

SPECIAL CONVENTION ISSUE

# NATIONAL REVIEW



## Tricky Hillary

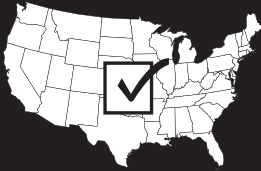
JEREMY CARL  
VICTOR DAVIS HANSON  
ANDREW C. MCCARTHY  
DAN McLAUGHLIN  
RAMESH PONNURU  
AVIK ROY  
LUKE THOMPSON  
HEATHER WILHELM  
KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

\$4.99



2016

UNITED STATES  
DISTRIBUTION NOTICE:



■ **TRYING TO KEEP UP:** Rapid shipments of heavy packages containing Vault Bricks loaded with valuable .999 solid U.S. State Silver Bars are flowing around the clock from the private vaults of the Lincoln Treasury to U.S. State residents who call 1-866-779-6706 EXT. FMS1165 to beat the 7-day deadline.

# U.S. State Silver Bars go to residents in 49 states

*U.S. residents who find their state listed below in bold get first dibs at just the \$57 minimum set for state residents while all non state residents must pay \$134, if any silver bars remain*

AL	AK	AZ	AR	CA	CO	CT	DE	FL
GA	HI	ID	IL	IN	IA	KS	KY	LA
ME	MD	MA	MI	MN	MS	MO	MT	NE
NV	NH	NJ	NM	NY	NC	ND	OH	OK
OR	PA	RI	SC	SD	TN	TX	UT	VT
VA	WA	WV	WI	WY				

**NATIONWIDE** - The phone lines are ringing off the hook.

That's because U.S. State Silver Bars sealed away in State Vault Bricks are being handed over to U.S. residents at just the state minimum set by the Lincoln Treasury for the next 7 days.

This is not a misprint. For the next 7 days residents who find their state on the Distribution List above in bold are getting individual State Silver Bars at just the state minimum of \$57 set by the Lincoln Treasury. That's why everyone should be taking full Vault Bricks loaded with five U.S. State Silver Bars before they're all gone.

And here's the best part. Every state resident who gets at least two Vault Bricks is also getting free shipping and

free handling. That's a real steal because all other state residents must pay over six hundred dollars for each State Vault Brick.

Just a few weeks ago, nobody knew that the only U.S. State Silver Bars locked away in the private vaults of the Lincoln Treasury would be allocated to the Federated Mint for a limited release to residents in 49 states. Every single one of the 50 U.S. State Silver Bars are date numbered in the order they ratified the Constitution and were admitted into the Union beginning in the late 1700s.

"As Executive Advisor to the Lincoln Treasury I get paid to deliver breaking news. So, for anyone who hasn't heard yet, highly collectible U.S. State Silver Bars are now be-

ing handed over at just the state minimum set by the Lincoln Treasury to residents in 49 states who beat the offer deadline, which is why I pushed for this announcement to be widely advertised," said Mary Ellen Withrow, the emeritus 40th Treasurer of the United States of America.

"These bars are solid .999 pure fine silver and will always be a valuable precious metal which is why everyone is snapping up as many as they can before they're all gone," Withrow said.

There's one thing Withrow wants to make very clear. State residents only have seven days to call the Toll Free Order Hotlines to get the U.S. State Silver Bars.

"These valuable U.S. State Silver Bars are impossible to

get at banks, credit unions or the U.S. Mint. In fact, they're only being handed over at state minimum set by the Lincoln Treasury to U.S. residents who call the Toll Free Hotline before the deadline ends seven days from today's publication date", said Timothy J. Shissler, Executive Director of Vault Operations at the private Lincoln Treasury.

To make it fair, special Toll Free Overflow Hotlines have been set up to ensure all residents have an equal chance to get them.

Rapid shipments to state residents are scheduled to begin with the first calls being accepted at precisely 8:30am today.

"We're bracing for all the

(Continued from previous page)

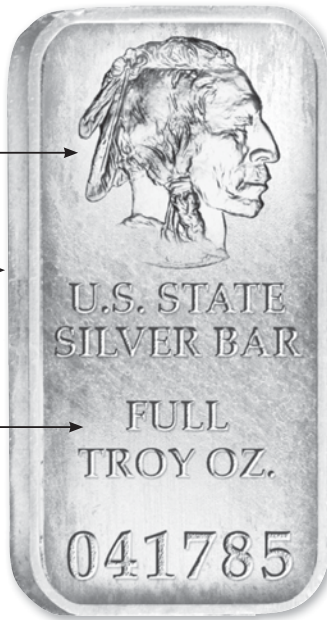
calls and doing everything we can to make sure no one gets left out, but the U.S. State Silver Bars are only being handed over at just the state resident minimum set by the Lincoln Treasury for the next seven days or until they're all gone, whichever comes first. For now, residents can get the U.S. State Silver Bars at just the state minimum set by the Lincoln Treasury as long as they call before the order deadline ends," confirmed Shissler.

"With so many state residents trying to get these U.S. State Silver Bars, lines are busy so keep trying. All calls will be answered," Shissler said. ■

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES FULL TROY OUNCE SOLID .999 FINE SILVER

FRONT

CERTIFIED SOLID SILVER PRECIOUS METAL



DATE NUMBERED IN WHICH THE STATE RATIFIED THE CONSTITUTION AND WAS ADMITTED INTO UNION

BACK

ALL 49 STATES LISTED TO THE LEFT AVAILABLE. 1 STATE ALREADY SOLD OUT.

COURTESY: LINCOLN TREASURY  
PHOTO ENLARGEMENT SHOWS ENGRAVING DETAIL

**RESIDENTS IN 49 STATES: COVER JUST \$57 STATE MINIMUM**

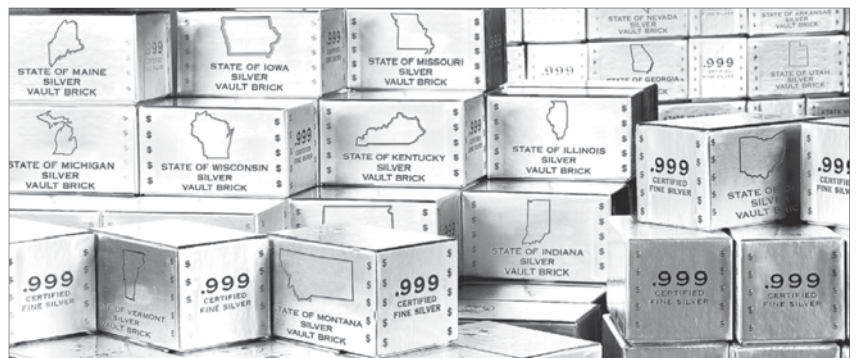
Call ► 1-866-779-6706 EXT. FMS1165 beginning at 8:30am

1. If all lines are busy call this special toll free overflow hotline: **1-866-779-6707 EXT. FMS1165**
2. Residents who find their state on the Distribution List on the left in bold and beat the deadline are authorized to get individual State Silver Bars at just state minimum of \$57 set by the Lincoln Treasury. That's why everyone should be taking full Vault Bricks loaded with five State Silver Bars before they're all gone. And here's the best part. Every state resident who gets at least two Vault Bricks is also getting free shipping and free handling. That's a real steal because all other state residents must pay over six hundred dollars for each State Vault Brick.

**ALL OTHER STATE RESIDENTS: MUST REMIT \$134 PER STATE SILVER BAR**

1. No State Silver Bars will be issued to any resident living outside of the 49 states listed to the left in bold at state resident minimum set by the Lincoln Treasury.
2. If you are a U.S. resident living outside of the 49 states listed to the left in bold you are required to pay \$134 for each State Silver Bar for a total of six hundred seventy dollars plus shipping and handling for each sealed State Vault Brick loaded with five U.S. State Silver Bars. This same offer may be made at a later date or in a different geographic location. Non-state residents call: **1-866-732-3137 EXT. FMS1165**

FEDERATED MINT, LLC AND LINCOLN TREASURY, LLC ARE NOT AFFILIATED WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, A BANK OR ANY GOVERNMENT AGENCY. IF FOR ANY REASON WITHIN 30 DAYS FROM SHIPMENT YOU ARE DISSATISFIED, RETURN THE PRODUCT FOR A REFUND LESS SHIPPING AND RETURN POSTAGE. DUE TO THE FLUCTUATING PRICE IN THE WORLD GOLD AND SILVER TRADES, PRICES ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE. THIS SAME OFFER MAY BE MADE AVAILABLE AT A LATER DATE OR IN A DIFFERENT GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION. FL & OH RESIDENTS ADD 6% SALES TAX. NO SHIPMENTS TO MN. FEDERATED MINT 7600 SUPREME AVE. NW, NORTH CANTON, OH 44720 ©2016 LINCOLN TREASURY P7032A OF19668R-1



■ **A SNEAK PEAK INSIDE SILVER VAULT BRICKS:** Pictured left reveals for the very first time the valuable .999 pure fine silver bars inside each State Silver Vault Brick. Pictured right are the State Silver Vault Bricks containing the only U.S. State Silver Bars known to exist with the double forged state proclamation. Residents who find their state listed to the left in bold are authorized to get individual State Silver Bars at just \$57 state resident minimum set by the Lincoln Treasury. That's why everyone should be taking full Vault Bricks loaded with five State Silver Bars before they're all gone. And here's the best part. Every state resident who gets at least two Vault Bricks is also getting free shipping and free handling. That's a real steal because all other state residents must pay over six hundred dollars for each State Vault Brick.

# Contents

# NATIONAL REVIEW

AUGUST 1, 2016 | VOLUME LXVIII, NO. 13 | www.nationalreview.com

ON THE COVER Page 26

## Clinton in Purgatory

Hillary Clinton has become the face of the very amalgamation of groups that eight years ago handed her the worst defeat of her career. At the same time, a significant portion of her former support has forsaken her party and turned against her personally with bristling hostility. What are we to make of this peculiar arrangement, and how will it shape Clinton's agenda should she attain the White House? *Luke Thompson*

COVER: ROMAN GENN

### ARTICLES

**17 PROGRESSIVISM, INC.** *by Victor Davis Hanson*  
The Clintons have cashed in like no other politicians.

**18 THE QUEEN OF FACTION** *by Avik Roy*  
Hillary has made a career of putting politics over principle.

**20 FOREIGN-POLICY FAILURE** *by Dan McLaughlin*  
At State and before, Clinton showed herself unsuited to be commander-in-chief.

**22 SAFE, LEGAL, AND SUBSIDIZED** *by Ramesh Ponnuru*  
Hillary Clinton's ghastliness on abortion.

**23 A FIRST LADY WITH NOTHING TO LOSE** *by Kevin D. Williamson*  
Bill Clinton promises to be a menace.

**24 CRABAPPLE CLINTON** *by Heather Wilhelm*  
It's hard work having so little fun.

### FEATURES

**26 CLINTON IN PURGATORY** *by Luke Thompson*  
She leads a coalition that loves her little.

**29 AMERICAN GRIFTERS** *by Jeremy Carl*  
The shameless corruption of Bill and Hillary.

**31 IMPEACH HER** *by Andrew C. McCarthy*  
Why the e-mail scandal should bar Hillary from high office.

### BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

**36 THE ANTI-POLICE CULTURE**  
*Jack Dunphy reviews The War on Cops: How the New Attack on Law and Order Makes Everyone Less Safe, by Heather Mac Donald.*

**37 MACARTHUR: THE REST OF THE STORY**  
*Victor Davis Hanson reviews Douglas MacArthur: American Warrior, by Arthur Herman.*

**39 GROUND BEEF**  
*Edward Whelan reviews The Burger Court and the Rise of the Judicial Right, by Michael J. Graetz and Linda Greenhouse.*

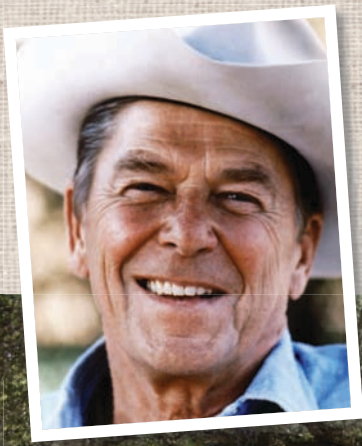
**44 ROOTS OF A NATION**  
*Matthew Spalding reviews Hamilton versus Jefferson in the Washington Administration: Completing the Founding or Betraying the Founding?, by Carson Holloway.*

**45 DARK DAYS ON THE CONTINENT**  
*Michael F. Bishop reviews A Hero of France, by Alan Furst.*

**47 DOG DAYS**  
*Ross Douhat surveys the movie wasteland that is the summer of 2016.*

### SECTIONS

- 4 Letters to the Editor
- 6 The Week
- 34 The Long View . . . . . *Rob Long*
- 35 Athwart . . . . . *James Lileks*
- 46 Poetry . . . . . *Stephen Scaer*
- 48 Happy Warrior . . . . . *Daniel Foster*



# At a High School Conference at the Reagan Ranch...



## Your Teenager Can Walk in President Reagan's Footsteps and Learn Conservative Ideas



You can send your child to visit Ronald Reagan's California ranch to learn about the 20<sup>th</sup> Century's greatest president. What better way to celebrate freedom than by walking in President Reagan's footsteps and learning about the ideas he championed?

At a Young America's Foundation High School Conference at the Reagan Ranch, the student in your

life will expand his or her knowledge of economics, American history, personal responsibility, and President Reagan's lasting accomplishments through a series of innovative lectures, discussions, and briefings.

For dates and information, and to register a student for this invaluable, historical experience, please contact Young America's Foundation's conference director at **800-USA-1776**.

