They have buildings with cider presses, refrigeration, storage for crates. The trees march in rows up and down an undulating landscape. We got our picker poles—long handles bearing metal baskets with clawed ends, like angry lacrosse sticks—and drove in.

On a normal October day, the place would be jammed. The path for cars splits, to accommodate coming and going vehicles. No need for that now. Some trees were actually leafless, most were simply barren of fruit. Had there been a battle here? A blight? There was not a soul to be seen.

We had been told there were some Romes past the pond, at the bottom of the orchard. The ground fell off to a large-ish pond, paved in duckweed. Finally, a row of trees, with one parked car.

In normal years, the fallen apples lie underfoot; you discard anything blemished, and of the other ones you take a bite, and then cast the sample away. Now, apple picking was a treasure hunt: You squinted, against the sun, for dark round shapes. Then you reached up, between spindly, sharp, small branches, to snatch a fruit, or to jog the limb on which it hung, hoping to make it fall.

ALEKSANDER RUBTSOV/GETTY IMAGES

The Rome apple is a big red beauty, discovered in Ohio in the early 1800s, prized for its color and size. The few we got were red, but the size of golf balls. Some were folded, like grimacing old people. Chickadees scolded, a hawk circled overhead. After half an hour we had a bag and a half—a small bag and a half.

It was worth it, for the chase and the lesson. Mother loves you, but not always enough. NR

Happy Warrior

BY DANIEL FOSTER

Asymmetric Rhetorical Warfare

Some of you won't read this column until after Hillary Clinton is elected 45th president of the United States. But I'm writing it before she is, and so it feels like I should offer some summation of these, the longest 83 years of my life, or perhaps a few weighty portents of things to come.

But, really, what's left to be said? Much less by your wearied scribe. Our misery is so over-determined at this point that the mere continuance of this election seems proof that time is a sadist. I mean, at this point the coffin is more nails than pine. With each new foul discharge from the Republican nominee, my couch feels more and more like Milliway's—the "restaurant at the end of the universe" in Douglas Adams's comic sci-fi novel of the same name—where time-traveling diners clever enough to make a reservation *after* their visit can watch the Big Crunch, over and over, from inside a temporal bubble that rocks back and forth across the end of everything.

Okay. Maybe that's a bit dark.

But like a lot of us, I've spent a good deal of time thinking about how the institutions of the Right (one lesson of all this is that you can no longer, and probably never rightfully could, call them "conservative" institutions) can better serve their constituencies. How do we produce a public attuned to all the subtle and unsubtle ways that progressive assumptions and prejudices skew the discourse without egging them on so much they go full Alex Jonestown Massacre?

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What we don't want is to produce figures such as Bill Mitchell. If you're not familiar with Mitchell, an upstart Internet radio host and madman, I envy you, because MIT propeller-heads have named him the layman with the most social-media influence in the election as he flatters his conspiracy-addled followers with "100 percent" guarantees that Hillary will lose and assures us that the GOP nominee's ground game isn't in a massive data operation, "it's in our hearts." In a recent *Weekly Standard* profile, we learn that Mitchell is a 56-year-old lover of musical theater, and that "being a bachelor left him enough time to obsess over his favorite news sites, *Breitbart*, and the blog of Gateway Pundit, where he'd been a frequent commenter for years."

Poor Bill's personal reckoning cometh, and that right soon. I don't envy him his November 9, but I do wonder what can be done to keep his successors off the model-airplane glue.

I've long been an apologist for asymmetric rhetorical warfare. I'll explain what I mean by example. Years ago I appeared on a podcast arguing, contra a progressive interlocutor, that opposition to aggressive, expensive schemes to counteract potential climate change—things such as carbon taxes, cap-and-trade, and alternative-energy subsidies—do not actually require denying the underlying science suggesting that anthropogenic carbon emissions can affect climate. But because climate alarmists so rarely distinguish between that fairly compelling science and the far shakier climate models that suggest impending catastrophe, and because they often simply *assume* that evidence of man-made climate change is ipso facto an argument for punching the global economy in the crotch, it makes a certain amount of sense that conservative opinion elites would resist yielding *any* rhetorical ground on the subject.

This dynamic has played itself out across a number of policy areas in recent years, and it is becoming increasingly clear that it is a mistake. To pick just one example, it turns out that conservative wonks such as NR contributor Avik Roy have been largely vindicated for warning that Obamacare was horribly designed and doomed to cost more and appeal to fewer Americans than promised. But because Roy's and others' arguments were complex and obscure, and because the bill's proponents were content to cast all opposition as being by or on behalf of heartless corporate shills, the popular conservative discourse descended to similarly simple-minded depths and made the debate an all-out battle to stop "socialized medicine."

There is of course plenty of truth in that characterization, but in making the debate comprehensible for laymen and defining it in terms that would get their blood up, the GOP severely limited its own ability to maneuver. It so raised the stakes that even legitimate victories—such as the work by Marco Rubio and others to close the spigot on taxpayer bailouts for insurance companies—were ignored or interpreted as capitulations.