The Reagan Ranch Center • 217 State Street • Santa Barbara, California 93101 • 888-USA-1776  
National Headquarters • 11480 Commerce Park Drive, Sixth Floor • Reston, Virginia 20191 • 800-USA-1776



For information and to apply for this and other conferences, please visit [YAF.org](http://YAF.org) or contact Conference Director **Jolie Ballantyne** at **800-USA-1776** or [jballantyne@yaf.org](mailto:jballantyne@yaf.org)

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Richard Lowry

Senior Editors

Richard Brookhiser / Jonah Goldberg / Jay Nordlinger

Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones

Managing Editor Jason Lee Steorts

Literary Editor Michael Potemra

Vice President, Editorial Operations Christopher McEvoy

Washington Editor Eliana Johnson

Executive Editor Reihan Salam

Roving Correspondent Kevin D. Williamson

National Correspondent John J. Miller

Senior Political Correspondent Jim Geraghty

Chief Political Correspondent Tim Alberta

Art Director Luba Kolomyseva

Deputy Managing Editors

Nicholas Frankovich / Fred Schwarz

Production Editor Katie Hosmer

Assistant to the Editor Rachel Ogden

Research Associate Alessandra Trouwborst

Contributing Editors

Shannen Coffin / Ross Douthat / Daniel Foster

Roman Genn / Arthur L. Herman / Lawrence Kudlow

Mark R. Levin / Yuval Levin / Rob Long

Mario Loyola / Jim Manzi / Andrew C. McCarthy

Kate O'Beirne / Andrew Stuttaford / Robert VerBruggen

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE

Editor Charles C. W. Cooke

Managing Editors Katherine Connell / Edward John Craig

Deputy Managing Editor Nat Brown

National-Affairs Columnist John Fund

Staff Writer David French

Senior Political Reporter Alexis Levinson

Political Reporter Brendan Bordelon

Reporter Katherine Timpf

Associate Editors Molly Powell / Nick Tell

Digital Director Ericka Andersen

Assistant Editor Mark Antonio Wright

Technical Services Russell Jenkins

Web Editorial Assistant Grant DeArmitt

Web Developer Wendy Weihs

Web Producer Scott McKim

EDITORS-AT-LARGE

Linda Bridges / Kathryn Jean Lopez / John O'Sullivan

NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE

THOMAS L. RHODES FELLOW

Ian Tuttle

Contributors

Hadley Arkes / James Bowman / Eliot A. Cohen

Dinesh D'Souza / Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman

James Gardner / David Gelernter / George Gilder

Jeffrey Hart / Kevin A. Hassett / Charles R. Kesler

David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune / D. Keith Mano

Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds / Tracy Lee Simmons

Terry Teachout / Vin Weber

Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge

Accounting Manager Galina Veygman

Accountant Lyudmila Bolotinskaya

Business Services Alex Batey

Circulation Manager Jason Ng

Advertising Director Jim Fowler

Advertising Manager Kevin Longstreet

Assistant to the Publisher Brooke Rogers

Director of Revenue Erik Netcher

PUBLISHER CHAIRMAN

Jack Fowler John Hillen

FOUNDER

William F. Buckley Jr.

PATRONS AND BENEFACTORS

Robert Agostinelli

Mr. and Mrs. Michael Conway

Mark and Mary Davis

Virginia James

Christopher M. Lantrip

Brian and Deborah Murdock

Peter J. Travers



## Free Speech at Yale

Regarding the article “‘This Is Not a Debate’: Yale’s Fight for Free Speech,” (July 11), let me be perfectly clear: Yale University is committed to the free exchange of ideas and expression. Period.

In a speech to the incoming class of Yale freshmen and their families in 2014—and in multiple writings and remarks since then, including my baccalaureate address this year—I have continually and emphatically reaffirmed Yale’s commitment to the principle of free speech as described by Professor C. Vann Woodward in the 1974 report of the Committee on Freedom of Expression at Yale: “Every member of the university has an obligation to permit free expression in the university. No member has a right to prevent such expression.” I reject the notion stated in the article that there is a “collision” between anyone’s belief in this principle and Yale’s devotion to diversity. Both are essential to the free exchange of ideas. Both are necessary to a university that seeks to be an incubator and reservoir of human thought and creativity.

Yale is a place where leaders are nurtured and ideas are forged and tested. We must teach, and we are teaching, our students that expressing those ideas and thoughts to one another—while sometimes uncomfortable—must be done without intimidation and without silencing the ideas and views of others. This is an educational institution, and while some students may try to refuse to hear provocative thoughts, our job is to enable them to listen and engage. And despite media reports to the contrary, Yale will continue to teach and enforce the principle that the answer to speech one finds offensive is more speech.

Peter Salovey  
President, Yale University

ELIANA JOHNSON RESPONDS: President Salovey declined to be interviewed for my article and agreed only to respond to a handful of questions via e-mail. He reveals in this letter precisely how he has contributed to the crisis of free speech on campus. The Yale administration operates with two faces: one turned outward toward alumni and other members of the general public, and one turned inward toward students and teachers on campus. Salovey has professed a commitment to free speech, while Yale College dean Jonathan Holloway has dismissed concerns about it entirely.

The idea that Yale’s commitment to free expression may come into conflict with other values—in this case, the administration’s desire to reassure restive students of its goodwill—is not merely, as Salovey suggests, a “notion stated in the article,” but an uncomfortable reality on which Woodward and his colleagues reflected 40 years ago. It is true today more than ever. The authors of the Woodward report called on the administration to communicate its “commitment to the principle of freedom of expression and its superior importance to other laudable principles and values.” Even in this letter—not to mention on campus over the last year—President Salovey has failed to do so.

Letters may be submitted by e-mail to [letters@nationalreview.com](mailto:letters@nationalreview.com).

# U.S. GOV'T GOLD



## AT OR BELOW DEALER-COST OFFER FOR FIRST TIME GOLD BUYERS



### INTRODUCTORY OFFER

Nationwide Coin & Bullion Reserve has set 2,500 \$5 Gold American Eagles to be released at the below dealer-cost price of \$125. This offer is for first time gold buyers only. Now, while our inventory lasts, the American public can own \$5 gold eagles below dealer cost for only \$125 per coin. This amazing offer provides a perfect opportunity for individuals to take part in the most explosive market of the last decade. Call now to protect your wealth with government backed Gold American Eagles.

Nationwide Coin & Bullion Reserve has set these beautiful U.S. Government gold coins for immediate public release and cannot guarantee sufficient inventory to supply current demand. This at-cost public offer will sell out immediately. Overage orders might be cancelled and your uncashed checks returned. Ordering now could be your last chance to own these magnificent government-issued gold coins at this level. **Order now to avoid disappointment.**

If you had \$25,000 in gold in 2001 at \$290 per ounce you would have over \$100,000 at today's gold prices. Numerous experts are now predicting gold will reach \$5,000 an ounce. Your \$25,000 could be worth \$125,000 in the near future. This at-cost offer for American citizens might be your final opportunity to own government gold free of dealer mark up. Due to an extremely limited supply we must adhere to a strict limit of ten coins per household, per lifetime, no exceptions.



**NATIONWIDE**  
COIN & BULLION RESERVE

Call Now! 24 HOURS A DAY • 7 DAYS A WEEK

**1.877.817.1220**

**SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS NOW AVAILABLE FOR ORDERS OVER \$50,000**

**ONLY \$125 ea**



MINIMUM ORDER 5 COINS • KEY CODE: NRM-160737

**NATIONWIDE COIN & BULLION RESERVE**

Prices subject to change due to fluctuations in gold market. Prices will remain at dealer cost.

Coins enlarged to show detail.



# The Week

■ If the FBI had been serious about finding Hillary’s missing e-mails, it would have subpoenaed Putin.

■ FBI director James Comey’s recommendations concerning Hillary Clinton’s illegal servers (there was more than one, it turns out) were damning, in two ways: They damned both her competence and her honesty. Clinton and her colleagues were “extremely careless in their handling of very sensitive, highly classified information.” “Any reasonable person . . . should have known” that her servers were not secure; indeed, they were less secure than Gmail. Some of her e-mails, contrary to her denials, were marked “classified,” and she was “obligated to protect” even those that weren’t. As a result of her heedlessness, “hostile actors” probably hacked her: small wonder, since she worked “in the territory of sophisticated adversaries” (e.g., Russians, Chinese). Comey nevertheless concluded that since Clinton did not intend to break the law, “no reasonable prosecutor” would indict her. But this rewrites the law, which penalizes gross negligence in the handling of national-security secrets as well as willful misconduct. Comey thus damned himself, all but admitting that he recommended no prosecution for political reasons. Mrs. Clinton went campaigning with Obama mere hours after Comey wrapped up. Forget it Jake, it’s Clintontown.

■ The House committee’s report on the Benghazi debacle revealed staggering dereliction of duty and deception by the president and his top subordinates—and Clinton was front and center in every phase of this disgraceful episode. On the eve of the 2012 presidential election, jihadist strongholds flourished in post-Qaddafi Libya, Benghazi most prominent among them. The U.N., Great Britain, and other nations pulled their people out, but Mrs. Clinton left ours there and turned a deaf ear to pleas for better security. When, inevitably, the facility was attacked, politics controlled the response—to the pitiful extent that there was one. The world’s most powerful military was entirely unprepared to deploy its assets to rescue the dozens of Americans fighting for their lives; Obama and his subordinates never even tried. The spin, though, began immediately: During the attack, Clinton and Obama issued a statement depicting the violence as an overwrought response to an anti-Muslim Internet video. Clinton knew this was untrue: As she told the Egyptian prime minister in a phone call, “We know that the attack in Libya had nothing to do with the film.” We now know, too, that she should have nothing to do with the presidency.

■ Donald Trump went to Washington to meet with congressional Republicans in his role as party leader, but he still hasn’t quite learned his lines. Trump jabbed at Senator Ben Sasse, saying that he must want Clinton as president; told Senator Jeff Flake that he would lose his reelection bid (Flake replied that he was not up until 2018); and mocked Senator Mark Kirk, who wasn’t there, as “dishonest” and a “loser.” None of these men is a Trump fan:



Sasse is #NeverTrump, Flake has criticized him, and Kirk rescinded his endorsement of him. But the big dog should show magnanimity, or humor, or true forcefulness. Trump whines, pouts, and, if he feels safe enough, tries to act the bully. Just what we want in the Situation Room. Nice work, Party of Lincoln.

■ Trump has a habit of defending Saddam Hussein: not as a good man or a good leader, but as a killer of terrorists, and therefore a force for stability. In truth, Saddam was a funder and shelterer of terrorists. Abu Nidal was sheltered in Saddam Hussein’s Iraq. So was Abu Abbas (the chief terrorist in the *Achille Lauro* hijacking). So was Zarqawi, of al-Qaeda. So was at least one of the 1993 World Trade Center bombers. And so on. A variety of terror training camps operated under Saddam’s gaze. And he paid the families of Palestinian suicide bombers \$10,000—until he was feeling more generous and upped the ante to \$25,000. There are reasons to oppose, or to have opposed, the Iraq War. But Saddam’s relation to terror is not one of them. Saddam supported terrorists for about as long as Trump supported Hillary Clinton and other liberal Democrats.

■ It must be exciting to be Donald Trump, to be in his 71st year while retaining so much childlike wonder about the world and its workings. In late June, Trump gave a speech about trade during which he promised to appoint trade negotiators to press cases against our trading partners when they violate the terms of trade pacts. He apparently was entirely unaware that we already employ many such people, and that, even as he spoke, a trade complaint was being lodged against Beijing over the question of



# 5

## reasons why *American Standard* walk-in bathtubs are the best choice for you

### Get \$1,500 in Savings INCLUDING a FREE American Standard Right Height® Toilet

### 1

You'll be well taken care of by a company who has been an American institution for more than 140 years. It's your assurance of quality and workmanship. And only American Standard offers the **Liberation Walk-In Bathtub**.

### 2

**Ultra low entry for easy entering and exiting.** Safety features such as wide doors, built-in safety bars and textured floor provide a safer bathing experience.

### 3

**The only 2 minute, patented Quick Drain® fast water removal system available.** The American Standard Quick Drain® drains your tub in under 2 minutes, so you'll never get cold in your tub waiting for it to drain.

### 4

You get a comprehensive **LIFETIME WARRANTY** on our **MADE-IN-THE-USA** walk-in bath **INCLUDING LABOR and INSTALLATION.** The door seal is guaranteed to be water-tight forever! Best of all, we take care of the entire installation, which includes removing your old tub or shower.

### 5

**More hydrotherapy jets than anyone else we've seen.** Imagine the soothing relief you'll feel when **44 RevitaJet™ hydrotherapy jets** target and massage your sore, aching upper body, hands, wrists, back, hips, legs and feet.



American Standard Walk-In Baths have been commended by the Arthritis Foundation for Ease of Use.

**18 MONTH NO INTEREST FINANCING\***  
Find out how to get it!

## CALL NOW! 855.371.0305

or visit us at:

[www.AmericanStandardBath.com](http://www.AmericanStandardBath.com)  
Operators Are Standing By!



Stay in your home longer, safer and independently

### LIMITED-TIME OFFER...

CALL **1.855.371.0305**

For your no-risk, no-obligation, **FREE Info Kit**

**FREE INFO KIT!**



Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone (Required) \_\_\_\_\_

Email \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to:  
American Standard 2201 Broadway Ste. 103 Oakland, CA 94612



Get \$1,500 in Savings INCLUDING a FREE American Standard Toilet

Offer expires 2/28/17, limit one per household, first time purchaser only. Free American Standard Cadet Pro Toilet available with full installation of a Liberation bath. \*Subject to 3rd party credit approval. Minimum monthly payments required. See [www.AmericanStandardBath.com](http://www.AmericanStandardBath.com) for other restrictions, licenses and company information.

subsidies for certain heavy-duty tires. He has promised to “bring back” factory jobs that have been lost largely to automation; imagine the joy on his face when he learns that robots are real! His babe-in-the-woods approach to complex world problems is a little less charming when applied to questions such as his plan to launch a trade war with China over currency-devaluation concerns that are years out of date. Some of us remember *Sun Up* and *Magic Afternoon* from our Reagan-era elementary-school reading. Those were innocent times, and we recall them fondly, but we hope Trump stops dawdling in childhood and gets to *The Wealth of Nations* soon.

■ The Supreme Court, striking down a Texas law, again arrogated to itself the authority to set abortion policy, taking up the role that Justice Byron White warned against in 1976: “the country’s ex officio medical board with powers to disapprove medical and operative practices and standards throughout the United States.” In 2015, abortion clinic Whole Woman’s Health successfully petitioned the Supreme Court to stay, then hear its case against, Texas’s requirement that abortionists have admitting privileges to a nearby hospital and that abortion clinics meet the minimum health and safety standards that obtain for “ambulatory surgical centers.” Whole Woman’s Health, a limited-liability company, has no constitutional right to abortion even within the Court’s jurisprudence, and in normal circumstances the Court does not allow a third party to sue to vindicate someone else’s constitutional rights. But, to quote Justice Thomas’s dissent, “the Court employs a different approach to rights that it favors.” And it favors abortion a lot more than rights that are actually spelled out in the Constitution.

■ After seeing its race-based admissions policies swatted down three times—in 1950, 1996, and 2013—the Lone Star State’s flagship university finally managed to win the Supreme Court’s approval. In 2008, Abigail Fisher applied for admission to UT and was denied while non-white applicants with lower grades were admitted. In 2013, the Supreme Court remanded her lawsuit to the Fifth Circuit on the ground that the lower court had granted the university too much deference. Neither the university’s policies nor any relevant provision of law changed between 2013 and 2016, but what the Court rejected three years ago it has now blithely affirmed. The Court should have ruled that this admissions policy violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which states that no person “shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” Instead, it has helped to perpetuate a regime that weighs the color of a student’s skin more heavily than the content of her report cards.

■ A 4–4 split on the Supreme Court resulted in a legal defeat for President Obama’s big executive amnesty for illegal immigrants. Obama declared that the Court’s ruling “takes us further from the country that we aspire to be.” The president is exactly wrong. What we ought to aspire to be is a country of laws (with a rational immigration policy), and the Supreme Court’s ruling struck a blow toward that end. Some of the issues now go back to the lower courts. But the decision effectively rebukes the administration’s unilateral rule. If the president wants a new policy, he should get it the old-fashioned way: through Congress.



■ When Robert McDonnell was governor of Virginia, he and his wife accepted many gifts from a businessman—clothes, loans, vacations, a Rolex—and in return did things such as host events and set up meetings for him. These “official acts” constituted corruption, according to federal prosecutors, who won convictions of the couple. The Supreme Court has unanimously thrown out the former governor’s corruption convictions on the ground

that only the “formal exercise of government power” can count as an official act. The Republican’s conduct may have been “tawdry,” but prosecutors had not shown it to have violated federal law. The Court seems to us to have gotten the law right without giving the governor’s partial vindication more moral force than it deserves.

■ Occasionally, the mask slips off completely. For years, constitutional originalists have charged that too many American judges believe that their role is to invent, rather than to uphold, the law. In June, Judge Richard Posner came straight out and confirmed their fears. Writing in *Slate*, Posner confessed that he sees “absolutely no value” in studying the U.S. Constitution. There is, he wrote, “no value to a judge of spending decades, years, months, weeks, day[s], hours, minutes, or seconds studying the Constitution, the history of its enactment, its amendments, and its implementation,” for “18th-century guys, however smart, could not foresee the culture, technology, etc., of the 21st century.” They certainly didn’t foresee the nerve of some 21st-century judges.

■ Democratic frustrations boiled over in June. Having watched their attempts to pass stricter gun control fail in the Senate, a group of progressive lawmakers staged a petulant “sit-in” in the House. Chanting “No bill, no break” and singing a mess of boomer-generation protest songs, around 100 representatives vowed that they would stay in place until Speaker Ryan relented and met their demands. Instead, Ryan gaveled Congress out of session and went home for the evening, vowing that he would not be intimidated by “political stunts.” After 13 hours of milling around, the protesters went home too, their promises of longevity giving way to irritated muttering and the vague threat of a rerun. The Democrats’ gun legislation is a series of pointless gestures, so their tactics may as well consist of the same.

■ Clinton has adopted a lite version of Bernie Sanders’s promise of “free college.” She proposes to enact a three-month repayment holiday for student loans, which would be of no use either to those who are current on their obligations or to those in default (who would still be in default at the end of the three months). Clinton says that this holiday will help debtors access refinancing and restructuring programs, but those have long been available to them. She also proposes reducing student-loan interest rates below their already artificially low levels while doing nothing at all

# COPD Treatment Takes Center Stage

BY DAVID EBNER | Staff Writer

The world will never forget the momentous day when four young men from Liverpool, England, walked onto the stage of the Ed Sullivan show in 1964. The Fab Four strolled onstage, squinting in the glare of the lights and smiling at the squealing fans, and that grainy black and white image became the music history icon of the “British Invasion.”

Stem cell research appeared on the world stage with much less fanfare. There were no screaming fans or standing ovations when doctors conducted the first stem cell treatment in the form of a bone marrow transplant in 1956. The painstaking hours scientists spent researching and studying cells in laboratories across the world passed unremarked upon in the pages of Life Magazine. Even in 2012, when John B. Gurdon and Shinya Yamanaka won a Nobel Prize for their discovery that “mature cells can be reprogrammed to become pluripotent,” enthusiasm was limited mostly to the medical community.

The advent of stem cell research may seem inconsequential in comparison to the rise of the Beatles or Elvis Presley, but its impact on the medical industry is nothing less than revolutionary. Although the ethical implications of using embryonic stem cells have a high-profile and controversial history, knowledge of adult stem cells—cells present inside the body of every adult, remains relatively obscure. Adult stem cells live in the blood and bone marrow, and can be extracted and reintroduced into different parts of the body, as needed. Stem cells re-specialize to mimic whatever type of cell they are near. For example, when bone marrow stem cells are extracted, isolated and

reintroduced to the lungs of the patient with a progressive lung disease, the stem cells have the potential to morph into lung cells. The hope is that the new cells will be disease-free and will promote healing and increase lung function. For someone suffering from a debilitating disease, such stem cell therapy could mean the difference between struggling for air and singing “Twist and Shout” in the shower.

Physicians at the Lung Institute ([LungInstitute.com](http://LungInstitute.com)) have been performing such procedures since 2013, increasing the quality of life for over 82 percent of the patient’s they’ve treated as reported by

## Stem Cells: The Next Big Thing

Lung disease accounts for the loss of 150,000 lives every year and is the third leading cause of death in the United States.

Specialists using stem cells from the patient’s own body can offer treatment for people suffering from lung diseases like:

- COPD
- Pulmonary Fibrosis
- Emphysema
- Interstitial Lung Disease
- Chronic Bronchitis

With clinics located in Tampa, Florida; Nashville, Tennessee; Scottsdale, Arizona; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Dallas, Texas, the physicians at the Lung Institute are able to treat patients from anywhere in the United States and around the world.

If you or a loved one suffers from a chronic lung disease, contact the Lung Institute to find out if stem cell treatments are right for you.

Call **(888) 704-5594**  
for more information or visit  
[LungInstitute.com/NatlReview](http://LungInstitute.com/NatlReview)



The Beatles changed the world of music;  
stem cells are changing the world of medicine.

the patients themselves. During a stem cell therapy procedure, cells are extracted from the patient’s blood or bone marrow tissue. The cells are then isolated and returned intravenously. This outpatient procedure is completed over three days and is considered minimally invasive. According to the Lung Institute’s Medical Director, Jack Coleman M.D., “stem cells are important because they offer a different approach. Instead of treating symptoms simply to make the patient more comfortable, stem cell therapy targets the disease and can promote healing, challenging conventional medicine’s fatalistic mindset that there’s nothing more we can do.”

It’s difficult to imagine a medical breakthrough stealing the show from the latest trending celebrity. However, real people have sought these innovative treatments, and are already seeing these advancements make a difference in their lives. They may not be screaming like the crazed Beatles fans of the sixties, but the alternative treatment fan base grows every day among people who are breathing easier thanks to stem cell therapy. ■

to ensure the creditworthiness of borrowers—a recipe for higher default rates produced by larger debt burdens and rising tuitions as university administrators discover new ways to soak up that cheap federal money. Finally, she proposes “free” educations for families making up to \$125,000 a year as part of a scheme that entails transforming our state-university systems into a federal subsidiary. Three proposals, three kinds of horrible.

■ Puerto Rico’s debt crisis intensified to the point that even Washington, D.C., acted. Congress passed, and President Obama signed, legislation that would see to it both that the unpayable debts of the island government and its subdivisions are settled in an orderly manner and that a fiscal-control board will rein in the accumulation of further debts. The new law

also lets the island set a new training wage below the federal minimum wage. None of this will be sufficient to revive Puerto Rico’s economy; it does not even eliminate the federal impediments to that revival. (The Jones Act, a piece of shipping protectionism, has long hindered Puerto Rican commerce.) The law does, however, reduce the likelihood that the federal government will have to appropriate billions of dollars to bail out the Puerto Rican government and its creditors, and by current standards that’s a pretty good day’s work in the nation’s capital.

■ Sanctuary cities across the country got some overdue news from the Department of Justice, which seems to have briefly recalled its purpose: Such cities will no longer receive certain

## A Season of Uncertainty

ON Friday, July 8, the stock market celebrated the release of Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) data showing that, in seasonally adjusted terms, 287,000 net jobs had been added in the month of June. Recovering almost immediately from Brexit anxieties, the market closed about 1.5 percent higher than it had the previous day.

In these very pages, I wrote only last month that presidential elections tend to be harbingers of recession, a conclusion that was consistent with the paltry 11,000 net new jobs indicated by May’s BLS report. But have the July data now contradicted my conclusion and put recession fears to rest?

One important factor is the extreme swing in seasonal employment that happens every summer. The arrival of the June beach weather coincides with the arrival home of millions of college students. Many of them seek employment. This upswing in employment happens every year, so data mavens have wisely decided to create a “seasonally adjusted” figure that removes it. Seasonal adjustment is the statistical safeguard against lifeguards.

The labor market in June looks much better without that seasonal adjustment: That 287,000-job gain becomes a whopping 682,000 one. The adjustment is actually bigger than the adjusted—or, as economists say, the final “headline”—number. The size of the difference certainly gives one pause.

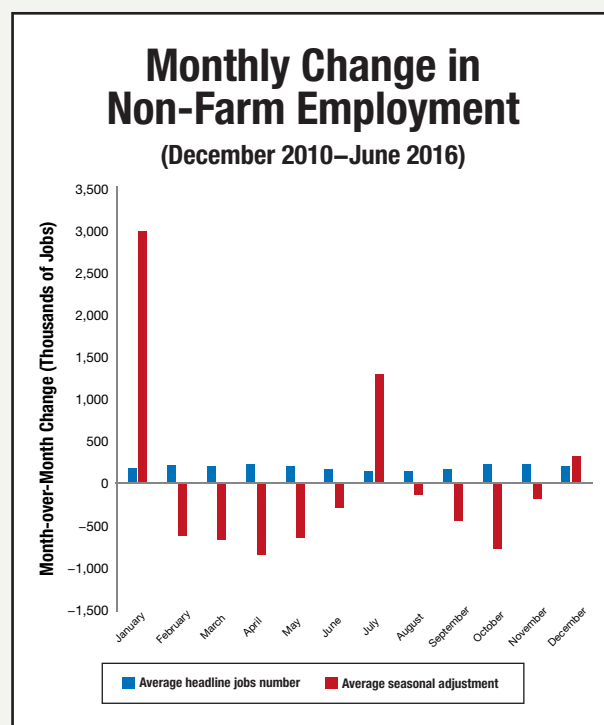
But June is not the only month that requires adjustment. Job creation in January tends to plummet as the surge in holiday retail employment reverses. July tends to see large job losses as employers anticipate lower production in August. Teachers head back to school in September.

To put this all in perspective, my colleagues and I went back to December 2010 and calculated the average seasonal adjustment for each calendar month through June 2016. Then we compared that adjustment with the average headline job-creation number for the same month. As the chart shows, for ten of the calendar year’s twelve months,

the adjustment is on average bigger than the headline number itself. For some months, then, a tiny proportional error in seasonal adjustment would change the headline number’s order of magnitude.

The chart suggests that July and January headline job-creation numbers are likely to be almost meaningless barometers of monthly changes in labor-market conditions. When considering those and other months, one should remember that seasonal adjustments, by design, average out over the year—so the change relative to a year ago is far more revealing than the change relative to last month. Viewed in that yearlong perspective, the economy is, sadly, barely inching along.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT



# A Strictly Limited Release of 100-Year-Old Morgan 90% Silver Dollars

63% off  
the regular  
price!



Shown larger than actual size of 38.1 mm in diameter

**Your coin arrives secured in a tamper-proof holder.**

By acting fast you can receive a rare **1878 Morgan Silver Dollar** for just \$29.99 — a remarkable value versus the regular price of \$69.99 (plus \$9.99 shipping and service). This coin was the very first of the historic U.S. 90% Silver Dollars struck between 1878 and 1921. Due to government meltdowns, just 17% of all Morgans produced still exist, so collectors have been hoarding desirable Morgan Silver Dollars for nearly a century. With the price of silver having skyrocketed, these scarce silver dollars are more precious — and sought-after — than ever!

**REPLY NOW!**

How can we offer you this **1878 Morgan Silver Dollar** at an amazing 63% off? Because it's good for you — and us! We know that once our customers feel the weight and see the beauty of just one of these rare historic 90% Silver Dollars for themselves, they'll want to purchase more of them from us. This could be your one-and-only opportunity to claim a rare **1878 Morgan Silver Dollar** at this special price. So don't delay, order now!

©2015 BGE 17-00129-001-B1

The Bradford Exchange Mint  
9307 Milwaukee Avenue  
Niles, IL 60714-1393

**RESERVATION  
APPLICATION**

**YES!** Send my 1878 Morgan Silver Dollar for just \$29.99 with no obligation to purchase anything else.

**For Fastest Service Call Us Toll-Free: 1-800-323-8105**

I prefer the convenience of paying by credit card.  
 VISA  MasterCard  Discover  Amex

Card #: \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosed is my check for \$29.99 payable to The Bradford Exchange Mint

Signature (required) \_\_\_\_\_

Mrs. Mr. Ms. \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**45261-E10724**

\*Please allow 4-8 weeks for shipment. Sales subject to product availability and order acceptance.

grants from the department if they continue to defy federal law openly. With sometimes tragic results, sanctuary cities routinely withhold information from federal authorities about illegal immigrants who have been detained or incarcerated. Democrats have defended sanctuary cities for years, finding a misguided strain of localism to strike their fancy when it serves progressive ends. But the Justice Department, prompted by Representative John Culberson (R., Texas), is issuing a rebuke to these cities' illegal conduct. Expect the Left to respond with a rousing defense of nullification, Calhoun-style.

■ For years, leftists have said that only paranoiacs think that they want to regulate churches. Leave the secular spaces to them, they argue, and they'll leave the sanctuary to the believers. Apparently, however, the Iowa Civil Rights Commission didn't get the memo: It actually promulgated guidelines claiming that prohibitions of discrimination on the basis of "gender identity" applied to any "church service open to the public." Use the correct pronouns, pastor, or face the consequences. Under pressure of litigation, the commission has backed down, at least for now. But for social-justice warriors, religious freedom is nothing sacred.

■ As ludicrous as it was for the Obama administration to obscure the Islamist origins of the massacre at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, at least it annoyed the jihadists. From now on, al-Qaeda wrote in a supplement to its magazine, *Inspire*, Islamists should "avoid targeting places and crowds where minorities are generally found," for that way they can avoid having their attacks buried or labeled as "hate crimes." Instead, would-be martyrs should focus on "areas where the Anglo-Saxon community is generally concentrated." Terrorists adapt to our security measures, and also to our weird politics.

■ The president who pledged to end America's wars is continuing them—all of them. The Obama administration has announced that it will keep up to 8,400 troops in Afghanistan at the end of his term, an increase of almost 3,000 over original projections. Just as in Iraq, where American forces have been reinforced once again, this decision reflects realities on the ground. It turns out that wars don't end just because one side wants peace. Jihadists have taken advantage of American withdrawals and have surged to the extent that even the Obama administration recognizes the danger. And so the president leaves his successor with enough troops to stave off defeat but not enough to win. America's longest war will grind on.

■ Tony Blair has a haggard look about him these days. And well he might be distressed: A whole pack of critics is after him for his part in the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in 2003. According to them, intelligence was "sexed up" to create a nonexistent danger to Britain. Even worse, there were no plans for the post-Saddam stage: Iraqis have been left to kill one another in large numbers. Sir John Chilcot is a civil servant of irreproachable character who accepted the job—the tricky job—of looking into the issue. Seven years and two and a half million words later, the Chilcot Report is out. Blair is let off the hook, except that he is caught in the backwash of prejudice against his coalition partner, President George W. Bush. Blair promised Bush in a secret letter, "I will be with you, whatever." In tones more fitting for confession in church, Blair accepted full responsibility

for everything to do with Iraq and the "sorrow, regret, and apology" that he believes goes with it. The Chilcot Report is the equivalent of putting an unpopular fellow in the stocks and pelting him with rotten tomatoes.