This is the painful bit of truth in the Left's insistence that conservative institutions precipitated the alienation, and eventually the complete cognitive secession, of the segments of the GOP electorate who turn to Drudge and *Breitbart* and *Infowars* for their information. The bad news is that I don't have any solutions. The really bad news is that we'll have plenty of time to think them up.

Of course the Left and its collaborators in the press can hardly be held harmless in this whole mess. Four years ago they elevated "binders full of women" to a kind of statutory rape, and they spent last spring solemnly warning that Ted Cruz was the real monster, and they have generally taken every opportunity to display their contempt for the concerns that could drive folks to the soothing pledges of a low-rent sociopath and the legion of Baghdad Bobs who promise his impending triumph.

A promise that—if you're only just getting around to reading this issue after it sat on your coffee table a few days—you know was empty before the polls even closed on the West Coast. NR

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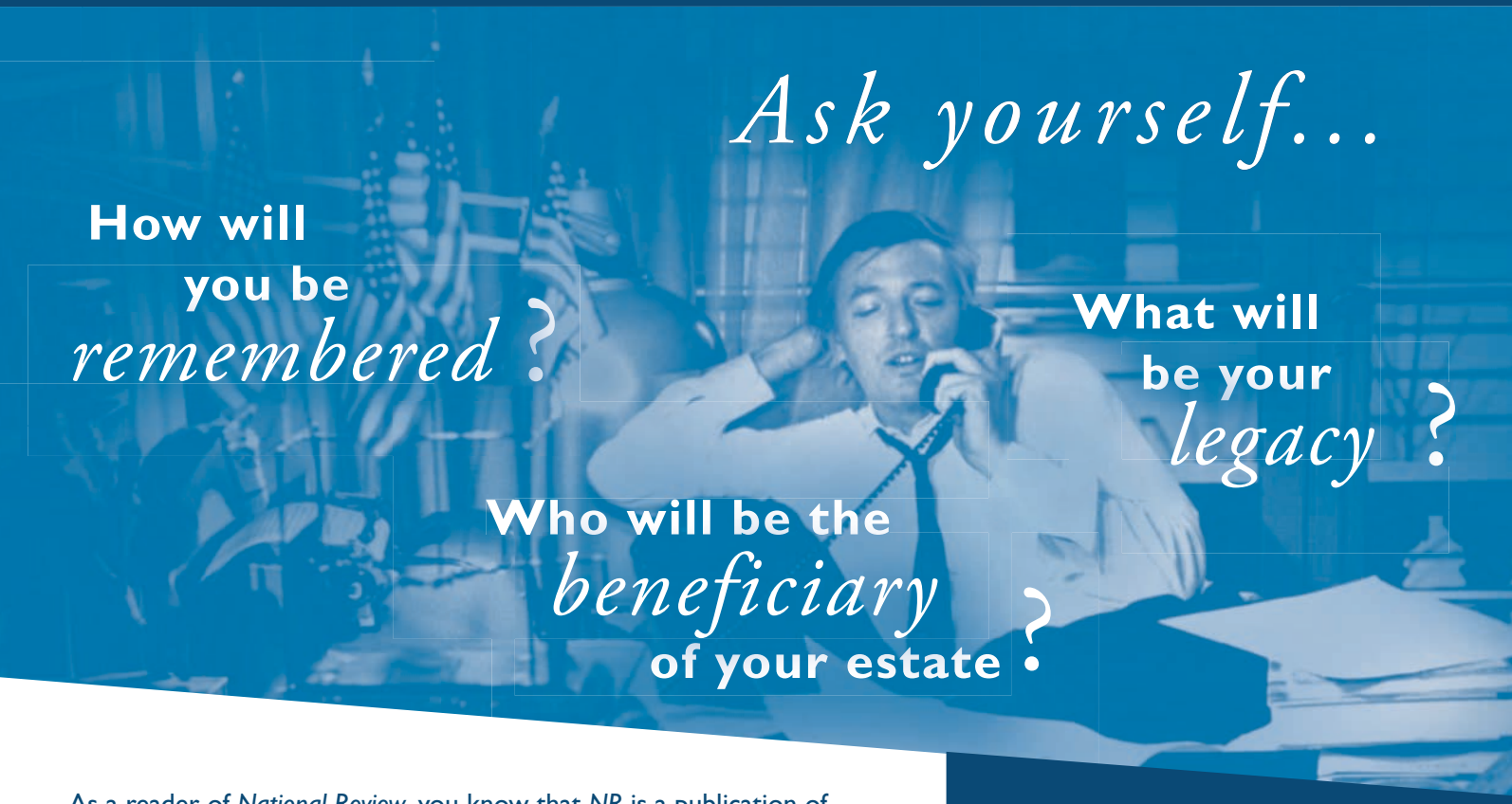

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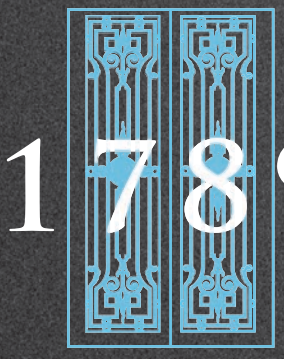

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