■ Astrophysicist Neil deGrasse Tyson seems to be in some sort of competition to prove that he is the dumbest smart person on the Internet. Tyson took the lead recently with his call for a "virtual country" to be called "Rationalia," a polity "with a one-line Constitution: All policy shall be based on the weight of evidence." The foolishness here is on a scale that an astrophysicist can appreciate, especially if that astrophysicist hasn't read much history, such as that of the attempts to establish something very much like "Rationalia" in revolutionary France. (Short version: It ends with the Reign of Terror.) The idea that societies can be managed scientifically, and hence liberated from politics, is an old one, and one without a very happy pedigree: The so-called scientific socialism of the 20th century produced horrors that were, at least in terms of gross body counts, the worst in the human record, with 100 million dead. Progressives in the United States and Europe mutilated and sterilized untold numbers of men and women in the pursuit of "scientific"

eugenics. And there is the small problem that ethics, and decision-making in general, is not *reducible* to empirical facts, since it must decide what to *do* about those facts. This turns out to matter a great deal in the public sphere, which is largely occupied with the question of what should be done. As a self-aggrandizing pose, to proclaim oneself a citizen of Rationalia must be very satisfying. But it has little to do with rationality.



■ For a brief, shining second, there was hope in America. Justin Timberlake issued a tweet praising a speech given at the BET Awards. (Timberlake is a pop star. "BET" stands for "Black Entertainment Television.") Someone else tweeted, "Does this mean you're going to stop appropriating our music and culture?" Timberlake replied, "Oh, you sweet soul. The more you realize that we are the same, the more we can have a conversation." Thus did Timberlake advance something like Americanism. *E pluribus unum*. Thus did he rise above the identity politics, the Balkanization, that is killing our country. And then—he apologized. Of course.

■ In Washington, D.C., the Fourth of July was cloudy and rainy. PBS showed the fireworks, as usual. But they spliced in footage from previous broadcasts. One minute, you were seeing the present fireworks, dimmed by the weather; the next minute, there was no dimming—or scaffolding on the Capitol.

People grumbled. They charged deception. PBS was defiant, saying, “We showed a combination of the best fireworks from this year and previous years. It was the patriotic thing to do.” The good news is that PBS is patriotic; the bad news is that some of the patriotism is faked.

■ Lunchtime patrons of McSeagull’s in Boothbay Harbor, Maine, may find themselves served by their governor’s wife this summer. First lady Ann LePage has picked up some part-time work waiting tables at the seafood restaurant to supplement her husband’s \$70,000 salary (a modest income for a governor and the lowest in the country). She took the job in order to save up enough to buy a new SUV, a Toyota RAV 4: “Oh honey, it’s all about the money,” she told a local news outlet. We are glad to see a first lady acquiring it honorably.

■ At a third-grade end-of-school party in Collingswood, N.J., a student made a remark about the brownies being served; a classmate objected that the remark was racist. It’s unclear what the student said, or whether the term “brownies” was considered objectionable in itself, but there’s no dispute about what happened next: Instead of letting the teacher sort it out, the school not only called the police, who proceeded to question the accused boy with guns hanging from their belts, but also notified New Jersey’s child-protection agency. It turns out that school authorities in the quiet town had been summoning the police several times a day, ever since receiving a state directive to notify authorities whenever there was the slightest possibility that a crime might have been committed. Under Governor Chris Christie, New Jersey has taken the lead in opposing school bullying, apparently doing it in the most bullying way imaginable.

■ The ingenuous college student, writing to an online advice board, seemed genuinely puzzled. She and her fellow interns at an unnamed major company felt its corporate dress code was too stuffy: Even employees’ shoes were restricted to certain styles, and to make matters worse, one worker conspicuously violated the shoe guidelines with impunity. (We will assume the writer is “she,” since a guy would not be so obsessed with shoes.) So they reacted the way any group of 21st-century undergraduates would: They drew up a petition and presented it to the boss—who responded by summarily firing them all, after explaining that the worker with nonconforming footwear was a former soldier who had lost a leg. The intern was baffled: “The proposal was written professionally like examples I have learned about in school, and our arguments were thought out and well-reasoned.” Yet there they were, handing in their IDs, having learned that not every lesson is taught in school.

■ A report in *Pediatrics* finds that thumb-suckers and nail-biters have stronger immune systems—news that must have come as a relief to think-tank scholars and highly specialized academics around the world. The study tracked a group of children in New Zealand and provides evidence for the “hygiene hypothesis,” the idea that conditions including eczema, asthma, and certain allergies are in part the product of abnormalities in the immune system related to a lack of exposure to germs in early childhood. Such are the diseases of the affluent society:

We have too much to eat, too little physical exertion demanded of us, and nurseries that are too clean. Our ancestors escaped Mongol hordes and bubonic plague only to have their progeny done in by the occasional stray peanut. God is not mocked, nor are anaphylatoxins.

■ Now that it is closing after 57 years, they are calling the Four Seasons the most important American restaurant of the end of the millennium. Why? It looked the part—a Philip Johnson room in a Mies van der Rohe building, it was sleek, spacious, light, right-angled, sumptuous. If high modernism had always looked like that, we would have liked it. The menu, first developed by James Beard and tweaked over the years, was patriotic: high-end American cuisine, beginning at a time when all other good restaurants were French, and marching on through the food riot of fusion. Most important, it symbolized New York City as the hub, the capital of everything except politics. Even in the days when the city outside was crime-ridden and grungy, the Four Seasons maintained the ideal. The lease is up for renewal, a new owner of the building has different ideas. So into the dark backward and abysm of time it falls, with Babe Ruth, Edwin Booth, Nathan Hale, and Peter Minuit buying the island for \$24 worth of beads. So long!

■ The Battle of the Somme opened in July 1916, and the memory of it is still painful. The British were supposed to create a diversion in order to relieve their French allies then under pressure at Verdun. The strategy of unprotected frontal assault put into operation by General Sir Douglas Haig, the British commander, has remained controversial. “The nation must be taught to bear losses” is a giveaway comment in his diaries. The hope that a preliminary artillery barrage of over a million and a half shells would pulverize the German lines proved a delusion. “Going over the top,” as the idiom put it, the British infantry out in the open was at the mercy of German machine guns, and 19,240 of them were killed on the first day alone. By the time the battle was over, the British had taken virtually no territory, at the cost of 419,655 killed and wounded, including Raymond Asquith, son of then-prime minister H. H. Asquith. The British Army had never experienced such a disaster in its long history.

■ Bill Armstrong bought his first radio station in Denver at the age of 22, launching a career in mountain-states media that also included the ownership of a newspaper in Colorado Springs and television stations in Idaho and Wyoming. Yet he would make his biggest mark in politics, serving as a conservative Republican first in Colorado’s state legislature and later in Congress. His election to the Senate in 1978 anticipated Ronald Reagan’s presidential victory two years later. Known for his pleasing demeanor—he once described it as “saying



hard things in a soft way”—he championed balanced budgets and called for preserving Social Security through sensible reforms such as raising the retirement age. After leaving the Senate in 1991, he remained active in business. In 2006, he became president of Colorado Christian University, more than doubling its enrollment in an office he held until cancer took him on July 5. Dead at 79. R.I.P.

■ Born in Sighet, a small town in Transylvania that is now Romanian, Elie Wiesel was 15 when he was deported to Auschwitz and then Buchenwald. Surviving, he made it his mission to bear witness to man’s inhumanity to man. *Night*, published in 1956, is an evocation of his concentration-camp ordeal that has become a classic. Humane yet passionate, he had a gift for finding the right words in speeches and in his many books. International conferences, symposiums, and lecture halls were his natural habitat. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986. Aged 87, he died in his home in Manhattan. R.I.P.



■ Sydney Schanberg, a *New York Times* reporter, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1976 for his coverage of the Khmer Rouge’s takeover in Cambodia. His widely praised book *The Death and Life of Dith Pran* became the basis for the 1984 film *The Killing Fields*, winner of three Academy Awards and starring Sam Waterston as Schanberg. Schanberg wasn’t always right—his prediction that Cambodians’ lives would improve after the fall of Phnom Penh and the departure of the Americans was proved wrong by the brutality of the Khmer Rouge regime. His

work, and the film it inspired, played an integral role in drawing the world’s attention to the plight of the Cambodian people. Schanberg also worked as metropolitan editor and op-ed columnist for the *Times* and later reported for *New York Newsday*. But his services to the cause of truth during the Cambodian genocide will stand as his enduring accomplishment. Dead at 82. R.I.P.

■ Alvin Toffler, born in Brooklyn to Jewish immigrants, became successively a factory worker, a labor reporter, and a general-interest reporter (he interviewed Ayn Rand and Vladimir Nabokov for *Playboy*). Then in 1970 he published *Future Shock*, which coined a phrase, sold millions of copies, and spawned, for a while anyway, a legion of imitators: *futurists*. Toffler’s work was an amalgam of observation, insight, and horse pucky. (Newt Gingrich is a great admirer: *verb. sap.*) His central insight was that post-industrial technological change is ongoing and accelerating; the rate of change has become the change itself, the thing we all struggle to process. There is a lot of truth to this (how is your Blackberry these days?), though not enough to alter the passions, or right and wrong. He had a sharp mind with a wide angle and a journalist’s gifts. Dead at 87. R.I.P.

RACE

## After Dallas

WEREN’T we here a year and a half ago? In December 2014, two New York City police officers, Wenjian Liu and Rafael Ramos, were murdered by a black man enraged by the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner. Early in July, two black men, Alton Sterling and Philando Castile, were shot and killed by police in Baton Rouge and a suburb of St. Paul, respectively. Videos of both shootings went viral, protests mushroomed. At a Black Lives Matter march in Dallas, a sniper opened fire on police, killing Lorne Ahrens, Michael Krol, Michael Smith, Brent Thompson, and Patrick Zamarripa. The murderer, Micah Johnson, was cornered and, after fruitless talks in which he spoke of detonating bombs, killed.

The videos are troubling, but early reports are always partial. Sterling had a record and was carrying a gun, though one eyewitness said he was not brandishing it. Castile was a licensed gun-owner, and his companion can be heard telling the cops who had stopped him for a broken tail light that he had a firearm. Both shootings will go under the microscope, before juries if necessary. The iron rules of all police stops: Put your hands up or on the steering wheel; declare any firearm you have; try to be polite.

The Dallas cop-killer—one should not repeat his name—seems to have been a sicko, eased out of the Army for stealing panties, then drawn to black nationalism. He told cops in his final face-off that he wanted to kill them, and white people. He belonged to that species of killer that lives at the intersection of ideology and lunacy.

The larger Black Lives Matter movement is a careening hot mess of anguish, demagoguery, and rent-a-mob. National leaders condemned the Dallas massacre. For their words to ring true, local chapters and assorted marchers will have to stop chanting slogans such as “Pigs in blankets, fry them like bacon.” This civil-rights movement is reaching its SNCC/Panther phase without passing through a Martin Luther King Jr. phase first.

What of the underlying perception that blacks regularly get shortchanged by cops? A new study by Harvard economics professor Roland Fryer Jr. concluded that police were more likely to push, cuff, pepper-spray, or even draw firearms on blacks than they were to do the same things to members of other racial groups. These findings raise concerns, and the federal government should invest in getting more data. But Fryer also found that the police were no more likely, or even less so, to shoot at black people. Fryer called this last finding “the most surprising result of my career.” Maybe he underestimated cops. The lurid idea that police wantonly kill black men is a lie.

Try getting this through the din of social media and the hum of platitudes. President Obama soberly speaks of “racial disparities that exist in our criminal-justice system.” They may, but Bull Connor no longer walks the earth. In the poisonous climate cops suffer: After Dallas, an officer was shot and wounded in a St. Louis suburb, while several were hit by fireworks and concrete at protests in St. Paul. Blacks suffer too, and especially, when crime goes up, as is happening in some places.

It is not 1968 yet, but it is still only July.



# The floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room... and pays for itself!

*This innovative floor lamp bathes rooms in bright, natural daylight. It reduces eyestrain, elevates your mood, helps you feel more energetic... and it pays for itself in energy savings!*

For years, scientists have known that our eyes are designed to work best in sunlight. Now, almost a million satisfied customers have discovered for themselves the many benefits of natural full spectrum lighting. Studies show that bright daylight elevates our mood and increases our energy. That's why people can be more irritable in the winter and moody on dark, cloudy days. Well, now you can bring the same kind of uplifting, balanced, white light into your every day and night of the year. You'll not only feel better, you'll see better.

The Balanced Spectrum Floor Lamp simulates the full visible spectrum of sunlight to make text clearer and colors come alive. It reduces eyestrain by providing better illumination for such close-up tasks as reading, sewing, hobbies and computer work. It's the best light under the Sun.

The secret to the Balanced Spectrum Floor Lamp is the remarkable properties of its

bulb. Its 27-watt level is brighter than a 100-watt standard bulb, but it uses 70% less energy. The "instant-on" switch is flicker-free, and its flexible gooseneck design makes it the most versatile lamp you'll ever own.

Order now and get our exclusive in-home trial. firstSTREET is the leading seller of full-spectrum lighting not only because our lamp offers superior performance, but because we provide exceptional value as well. Try the lamp for yourself, in your own home. If you are not completely satisfied for any reason, simply return it within 90 days for a refund of the product purchase price. Order today and we'll even give you free shipping if you order two or more lamps. Why wait to find out why this is the lamp America loves, call today.



## Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp

Only \$59.95 each + S&H

**Order 2 or more lamps and get FREE Shipping**

Please mention promotional code **103780.**

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day.

**1-877-499-6569**

*first***STREET**  
for Boomers and Beyond®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road  
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

© 2016 firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond, Inc. 41491

## Why America Loves this Lamp!

- **Natural – Sunshine... anytime, anywhere**
- **Easy on your eyes... and your electric bill**
- **More color and detail**
- **Longer lasting bulb... up to 8000 hours of use!**
- **Satisfaction Guaranteed**

## Britain Departs

ALL the signs of a “Brexit” victory were there in the weeks leading up to the U.K.’s stunning vote to leave the European Union, but there was a strong tendency to disbelieve that it could happen. Bookies were offering good odds on a Remain victory several hours after vote-counting showed Leave ahead. When it finally became clear that indeed Britain would depart the EU, there was a shock throughout not only politics, not only the U.K., not only Europe, but the whole world.

It’s becoming clear that Brexit is one of those events, like the decision of the Hungarian Communists to let East Germans escape to the West via their country in 1989, that tell us our world is changing in important ways. Hungary’s cutting of the wires on the border was only a modest liberal gesture in itself, but it signified the end of Communism and the fall of the Berlin Wall only months later. What does the shock of Brexit signify?

Many liberal journalists, representing elites throughout the advanced world, have reacted with indignation to the fact that 52 percent of U.K. voters (many without degrees) have rejected the EU system of supranational government. Naturally, these journalistic spokesmen argue, the common people could not possibly have good reasons for such an act of multinational vandalism. So they must have been inspired by fear of globalization, along with xenophobia and racism.

That account doubtless condenses and oversimplifies the elites’ response to the Brexit shock, which is just one small skirmish in a new class war in advanced societies between geographically mobile, liberal, skilled, high-earning professionals and more rooted, communitarian, particularist, and patriotic citizens (or what British journalist David Goodhart calls “nowhere” people and “somewhere” people). Nowhere people simply didn’t grasp the outlook of somewhere people in the referendum, not seeing that many decent people who voted for Brexit were moved by such respectable anxieties as loss of community or, up a level, the transformation of their country. So the elites assumed the worst.

In the U.K. and abroad, opinion leaders never seemed to recognize that among the central arguments of those favoring Brexit was that the Brussels system was dangerously undemocratic and that British voters and members of Parliament had lost the power to propose, amend, or repeal failed or oppressive laws. This was a passionate concern among English people who had grown up in a self-governing democracy, who may have fought for it in wars, and who simply couldn’t understand why the loss of their democracy didn’t worry their opponents. Yet again and again liberal journalists treated this concern as either abstract or a cover for more primitive emotions and bigotries. Democracy as such was rarely given weight in cost-benefit analyses by those who supported Remain and who regard multinational political institutions as unalloyed goods. Have nowhere people developed not only an intellectual snobbery toward the rest of society but also an impatient, dismissive contempt for democracy itself that cannot be openly avowed but does influence their other political attitudes?

This is not an entirely theoretical problem. Disgruntled Remainers have suggested holding a second referendum or im-

posing some dilution of the decision to leave the EU, and one can imagine their seeking to achieve either or both of these things once interest in and enthusiasm for Brexit have declined. But there can be no question that the referendum was decisive. As the Scottish-American political theorist Richard Rose observed, “turnout was 72.2 percent, higher than at any general election since 1992. The total vote cast for exit, almost 52 percent, is higher than that won by any British governing party since 1931.” Leave won by 1.2 million votes. In other words, this is a verdict that parliamentarians or ideologues will not be able to challenge at some later date. It has ironclad political legitimacy.

But whether that result bears fruit will depend a great deal on Britain’s next slate of leaders. Nigel Farage has stepped down as the head of the U.K. Independence party, leaving its future in flux, and Labour’s Jeremy Corbyn is facing down a mutiny from within his ranks. Meanwhile, heading the government will be Theresa May, the last woman standing in a topsy-turvy contest for the leadership of the Conservative party. May, who has served the last six years as home secretary and who has raised concerns about the EU, opposed Brexit but largely stayed silent throughout the referendum campaign. She will now face the task of smoothing Britain’s exit. The European Commission, doubtless anxious to halt the contagion of Euro-skepticism before it spreads further, has already invited the Brits to submit their application and plans for withdrawal, and there looks to be a possibility of amicable cooperation between the divorcing partners. Bringing such an outcome about should be one of May’s primary goals.

Brexit marks a turning point in Europe’s post-war history. After several decades of enervation at the hands of Brussels, the British people have voted to remain a self-governing democracy—that is, to remain true to their noblest traditions.





Lloyd Blankfein, chairman and CEO of Goldman Sachs, with Hillary Clinton at a Clinton Global Initiative meeting in New York City, September 2014

## Progressivism, Inc.

*The Clintons have cashed in like no other politicians*

BY VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

**M**OST presidents, before and after holding office, are offered multifarious opportunities to get rich, most of them unimaginable to Americans without access to influential and wealthy concerns. But none have so flagrantly circumvented laws and ethical norms as have Bill and Hillary Clinton, a tandem who in little more than a decade went from self-described financial want to a net worth likely over \$100 million, or even \$150 million.

The media had been critical of former president Jerry Ford's schmoozing with Southern California elites, with Ronald Reagan's brief but lucrative post-presidential speaking, and with George W. Bush's youthful and pre-presidential windfall profits from his association with the Texas Rangers. And all presidents emeriti glad-hand and lobby the rich to donate to their presidential libraries, but with important distinctions. One can argue that Jimmy Carter sought donations to his nonprofit Carter Library and Center out of either ego or a sincere belief in doing good

works. The same holds true of the libraries of the Bushes and Reagan. No president, however, sought to create a surrogate nonprofit organization to provide free private-jet travel for the former first family while offering sinecures to veteran operatives between campaigns. The worth of both the Clinton family and the Clinton Foundation (augmented by a recent ten-month drive to raise \$250 million for the foundation's endowment) is truly staggering, and to a great extent accrued from non-transparent pay-for-play aggrandizement.

What, then, makes the Clintons in general, and Hillary in particular, so avaricious, given that as lifelong public officials with generous pensions and paid expenses they nevertheless labored so hard to accumulate millions in ways that sometimes bothered even friends and supporters? Wall Street profiteering aside, why, while decrying soaring tuition and student indebtedness, would Hillary Clinton charge the underfunded University of California, Los Angeles, a reported \$300,000—rather than, say, \$50,000—for a 30-minute chat?

Some have suggested that Bill Clinton's impoverished upbringing accounts for his near-feral ambition to get rich. But he also seized a unique

moment in which to do so. Globalization of the early 21st century and a rather new phenomenon of progressive Silicon Valley and Wall Street families' having fabulous fortunes certainly made the idea of being a multimillionaire many times over hardly embarrassing in the fashion of the old caricatures of the robber barons in the days of J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller. Banking, investment, and high technology seemed a less grubby route to elite financial status than did the old pathways of oil, minerals, agriculture, railroads, steel, and construction. The Clintons discovered that one could become very rich from a host of sources and still be considered quite progressive; indeed, liberal pieties both assuaged any guilt about one's privilege and in a more public manner provided exemption from the logical ramifications of one's own redistributionist rhetoric.

After a decade of loud liberal pronouncements, a Warren Buffett, Bill Gates, George Soros, Mark Zuckerberg, or Steyer brother is likely to be seen as coolly progressive rather than inordinately wealthy and exploitative. So the Clintons had unprecedented opportunities to shoulder-rub with liberal financial titans without suffering the class invective reserved for the Koch brothers or Sheldon Adelson.

Former vice president Al Gore is emblematic of the progressive contradictions in leveraging politics to get rich. After winning the popular vote in 2000 and losing the presidency, he discovered that the road to multimillionaire status was to mouth green and progressive pieties while monetizing his political contacts and celebrity among new networks of the global liberal rich. Fearing that new capital-gains taxes of the sort he supported would kick in, Gore then rushed to sell a failed cable station to the often anti-Semitic Al Jazeera, a Middle East media conglomerate funded from the carbon-exporting wealth of the right-wing royal autocracy in Qatar.

But Clinton greed was empowered not just by the unique opportunity of being both a former president and a liberal operator in the age of progressive billionaires who sought access and influence. More important, unlike other presidents, Bill Clinton never quite entered emeritus status. Hillary Clinton

*Mr. Hanson is a classicist and historian at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and the author, most recently, of The Savior Generals.*

STEPHEN CHERNIN/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

was no Betty Ford, Nancy Reagan, or Barbara or Laura Bush but, while her husband was still in office, sought a U.S. Senate seat from New York in an undisguised trajectory designed for the 2008 presidential campaign and predicated on the idea that a mature Bill would de facto be back in the Oval Office as well. Indeed, well before Hillary Clinton's failure in the Democratic primaries in 2008 and her subsequent appointment as secretary of state, the Clintons had found a way to exploit the idea that both of them would return to the White House. That reality gave them access to quid pro quo opportunities, often funneled through a philanthropic foundation, of a sort unknown to any past American president. Most important, the Clintons had long since discovered that public outrage at their impropriety could be dismissed as the empty and vindictive charges of a "vast right-wing conspiracy," be they allegations of sexual assault or criticisms of Bill's becoming the highest-paid "chancellor" in the history of higher education, hired by private for-profit Laureate University at some \$4 million a year.

But if the Clintons' opportunities for lucre were unique—in both what the couple had to sell and the huge resources of those who wished to buy—and if they could peddle myths that they were perennial victims of right-wing witch hunts, still, what accounts for their inordinate greed? Why not settle for a fortune of \$50 million—in Obama's formulation that "at some point you've made enough money"—rather than risk the public opprobrium of Bill's globetrotting shake-downs or Hillary's efforts to hide personal e-mails that were tangential to her job as secretary of state? Their previous embarrassments, from the mundane to the existential (Whitewater, the Clinton Foundation troubles, writing used underwear off as IRS deductions, the all-but-impossible odds of making a \$100,000 profit in cattle futures from a \$1,000 initial investment, etc.), all reflect a non-stop drive for lucre.

The answer is likely that the Clintons thought of themselves as elites: educated, affluent, worthy of exalted social and cultural status, pillars of Eastern Corridor good taste, and recipients of media adulation. In other words, they sensed that they were entitled to a good life rare for politicians who entered public

service without family wealth or prosperous investments and businesses. The Clintons' quest for riches was probably reinforced by their belief that they deserved some recompense for all their hard work for progressive causes, especially when they realized that thousands in their newfound social circles had access to multiple homes, private-jet travel, and expensive socializing but were no more gifted than they and had hardly sacrificed commensurately for the public good.

The Clinton litany of whiny victimization and excuse-making reflects that sense of entitlement—one not uncommon among academics, journalists, and politicians who believe that those in the business world hardly deserve to enjoy more opulence than do those who are more refined and cultured. In sum, the Clintons left the presidency at a historic moment of globalized wealth creation, especially in fields considered progressive and green. They were unique in that, unlike other retiring first families, who could offer wealthy profiteers little more than nostalgic signed group portraits, they could provide an avenue to the buying of influence in a second Clinton presidency. They felt no shame about their drive for riches, not just because they were liberals who sacrificed for the underprivileged and therefore deserved their belated rewards, but also because they were convinced that, as correct-thinking elites, they needed a vast fortune commensurate with their sense of self-worth.

There was a final component to the Clinton fortune: Both were shameless. If it was a choice of earning opprobrium for raking in \$300,000 from a cash-strapped university for a 30-minute chat or, a few months after stepping down as secretary of state, earning \$225,000 from Goldman Sachs, Hillary Clinton always chose the money over the chance to skirt embarrassment.

For now, the Clintons again have avoided the final wages of the classical sequence of overweening greed (*koros*) leading to arrogance and disdain (*hubris*) descending into a sort of recklessness (*atē*) and ultimately earning divine retribution (*nemesis*). But the tragedian Sophocles reminds us that for such people there is never self-reflection or enough money—and thus nemesis is still on the Clinton horizon. **NR**

# The Queen Of Faction

*Hillary has made a career of putting politics over principle*

BY AVIK ROY

'COALITIONS of interest are often stronger than coalitions of values." So observed Alex McCobin, the co-founder of Students for Liberty, whom I recently found myself chatting with on a ranch in the hill country of central Texas. Alex's remark got me thinking about how partisan Democrats approach public policy, and why they've been so successful at expanding government over the past 80 years.

We tend to think of the Republican and Democratic parties as mirror images of each other, as ideologically antithetic entities trying to advance opposing agendas. But the Republican and Democratic parties—and the people who compose them—think about policy in very different ways.

In the years since Bill Buckley, Barry Goldwater, and Ronald Reagan built the modern American conservative movement, the GOP has primarily been a coalition concerned with *values*: of economic freedom, of cultural traditionalism, and of robust opposition to America's ideological enemies abroad (Communism and radical Islam). Intra-conservative tensions, such as those between libertarians and traditionalists on gay rights, have been mostly philosophical in nature, e.g., "What is the role of the state in upholding moral tradition?"

The Democratic party has operated differently. For decades if not centuries, the Democratic party has primarily been a coalition of ideologically friendly *interest groups* that collaborate to advance one another's pet causes. Democrats strive to build on their success by bolting new interest groups onto their existing coalition. Intra-progressive tensions, like those between labor unions and environmentalists, are not ideological—both factions want more government—but rather are

*Mr. Roy, the opinion editor of Forbes, is a former policy adviser to Marco Rubio, Rick Perry, and Mitt Romney.*

about a conflict of interests (coal miners vs. the greens who want to drive their employers out of business).

These distinctions aren't 100 percent accurate, of course. Conservatives often embrace positions that serve the interests of members of their coalition. Gun owners are especially resistant to infringements of the Second Amendment, to take one example. But the commitment of conservatives to the cause of gun owners is driven first and foremost by conservatives' fidelity to the Constitution.

As McCobin implied, if we keep the score by looking at the growth of government since the Great Depression, it seems clear that the Democratic approach has been more successful than the Republican approach—that a coalition of interests is more politically effective than a coalition of values. Those who benefit from a specific government program have more to fight for, when it

stipulations: environmentalists, civil-rights activists, LGBTs, feminists, unions, et al. Social conservatives will find much to dislike. But Clinton also seeks to make inroads into GOP territory, with mixed results.

Clinton dedicates an issue page to veterans' health care. She opposes meaningful reform, expressing her zeal for "blocking efforts to privatize the VA," by which she means preventing veterans from seeking care and coverage from private sources. Her alternative is—you guessed it—spending more money on the existing system.

Another page is dedicated to rural communities, for whose benefit Hillary proposes federal spending on "local food markets" and a "national infrastructure bank" that will dole out federal tax dollars to politically favored locales. Hillary promises to be a "small business president" by expanding the Export-Import

cent applies to a worker's first \$118,500 in wages; earnings above that amount are subject only to the additional 2.9 percent Medicare portion of the payroll tax. Clinton seeks to "tax some of [Americans'] income above the current Social Security cap, and tax[] some of their income not currently taken into account by the Social Security system." All other reforms, such as cost-of-living adjustments, raising the retirement age, and options for private investing, are off the table.

On Medicare, Hillary claims that she will "fight back against Republican plans to privatize or 'phase out' Medicare as we know it." (Clinton is attempting to capitalize on Jeb Bush's stated desire to "make sure we fulfill the commitment to people that . . . are receiving the benefits, but . . . figure out a way to phase out this program for others and move to a new system that

## Hillary Clinton is full of verbs and verbiage, signifying nothing.

comes to a given line item in the budget, than do those who want Congress in general to adhere to its constitutionally enumerated powers.

Hillary Clinton's policy platform is a clear reflection of the Democratic concern with interests over values. Sure, it has a few throwaway lines to appeal to the Bernie crowd. But the 32 different entries on the policy page of Mrs. Clinton's campaign website reflect her desire to please established Democratic factions while using government programs to attract a few new voting blocs. There's a section on how government can "support the millions of Americans with autism and their families," which, among other things, seeks to impose autism-related mandates on health insurers. Another entry, titled "Seeking a Cure for Alzheimer's Disease," proposes spending an additional \$2 billion per year on Alzheimer's research. Autism and Alzheimer's are important public-health problems, to be sure. But Hillary's elevation of these issues to the first tier is almost certainly motivated by a desire to bring millions of voters who face these problems into the Democratic coalition.

Clinton's agenda contains the expected sops to traditional Democratic con-

Bank's small-business programs and the State Small Business Credit Initiative, among other things.

If Barack Obama strove to be a transformational president, Hillary Clinton simply wants to be president. Her agenda elevates personal ambition over policy ambition. On the pressing issues facing America—the stagnant economy, the national debt, radical Islam—Clinton is full of verbs and verbiage, signifying nothing.

She promises to "keep America safe and secure" and "defeat ISIS and global terrorism," even though her tenure as secretary of state coincided with the rise of ISIS and the expansion of its terror network. She claims she believes in "never allowing Iran to acquire a nuclear weapon," even though the Iran deal she endorsed all but guarantees that outcome.

When it comes to our longstanding fiscal crisis—the national debt is at \$19 trillion and rising—Hillary has little to say. On Social Security, her plan is to "defend Social Security against Republican attacks"—that is, allow the program to go broke. Her only concession to fiscal reality is to advocate raising taxes. Today, the Social Security payroll tax of 12.4 per-

allows them to have something, because they're not going to have anything" in an unreformed program.)

The Republican approach to reforming Medicare, for better or worse, has long involved preserving the program for those already enrolled and reforming it for future retirees. Obamacare, on the other hand, reduced Medicare spending on current retirees by over \$850 billion over the next decade, in order to partially fund the law's \$2 trillion expansion of subsidies to the uninsured. Hillary is, of course, an ardent supporter of Obamacare, vowing to "fight Republican attempts to repeal" it.

On the campaign trail, Hillary has pooh-poohed the Obama economy, noting in particular that it has widened income inequality. "I think we've had a period where the gains have gone to the wealthy," Clinton told Ezra Klein in a wide-ranging interview for *Vox*. "The Great Recession wiped out \$13 trillion in family wealth. And a lot of people have come back roaring—they are doing better than ever, corporate profits are up, whereas so many Americans are stalled or have fallen backward."

Strangely, Clinton doesn't appear to have drawn the obvious lesson from

this experience: that progressive prescriptions stifle economic opportunity for those who need it most. On every area of economic policy that moves the needle, Hillary wants to keep doing what Obama has done: raise taxes, increase spending, and write thousands of regulations.

The Clintons' history of selling out an ideologically progressive agenda in exchange for favors and financial contributions is well documented. Hence, we don't know how attached she is to her stated aims. If Hillary wins the White House, she'll serve as a reliable audience for K Street and her donors. Furthermore, a President Hillary is likely to face a Republican House and possibly a Republican Senate. It will be up to Republicans to put a brake on Clinton's most left-wing promises.

But even a Republican Senate is unlikely to prevent Hillary from nominating Antonin Scalia's replacement to the Supreme Court. Other justices may retire or pass on. A Clinton-led executive branch could turn into the Obama IRS on a grand scale and unleash the full might of the federal government on any significant business that doesn't toe the Clinton line. And a Clinton State Department will put Hillary's domestic political interests above those of national security.

In 2016, the person who makes Hillary Clinton most dangerous is Donald Trump—and not merely because Trump is the Republican presidential candidate most likely to send Hillary to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. He has also concurred with large parts of her campaign agenda.

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton agree on a whole host of issues, especially now that Hillary has come over to Trump's side on free trade. Democrats have traditionally been the home of economic nationalism: the idea that Americans need to be protected from foreign competition. Trump agrees with them. On foreign policy, it's Trump, not Hillary, who has most feverishly embraced the Left's conspiracy theories regarding Iraq and George W. Bush.

Hillary had been fully prepared to feint to the center against a conventional GOP nominee. But if Trump loses to Hillary by a significant margin, she will have a mandate to govern from the left. **NR**

# Foreign-Policy Failure

*At State and before, Clinton showed herself unsuited to be commander-in-chief*

BY DAN McLAUGHLIN

**M**ANY veteran Republican foreign-policy hands have expressed alarm at the prospect of a President Donald Trump.

Some, including leading "realists" such as Brent Scowcroft and "neoconservatives" such as Robert Kagan and Max Boot, have gone so far as to say they'd vote for Hillary Clinton. Others, including Mitt Romney, have more subtly suggested that she'd be the lesser of two evils. They should look closer at her record.

It's not hard to see why neoconservatives, in particular, would see Hillary as in some ways a kindred spirit philosophically. While the term is often misused, the neoconservative foreign-policy school rests on two main pillars. First, neoconservatives are internationalists who believe that projecting American power and influence (militarily and otherwise) out into the world to shape events before they reach our shores will benefit the United States and the world at large. Second, neoconservatives are American exceptionalists who believe that spreading "the American way" (democracy, the rule of law, and civil, political, and economic liberties) increases the likelihood of a world with more U.S. allies, fewer U.S. enemies, fewer wars, and fewer of the conditions that breed terrorism.

Viewed from a distance, Hillary's hawkish internationalist instincts would seem to place her close to the neoconservative camp, if not quite inside it. She was the chief architect of America's most recent war (the 2011 air campaign to topple Moammar Qaddafi's government in Libya), a moving force behind her husband's 1999 Kosovo War, and a provider of crucial bipartisan cover for the Bush administration's Iraq War. Her views on trade, immigration, U.S. alliances, and the U.S. role in multinational organizations mark her as much more internationalist

*Mr. McLaughlin is an attorney in New York City and a NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE columnist.*

than Trump. Her opponents in the Democratic primaries of 2008 and 2016, Barack Obama and Bernie Sanders, respectively, often criticized her for being too hawkish.

But even at the big-picture level, it's apparent that Hillary has often sided with transnational progressives—who see international organizations as a restraint on, not a complement of, U.S. power and independence—over American exceptionalists. One of her first major decisions as secretary of state was to have the U.S. join the U.N. Human Rights Council, which the Bush administration had boycotted on the grounds that it gave oppressive states such as Sudan and Zimbabwe a platform from which to attack Israel and deflect attention from their own abuses. She has pushed for a variety of international agreements that intrude on domestic policy: climate-change accords (she cites a 2009 Copenhagen summit as a major accomplishment), the U.N. Conventions on the Rights of the Child and on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, a U.N. small-arms-treaty process that was criticized as backdoor gun control. She even subjected the U.S. to a U.N. human-rights review. Even when these efforts have been modest and halting, they have illustrated that transnational progressive activists that no Republican administration would tolerate would have a foothold in a Hillary Clinton administration.

When one looks beyond her broad instincts to the details of how she has actually handled and implemented foreign-policy decisions, it is clear that Hillary Clinton would be a terrible commander-in-chief. Take Iraq: Why did then-senator Clinton support the war? The *New York Times* suggested in 2007, based on "dozens of interviews with advisers to Clinton and with past and present senators and their aides," that it was her fear of gender politics: "Clinton knew she could never advance her career—or win the presidency, especially—if she didn't prove that she was tough enough to be commander-in-chief. Female candidates, it's presumed, have often suffered as a result of the stereotype that they could never be as strong as men." Yet despite basing most of her arguments for war on intelligence concerning weapons of mass destruction (WMD), she apparently did not even read the National Intelligence Estimate, reportedly because she had only ten days to tackle its 90 pages. Fear of

being outflanked in domestic politics continued to pervade her decision-making as the war progressed. Former defense secretary Robert Gates, who served with her in the Obama cabinet, recounted in his memoirs a meeting at which “Hillary told the president that her opposition to the [2007] surge in Iraq had been political because she was facing him in the Iowa primary.”

Or consider Libya. The Arab Spring was in theory a great opportunity to test neoconservative principles about the benefits of removing anti-American tyrants in the Arab and Muslim worlds. Qaddafi was no friend to the United States, so removing him would be no loss, right? But even many Republican hawks who sympathized with the idea of supporting Qaddafi’s ouster opposed the war in practice. Qaddafi had been defanged in late 2003, when he surrendered Libya’s WMD program, and—unlike Saddam Hussein after the Gulf War—he hadn’t been a significant source of mischief since. The U.S. also had little reliable intelligence on who might replace Qaddafi. The administration’s failure to consider what would come next facilitated the weakness, internal strife, and rising Islamist influence in Libya that led to both the attack on the U.S. embassy in Benghazi and the civil war that wracks the country to this day. Notably, the volume of Clinton’s e-mails on Libya dropped off precipitously in 2012 as the intervention produced embarrassing and increasingly dangerous results for the State Department’s people on the ground, culminating in the September 2012 atrocities in Benghazi. Hillary’s response to those deaths was to go into political damage-control mode.

E-mails released by the House Select Committee on Benghazi strongly suggest that political calculation—and worse—was instrumental in Clinton’s decision to push for war in Libya. During the run-up to the war, she maintained a correspondence with close political adviser and longtime Clinton-family confidant Sidney Blumenthal. Blumenthal peppered Hillary with advice and suggestions, often joining her staff in emphasizing opportunities for her to burnish her political profile. He also shared the products of his amateur intelligence network, which extended to conspiratorial musings about the French joining the Libya War to stop Qaddafi from launching his own gold-backed pan-African currency to compete with the French-backed CFA franc. Hillary evidently valued Blumenthal’s input, often

forwarding his e-mails to her staff. On one occasion, she instructed them to collect and circulate his e-mails as if they were her own memo; on another, she asked Ambassador Chris Stevens to read and respond to Blumenthal’s e-mails. When Blumenthal suggested a no-fly zone over Libya, Hillary forwarded the suggestion to her top deputy, then promised Blumenthal the next day that she was taking the suggestion to the U.N. Security Council. She apparently did not mind that Blumenthal’s concern with Libya was nakedly self-interested: He and his “intelligence sources” had a private military-contracting business, Osprey Global Solutions, that he hoped to market to the new Libyan government. Despite knowing this, Hillary wrote to her deputy, at Blumenthal’s suggestion, that “the idea of using private security experts to arm the opposition should be considered.” Keep in mind that Hillary was attending diligently to Blumenthal at the same time that she was denying her ambassador’s repeated requests for additional protection.

Then there are Hillary’s relationships with America’s great-power rivals, China and Russia. She famously got off on the wrong foot by presenting Russian foreign minister Sergey Lavrov with a RESET button that actually read OVERCHARGE in Russian. That was poor staff work, but also a humiliating bit of groveling before a regime that’s obsessed with projecting strength. At the Copenhagen climate summit, she and President Obama were “hunting” (her own word) for the cloistered

Chinese delegation in order to beg them to sign an agreement. The lead Chinese negotiator described the toothless pact that resulted as “not an agreed document” and “not formally endorsed or adopted.” Yet the Obama administration dutifully promised to contribute to the \$100 billion public-private “Green Climate” fund backed by “developed nations” (read: not China)—a promise to which Congress would never have agreed. Anyone with a modicum of negotiating experience knows that the willingness to sign anything, no matter the terms, signals desperation.

Finally, of course, consider Hillary’s hosting of classified information on her private “home-brew” e-mail server, a grossly reckless practice that likely exposed national-security secrets to the prying eyes of America’s enemies. Hillary’s conduct shows clearly that she was far more worried that Republicans would see her e-mails than that Russia or China would do so.

Hillary Clinton may well be less prone to rhetorical misadventures, and have more philosophical common ground with some of the Right’s foreign-policy factions, than Donald Trump. But her record is full of giant red flags suggesting that she would be a commander-in-chief obsessed with her domestic political image, grossly negligent of basic security, uninterested in follow-through, weak in the face of strong adversaries, and willing to sell out American interests to profit her friends or give political power to her allies. **NR**

R.GEMM

# Safe, Legal, and Subsidized

*Hillary Clinton's ghastrliness on abortion*

BY RAMESH PONNURU

**D**URING the Obama years, liberalism became more aggressive in its support of abortion. Hillary Clinton's campaign reflects this new attitude. If she is elected, her administration is likely to reach a new extreme in the depth of its commitment to keeping abortion legal, expanding subsidies for it, and insulating these policies from democratic review.

The first two Democratic presidents elected after *Roe v. Wade* took pains to project ambivalence about abortion. Jimmy Carter opposed a constitutional amendment to reverse the decision but said he wanted to minimize the number of abortions and opposed federal funding of them. Bill Clinton said that abortion should be "safe, legal, and rare." The phrase became part of the Democratic platform.

After John Kerry lost the 2004 election to George W. Bush, many Democrats, including Kerry himself, blamed the loss in part on the perception that their party was too identified with abortion. Democrats sought to change that perception. They recruited pro-life candidates to run for Congress in relatively conservative districts. In many cases, they changed their rhetoric. Howard Dean, then the party chairman, was no moderate: He opposed even requiring parental notification for minors' getting abortions. But after the election he avoided using the term "pro-choice"—a term that had itself been adopted earlier to downplay abortion.

Like Dean, Hillary Clinton was in sync with the abortion lobby. As a senator she stuck with the party line on keeping partial-birth abortion legal even as many Democrats deserted it. Other Democrats voted for federal law to treat assaults on pregnant women as having two victims; not she. Clinton co-sponsored legislation to sweep away those state restrictions on abortion that the federal courts had left in place.

But also like Dean, Clinton saw the advantages of rhetorical moderation. In



*Hillary Clinton speaks at a Planned Parenthood event in Washington, D.C., June 2016.*

2005, she gave a speech calling abortion "a sad, even tragic choice" and said that both sides of the abortion debate should work together to reduce the number of abortions. She did not give an inch on policy, and even in that speech implicitly compared pro-lifers to the Communist dictators of China: Supposedly, using the law to forbid abortion, as in pre-1973 America, is just like using the law to mandate it. But the news coverage emphasized Clinton's search for common ground.

That kind of defensiveness has largely disappeared among Democrats, as it has from Clinton. The Democratic platform has not said since 2004 that abortion should be rare. The 2016 platform says its availability is a matter of "justice." The platform had for years said that abortion should be available regardless of ability to pay; now it includes an explicit call to repeal the Hyde amendment, a budget provision in place since the late 1970s that keeps federal Medicaid funds from paying for abortions except in the cases of rape, incest, and threats to the mother's life.

Clinton has herself said that Hyde should go. A right is "no right at all," she says, if the government does not enable you to exercise it. (No word on whether people having a hard time buying guns will get Second Amendment subsidies.) In 1994, Clinton strongly supported health-care legislation that included robust protections for abortion opponents: Employers who objected to "abortion or other services" for moral reasons were not to be required to include it in their health coverage. Now Clinton, together with most of her party, condemns the idea that employers should be allowed to "impose their religious

beliefs on their employees" through their coverage decisions.

Her Supreme Court appointees, she says, would continue to read the Constitution as protecting abortion: That's just one of the commitments she would be looking for. "I have a bunch of litmus tests," she says forthrightly.

Clinton opposes a ban on abortions after the 20th week of pregnancy. Like President Obama, Clinton occasionally and vaguely suggests that she would support a ban on very late-term abortions. It is a smaller concession than it appears. She says that any ban would have to exempt abortions done for health reasons. "Health" having been defined very expansively by the Supreme Court to include emotional health, it is not clear what such a ban would actually prohibit.

Clinton's search for common ground seems also to have ended. Last August she said that pro-life politicians had "extreme views about women": "We expect that from some of the terrorist groups, we expect that from people who don't want to live in the modern world."

The Democrats' left turn on abortion is different from the one they made on same-sex marriage. On the latter issue, the public at large changed its opinion and Democrats moved with it. The public has not, however, become more pro-abortion. Ten years ago, Gallup found that 54 percent of Americans believed that abortion should be legal under few or no circumstances, while 43 percent believed it should be legal under all or most circumstances. This year the numbers were 56 and 41: essentially identical. Ten years ago, Gallup found that 51 percent of Americans considered themselves "pro-choice" and 41 percent "pro-



life.” Its May survey had a tiny 47–46 percent advantage for the pro-choicers.

Pollsters don’t often ask about government funding for abortion, but it seems likely that a majority of the public remains opposed to it. In 2014, CNN found 56 percent opposition to the idea and only 39 percent support for it.

Democrats are trying to lead rather than follow public opinion on abortion. Many liberals have concluded over the last decade that they have been ceding too much ground on the issue. The years Democrats talked about making abortion rare and called it tragic saw an increase in the number of pro-life laws, from waiting periods to bans on partial-birth abortion. Many of them dislike that kind of talk on principle: Saying that abortion is “tragic” and to be reduced, after all, suggests that it is something more problematic than the removal of a tumor.

Liberals have also had less need to make concessions of any kind to conservatism in recent years. The collapse of the Republican party during Bush’s second term; its continued internal divisions and demographic decay; and, now, its embrace of Donald Trump: All have given them the sense that compromise is unnecessary. On abortion specifically, liberals have been liberated by the extinction of pro-life Democrats. And they have not been given recent reason to fear that extremism would have a cost. At no point since the debate over partial-birth abortion—the federal law against which was signed 13 years ago—have pro-lifers managed to keep the national debate focused on that extremism. Trump could change that now that the Democrats are openly campaigning on subsidies for abortion. But his own history on the subject and his lack of interest in it both argue against his taking the offensive.

Hillary Clinton would not be the most pro-abortion president the nation has ever elected. Her views on abortion are roughly the same as those of President Obama, which is to say well to the left of most Americans’. Her support for abortion could, however, be more consequential than his.

She would have an opportunity he has been denied: a chance to appoint Supreme Court justices who would tilt the law further in favor of abortion. (Obama replaced two pro-Roe justices with two other pro-Roe justices.) And she would be leading the most pro-abortion governing party our country has ever seen. NR

# A First Lady With Nothing To Lose

*Bill Clinton promises to be a menace*

BY KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

THE news of the past several weeks has provided a reminder of the wisdom of proposals for mandatory body-cams: Bill Clinton may very well soon be wandering around the White House without adequate supervision, and somebody, somewhere, is going to need to keep an eye on him.

The Bubbacam: Find out which shiftless in-law back in Arkansas or Illinois wins *that* contract and buy shares.

There is a great deal of wishful thinking in Republican circles right now that somehow, possibly through divine intervention, Herself is not headed to the White House with the Big Creep in tow. It isn’t impossible that something else could happen. (It isn’t impossible that something *worse* could happen.) The bookies and the pollsters and the Ukrainian-sourced quant nerds locked up in fluorescent-lit basements may all be wrong. But they’re probably not wrong.

Bill is back—and this time, he has *nothing to lose*.

Think on that.

If you can remember the early 1990s, you’ll remember the character trait that was always the first thing psychoanalyzing pundits mentioned about Governor Bill Clinton: his *desperation*. Bill Clinton’s “need for approval” was cited to explain everything from his foreign-policy views (John Dumbrell, *Clinton’s Foreign Policy*, 2009) to his sexual misadventures (Robert Shogan classed him with Warren G. Harding, undone by an “obsessive need for approval and affection,” in *The Double-Edged Sword*, 1999) to his famous gift for triangulation (Katharine Seelye, “Bill Clinton: Power of Redemption,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1992) to his habitual dishonesty (Christopher Hitchens, *No One Left to Lie To*, 1999). The embarrassing upbringing, the abusive stepfather, the low circumstances: Young Bill Clinton was driven by the need to show that he wasn’t just ill-bred tornado-bait from Bumfodder, Ark.

And he did that: a quarter century ago.

What, exactly, does he have left to prove? That he can pick out china patterns as well as Jackie Kennedy did? That he can look as good in Oscar de la Renta as Nancy Reagan did? (Oscar de la Renta has a weird relationship with first ladies: When Herself was pondering a second run for the presidency, she did so from the comfort of his beachfront estate in the Dominican Republic.) Bill Clinton long ago did what he was born to do: He sat in the Oval Office for eight fat years that coincided with a period of remarkable economic prosperity, left office with sky-high approval ratings—and this is a needy man who *needs* approval ratings like no one else—and then went on to stack up Scrooge McDuck–style piles of money while traveling around the world amusing himself in the most self-aggrandizing fashion imaginable. Bill Clinton the ex-president learned something from Bill Clinton the president: If things are going well and your approval ratings are healthy, then the key to further success is simple: Don’t do anything to mess it up.

Aside from the whole intern-diddling thing, President Clinton did not do very much to get in his own way. In reality, he couldn’t. Policy-wise, Bill Clinton was more or less hamstrung from the middle of his first year in office until his last walk to the helicopter. He spent his presidency signing Republican welfare-reform and criminal-justice bills. After the Republican wave of 1994, President Clinton’s main function was tapping the brakes as Newt Gingrich careered around Washington tearing stuff up. All the action was on the right, with the more sober-minded conservatives jokingly admonishing their more radical colleagues: “Rome wasn’t burned in a day.”

But even before the Republicans’ historic win in 1994, Clinton, the most gifted politician of his generation, saw what was coming. He had no illusions. Bob Woodward described him raging at his team of young idealists: “I hope you’re all aware we’re all Eisenhower Republicans. We’re all Eisenhower Republicans here, and we are fighting the Reagan Republicans. We stand for lower deficits and free trade and the bond market. Isn’t that great?”

Whom do you imagine he blames for that? Not Newt.

President Clinton came into office promising to make a move toward the Democrats’ holy grail: a European-style health-care system. He made an uncharacteristic political mistake—pushing for too

much too quickly—and he made it for an uncharacteristic reason, or at least a reason uncharacteristic of him: uxoriousness. He was a known creep, but Herself had swallowed her feminist pride—had gone so far as to publish a cookie recipe and stand by her man—and there had been loose talk of “two for the price of one” and (poor Al Gore!) a matrimonial “co-presidency.” Bill Clinton, a back-slapping horse trader of the old school who knew exactly what sort of a son-of-a-bitch was his son-of-a-bitch, put Bleachbob McCrazypants in charge of his signature domestic-policy item in his first year.

It was, you may recall, a fiasco. A beautiful, glorious, wonderful fiasco if you happened to be a young conservative at the time, but no fun at all for the Clinton mob. Even before all those Harry-and-Louise ads that the insurance guys rolled out, Hillarycare was a millstone, an albatross . . . an albatross made of millstones . . . metaphor be damned, his approval ratings—*his precious approval ratings, by God!*—went from just under 60 percent in the honeymoon months to down in the 30s by June 1993. It was such a goat rodeo that Washington all but gave up on health-care reform until George W. Bush came along and decided Medicare needed expanding.

Bill Clinton’s 1993 State of the Union address, Kempish though it was (balanced budgets! pro-growth entitlement reform! investment tax credits! enterprise zones!), also contained some JFK-style Big American Dream bits, such as re-inventing the Peace Corps with a national-service program, and a network of community-development banks to be paid for with a non-trivial tax increase on Americans in the top income-tax bracket, from 31 percent to 36 percent. (It is higher than that today.) By 1996, it was: “The era of big government is over!” (Hurrah!) Anybody remember what the two big policy ideas were that year?

School uniforms and a crackdown on illegal immigration. In his final State of the Union address, it was all bragging about balanced budgets, a bouncy GDP, and family values:

Our economic revolution has been matched by a revival of the American spirit: crime down by 20 percent, to its lowest level in 25 years; teen births down seven years in a row; adoptions up by 30 percent; welfare rolls cut in half to their lowest levels in 30 years.

Bill Clinton today is a much-reduced figure. We should not indulge in sentimental Clinton nostalgia—he was and is a nasty guy who couldn’t manage his penis and succeeded as president largely owing to economic and political factors with which he had basically nothing to do—but, while age is cruel to us all, it is especially cruel to beautiful women and men once famed for their vigor. Clinton hasn’t been in the game since Montgomery Ward was a going concern, “Thong Song” was on the charts, and AOL had big ideas about acquiring Time-Warner. Now he dodders around looking vaguely confused, unsure of himself. He used to be seen in jogging shorts and that hideous Timex Ironman sports watch he wore as president, a Master of the Universe in mufti, but he long ago settled into the role of oligarch in his bespoke suits and his limited-edition platinum A. Lange & Söhne Grosse Langematik Gangreserve wristwatch. He almost certainly has not flown commercial in the post-9/11 era—Herself has not driven a car since before Maisie Williams was born—and he probably doesn’t remember a time when he was not untouchable: Here’s a guy who was impeached over misconduct related to a sex scandal who apparently felt perfectly comfortable dumping his Secret Service detail to accompany Jeffrey Epstein, now a convicted sex offender, aboard the airplane known as “Lolita Express” to the destination now christened “Pedophile Island.”

Does that sound like a guy who is *desperate* to see Herself succeed?

There have been the persistent rumors of long-term affairs and flings (“the Energizer,” one alleged lover was nicknamed), but one wonders whether Bill Clinton in his current beaten-down form is really up for that kind of trouble.

And if he’s not, the terrifying question is: What kind of trouble *is* he up for? Because there’s no way that this guy is not getting into trouble. Maybe not the kind of trouble endured by the intern-diddling CEO who “slammed his d\*\*\* in the cash register,” as his lawyer put it, but trouble.

A normal ex-president would by this point in his life have very few interests other than entertaining himself and maybe polishing up the old trophies for the historians. A guy like that would make an excellent first lady. He could organize great parties and reputation-enhancing social events, court the right kinds of intellectuals and celebrities, take up some Very Very Worthy Cause.

Bill Clinton is not that guy. Keep an eye on the Bubbacam. NR

# Crabapple Clinton

*It’s hard work having  
so little fun*

BY HEATHER WILHELM

**H**ER husband, Bill Clinton, had his saxophone and easy grin. President Obama had his grandiose, over-the-top, Greek-columned campaign, buoyed by ecstatic supporters. Even Donald Trump, her wacky and gaffe-prone opponent, has a certain plucky joie de vivre. But alas, for Hillary Clinton, the first female major-party nominee for president of the United States, it seems impossible to shake a persistent crabby vibe.

Take a recent Tuesday in July, on which Clinton should have been in a heck of a giddy mood, or at least elated and relieved. That morning, FBI director James Comey gave the nation a blistering account of Clinton’s “extremely careless” handling of national-security secrets, indicating that the former secretary of state had almost certainly broken the law in some way, shape, or form—and then recommended that she be let off the hook, consequence-free.

When you think about it, bubbles and rainbows should have been shooting out of Clinton’s pantsuit lapels. Yet later that day, free as a bird, standing on a North Carolina stage with President Obama at her side, fresh off a ride on Air Force One, Clinton seemed in dire need of a very tiny, very sad trombone. “It means so much to me personally to have the president’s support in this campaign,” she said in a plodding tone as a nonchalant Obama slouched behind her on a chair. “After all”—and here began the slow creep of a knowing, forced smile—“he knows a thing or two about winning elections, TAKE IT FROM ME!”

Ah, yes, the 2008 election, which Hillary thought she had in the bag. The election in which Obama told Clinton she was “likeable enough,” when he

*Heather Wilhelm is a senior contributor to The Federalist and a weekly columnist for RealClearPolitics.*

really meant that she wasn't likeable at all. Behind the podium that Tuesday, Hillary took a sardonic turn: "In some places, you know, the person who loses an election gets exiled or executed, not asked to be secretary of state." Obama chuckled. A titter of awkward laughter swept the crowd. Next, as an illustration, Clinton called a mournful mariachi band to the stage, each member dressed up like a former presidential hopeful, and had them abruptly guillotined.

Fine, fine. I'm kidding about that last part. But seriously: Who says these things? Who can fail to see the lurking subtle hint of despair? One thing is clear: There is no joy to be found in Clintonville—at least not this time around the campaign trail.

This is odd and rather incredible, given that Hillary Rodham Clinton is running against Donald Trump, who seems at times to be doing his very best to help her. It's a scenario that baffles some of the most weathered politicians: Donald Trump, that tornado of ego and hubris and unspecified drive, is also a master creator of unnecessary brouhahas—he has a "knack for creating controversy out of thin air," as the *New York Times* recently put it. And his kerfuffles almost always manage, conveniently, to take the spotlight off Clinton's continual ethical woes.

In the same week when Clinton seemed to skate away from the FBI, Trump cheerfully embarked on a well-timed and epic gaffe spree. He repeatedly and enthusiastically praised Saddam Hussein's killing ability. He vigorously defended a "Star of David" image his campaign had apparently copied from an anti-Semitic message board, rather than simply letting the story die. At a meeting with GOP senators—ostensibly, it was for "unity"—he labeled Mark Kirk a loser and threatened Jeff Flake. He declared that he would protect Article XII of the Constitution, which does not exist. Oh, and he mischievously implied to the *New York Times* that if he were elected, he might not even take the job: "I'll let you know how I feel about it after it happens."

Trump has told reporters that it's "sort of boring" to rip into Clinton and that when he does it, he's "doing it because I feel I have to do it." He'd simply rather talk about other things. Trump has taken so much heat off Clinton, in fact, that

serious people have given more than a sliver of thought to the conspiracy theory that he's simply a thunderous pro-Hillary plant.

Despite all of this, amazingly, Clinton still can't seem to loosen up and have a little fun. On the Fourth of July, for instance, there were few proverbial sparklers or festive balloons or freedom-minded fun times in the ponderous pageant produced by Hillaryworld. Rather, there were lectures.

"Here's to 240 years of progress," Clinton's campaign tweeted on that otherwise jolly day. "Don't let anyone tell you that great things can't happen in America. Barriers can come down. Justice and equality can win. Our history has moved in that direction slowly at times but unmistakably, thanks to generations of Americans who refused to give up or back down." Americans, she chastised in another tweet, should not be "small" but should try to live up to the better ideals of their country. Happy Independence Day! Where's that sad trombone?

Drudgery and duty are dual trademarks of the Clinton campaign, driven by the assumption that it's Clinton's time, and a woman's time, for the presidency. She is owed this, you see, but she's certainly not going to enjoy the ride if she can help it. There are many sighs—one, amusingly, that she recently read verbatim as "sigh," off her own teleprompter—and there are barrels of oppression to drain. It all makes for a long, dour march. In a recent *Vogue* profile, Clinton greets the reporter with a "cartoon happy" sarcastic voice, startling him in the hall: "Well hello, JONATHAN. Isn't this FUN?" Yikes, lady. It does not seem fun at all.

Later, a world-weary Clinton tells *Vogue* that the United States might not be "ready" for its first female president. "You know, I really don't know," she sighs. "I think it's gotten better. But I think there still is a very deep set of concerns that people have. . . . You get little hints that maybe they're not as comfortable with a woman being in an executive position." This sad-sack approach becomes all the more hilarious when you remember that people like the director of the FBI appear to be perfectly comfortable with it, so much so that they recommended not enforcing the law.

At her rally with Obama, Clinton managed to take a gloomy turn when

listing the president's accomplishments. "I don't think he gets the credit he deserves for saving our economy!" she hollered, showing an uncanny ability to turn a supposed achievement into a tale of woe.

The once-robust Bill Clinton, unconditionally beloved by many Democrats, seems hollow and tired on this particular campaign trail. Hillary, meanwhile, has lapsed into now-infamous intermittent hacking fits, coughing, as writer Tucker Carlson recently put it, "like a Romantic poet" beset by consumption. Even the storied Clinton wealth is rendered dreary under the larger shadow of the campaign. It is cloudy and hidden and forever unspoken, amassed as it was from verboten 1 percent haunts like Goldman Sachs.

"I am not a natural politician, in case you haven't noticed, like my husband or President Obama," Clinton admitted during a Democratic debate in March. "I have to do the best that I can." This certainly deserves two cheers for honesty and self-reflection. It would also explain, however, incidents like the one at a Minnesota coffee shop in March, when Clinton snapped at a young woman peppering her about candidate diversity: "Why don't *you* go run for something, then!" Recovering quickly, as if remembering the omnipresent cameras, she promptly stepped back and merrily cackled.

"I've been called a lot of things, but quitter is not one of them," Clinton declared in June. To be fair, running for president is an exhausting enterprise, with people asking how you're going to balance the budget and bring back manufacturing and cure their arthritis at every turn—or wondering, as in one recent case for Hillary Clinton, how the federal government is planning to stop "revenge porn."

The question came during a campaign town hall for "YouTube creators"—what a country!—and Clinton looked bone-tired. Exhausted. There had been many events like this; there would be many ahead. Deep down, perhaps she even knew that there was no way she could personally end revenge porn. But never mind: Clinton pieced together an answer, perhaps out of whole cloth, and soldiered forward. There was no joy in Clintonville, but the show, as always, must go on.

NR



*Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders debate in Brooklyn, April 2016.*

# Clinton in Purgatory

*She leads a coalition that loves her little*

BY LUKE THOMPSON

**H**ILLARY CLINTON is the standard-bearer of a party coalition explicitly constructed to deny her access to the office she now seeks as its leader. She has become the face of the very amalgamation of groups that eight years ago handed her the worst defeat of her career. At the same time, a significant portion of her former support has forsaken her party and turned against her personally with bristling hostility. What are we to make of this peculiar arrangement, and how will it shape Clinton's agenda should she attain the White House?

For much of the last century, the white working class was the Democratic party's base, a force to be reckoned with in any contested Democratic primary. Republicans golfed; Democrats bowled. George W. Bush's administration shifted the party coalitions somewhat, pulling many blue-collar churchgoers into the GOP while pushing away some socially moderate northern suburbanites. Labor unions have weakened steadily since their apex a half century ago. Nonetheless, when Clinton faced off against Barack Obama in the 2008 Democratic primaries, blue-collar whites were most likely the largest section of the Democratic primary electorate.

That year, the Democrats divided neatly on both foreign and domestic policy, on the Iraq War and illegal immigration. Obama was a dove on Iraq and sided with New York governor Eliot Spitzer's decision the previous year to grant illegal immigrants access to driver's licenses. Clinton fumbled the license question

badly in a debate, but came to robustly oppose Spitzer's policy as a point of distinction with Obama, whom she did her best to portray as too reflexively dovish abroad and too permissive at home.

Both candidates crafted their primary coalitions with this divide in mind. Clinton built her campaign on an alliance of working-class white voters and moderate suburbanites favorably disposed toward her husband's tenure in office. Facing a steep uphill climb in the primaries, Obama crafted an alliance between the ideological Left and minority voters. The former won him Iowa; the latter, South Carolina. Thanks to some timely and significant missteps by Clinton, Obama was able to ride this coalition—the "rising electorate"—to victory in the primaries. With the housing market in freefall come November, and two wars grinding on, the general election was never really a contest.

Surprising as it may seem in retrospect, Clinton's positions were much more within the Democratic mainstream than Obama's. Fully 29 out of 50 Democratic senators voted in favor of the Iraq War. The bulk of the Democratic Senate caucus, including both Clinton and Obama, supported comprehensive immigration reform in June 2007, but most Democrats reacted to Spitzer's actions with considerable suspicion, and in many cases with downright hostility. Even in blue New York, it was one of the least popular decisions Spitzer took as governor that didn't involve the Mann Act.

So Clinton's coalition *should* have put her over the hump and secured her the nomination. Her alliance of white-collar centrists and blue-collar whites voted reliably and was well distributed

*Mr. Thompson is a partner at the Applecart political consultancy.*

geographically. The nomination was Clinton's to lose. It took diligent incompetence on her part to do so; yet lose Clinton did.

Obama's primary victory thus had significant implications for the Democratic coalition once he reached the Oval Office. His policy priorities have been those of his primary supporters, priorities that have in some instances come directly at the expense of Clinton's blue-collar backers. Five policy areas in particular have distanced the Obama administration from working-class whites: gay rights, free trade, illegal immigration, environmentalism, and Obamacare.

Obama's gay-rights agenda, initially an afterthought, quickly became a politically expedient means of endearing him to white-collar social liberals underwhelmed by his economic and foreign-policy track record. By contrast, working-class whites, including the unchurched, have looked on these efforts with indifference at best. On free trade and illegal immigration—both incorrectly blamed for wage stagnation by many working-class whites—Obama is indistinguishable from his Republican predecessor. On gay rights and trade, Clinton and Obama largely agree.

But on illegal immigration, Obamacare, and environmentalism, genuine differences between Clinton and Obama existed in 2008, and her primary coalition would have pushed her in a strongly divergent direction from his had she won. Clinton lacks Obama's

The political costs, for the Democrats, of this coalitional change have been obvious. Obama has stood by, seeming almost blasé at times, as his party's conferences in the Congress have been painfully culled. Democrats are arguably at their weakest at the state-government level since the end of the Civil War. Democrats have an Obama coalition, yes. But without the white working class, do they have a Democratic party in any meaningful sense? It is inconceivable that Clinton would have overseen such a political slaughter with the same indifference as Obama has.

To the Left, this is the best argument against Clinton: She is unwilling to pay the political price required to make real change. That is the subtext of Bernie Sanders's jeremiad in favor of a "political revolution." And with the white working class now largely expelled from the Democratic primary electorate, the ideological Left has not been this powerful relative to other factions within the party for almost a century. Clinton was saved only because minority voters, with a more sophisticated appreciation of the virtues of incrementalism than the ideologues backing Sanders, came home to Clinton.

It is ironic that Clinton has inherited this new Democratic coalition—that she is now the symbol of a version of the Democratic party she tried to strangle in its crib. They, candidate and party, need each other. Yet there is little love lost between jockey

## It is ironic that Clinton has inherited this new Democratic coalition—that she is now the symbol of a version of the Democratic party she tried to strangle in its crib.

grand appetite for policy change, and a Clinton presidency looking to working-class whites for political support would have run as fast as possible away from Obama's amnesty edicts. Similarly, as Thomas Edsall has pointed out in the *New York Times*, the political calculus behind Obamacare cut directly against Clinton's blue-collar supporters: In the face of wage stagnation, the comparatively "benefit rich" white working class reacted with predictable hostility to a health-care scheme that disrupted the provision of a basic good. That the scheme caused disruption with no immediate payout in return only enhanced this sense of grievance. And finally, while Obama's kowtowing to Tom Steyer and other anti-Keystone XL fundamentalists might seem positively Clintonian in its unabashed enthusiasm for campaign contributions, it is not. If the Clintons have shown a strength at anything, it has been at raising lots of money from a wide array of sources. The radical greens are a narrow, affluent constituency with zero opportunity for support among conservatives; recognizing this, Clinton would hardly have allowed them to keep her from promoting a wildly popular infrastructure project.

**B**ECAUSE Clinton lost in 2008, Obama has been able to remake the Democratic party in the image of his primary coalition. To the white working class, his administration has seemed fixated on parochial social issues, overly permissive of "job-killing" immigration and trade policies, openly hostile to the hydrocarbon industry, and reckless with the health and future well-being of a population that has not seen its income grow in two decades.

and racehorse. In respect of this mutual disdain, at least, she differs little from Trump.

And as for the blue-collar whites left behind by the Democratic party? Hell hath no such fury. They view the Democrats with all the affection and warmth of an ardent apostate. West Virginians exemplify this shift. Bill Clinton carried West Virginia twice. Democrats continue to enjoy a 16-percentage-point party-registration advantage statewide. In 2008, Clinton won West Virginia by a whopping 41-point margin over Obama. Indeed, it was in the heat of the West Virginia primary that she infamously warned that Obama's support was slipping among "hard-working Americans, white Americans."

In the general election, West Virginia chose John McCain over Obama by more than 13 points. Four years later, the state went for Mitt Romney by nearly 27 points. It is now one of only two red states in which Trump consistently polls better than Romney's 2012 general-election vote share. This staggering swing played out again in this year's Democratic primary. Clinton lost West Virginia to a mathematically eliminated Sanders by 15.6 points. If not strictly unprecedented, this sort of tectonic shift in candidate allegiance is rare. A reliable blue-collar establishment state, indelibly shaped by New Deal liberalism, overwhelmingly threw in its lot with an insurgent socialist with no realistic prospect of victory rather than back the party's presumptive nominee.

Thus, Clinton's camp faces a choice: once in the White House, use policy to bring blue-collar whites back into the Democratic fold—or give them up as lost. Those in Democratic circles opposed to reconciliation have a few powerful arguments in their favor: Contrary to much conventional wisdom on the right,

Obama did not lose considerable chunks of the white vote vis-à-vis his Democratic predecessors. True, his 39 percent vote among whites was slightly on the low end; but he compensated for losses in the white working class with gains among young whites and white college-educated professionals. Moreover, many blue-collar white Democrats had already been voting Republican in presidential elections for several cycles.

Clinton may have signaled her disposition on the matter in March when, taking a stage in Ohio, she declared that “we’re going to put a lot of coal miners and coal companies out of business.” A far cry from “hard-working Americans, white Americans,” Clinton’s statement doubtless contributed to the hostile reception she received in Appalachia. With it, she ratified the Obama administration’s war on the hydrocarbon industry and seemingly put herself on the side of a bourgeois, technocratic vision of liberalism better suited to San Francisco than to the Mountain State.

**Y**ET Clinton is not Obama. Because she cannot trust the affections of Obama’s coalition, she will need to broaden her base in order to defend her party in Congress and secure her prospects for reelection. Her technocratic stylings may appeal to suburban moderates, but these voters will look dimly on her ethical problems and tendency to exacerbate rather than ameliorate polarization. Whereas Obama has persuaded many quarters that blame for Washington dysfunction rests with congressional Republicans, Clinton is flypaper for controversy. She cannot count on the indulgence of middle-class types; she will likely see her popularity slip very shortly after she is inaugurated.

Clinton may be the personality least well suited to handle such a slip. Plumbing the depths of individual psychology usually detracts from political analysis, but it cannot be avoided entirely when it comes to the personalized, brand-heavy, and awesomely powerful presidency we have today. Much as we might wish otherwise, the office is now more than ever an extension of the person holding it. Presidents less and less grow into the Oval Office; today, the Oval Office conforms to their vices.

Clinton’s personality has two conflicting yet conspicuous elements that are relevant to politics. On one hand, she can be paranoid, a tendency accentuated by her bevy of court parasites. She sees enemies in dark corners and tends to ascribe adverse events to malice aforethought. On the other hand, her ideological promiscuity is so pronounced as to be almost admirable. The mind searches in vain for an issue on which she seems impervious to change.

To stave off political headwinds, she will need to simultaneously reinforce her base and broaden her appeal with precisely the working-class whites she has managed to alienate so thoroughly. She will look for a deal that does both. Unlike Obama on health-care exchanges, she will not look to the Republicans. She distrusts them in her very bones, will suspect that their ideas are laden with poison pills, and, having just vanquished them at the ballot box, will despise them. Her aides will reinforce these views, and so she will look to her own coalition’s ideas in search of a mast to which she can affix her colors.

Two realistic answers will present themselves: infrastructure spending and an increased minimum wage. The 2009 stimulus ran aground precisely because the federal government makes it hard for itself to build anything—so she will probably see the

“Fight for 15” as the best chance to pull together the Left, her dogged minority supporters, and the vestigial tail of the white working class.

In 2014, non-college whites voted for the GOP by 64 percent to 34 percent. Yet these same voters overwhelmingly supported ballot initiatives to raise the minimum wage in Alaska, Arkansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota. She can deploy her husband’s considerable retail political skill to sell the issue. The former president has always been more comfortable talking pocket-book issues than he has been tiptoeing around the combustible lines of identity politics. While the minimum wage didn’t bolster Democratic legislators, perhaps this time will be different. (Never mind the disastrous economic side effects of the policy.)

Finally, Clinton finds herself in a truly unprecedented position in terms of the Democratic party’s self-understanding. For the first time, a political party self-consciously on the left of the ideological spectrum will have nothing to do with the conditions, aspirations, and struggles of what was once quaintly called the proletariat. Yes, working-class people will remain a considerable part of the Democratic coalition, but chiefly via the service industry or as employees of the state. The central engine of Marx’s historical materialism—the struggle between labor and capital for control of the means of production—will happen almost entirely outside the ranks of, and policy priorities championed by, her party.

Arguably, Obama has been in the same position since his first election and the mass defection of blue-collar workers described above. But Obama’s theory of history is anchored by a notion of historical redemption that Clinton does not share. For Obama, the arc of the moral universe bends inexorably if unevenly toward justice as the sins of our collective past are brought forward, acknowledged, and atoned for in one manner or another. Marginalized groups come “out of the shadows.” We have one “national conversation” after the next—typically about our need to have a national conversation rather than about the subject of that conversation itself. For Obama, if not for his coalition, politics is about recognition first and redistribution second.

For all her rhetoric about shattering a glass ceiling, Clinton is not driven by the same sense of historical mission as her predecessor is. Indeed, it is unclear that she gives a damn about elevated notions of “history” at all—one of the very few things that recommend her. Yet if not for the working man, what becomes of the Democratic party? The ideological Left has long since abandoned the class struggle as a major part of its psyche, preferring to fight battles over culture and identity politics instead. Those blocs that cling to the old teleology of labor and capital despise Clinton utterly. She returns the favor.

Can a cartel party exist in full and unflinching knowledge of itself as merely a distributive coalition of convenience? Can Clinton give them something to believe in other than checks every month? One suspects, given her insularity and severely limited political skills, that the answer is “no.” In this sense, and this sense alone, the Democratic coalition will come to fully mirror its unloved leader: They will be held together largely by acquisitive purpose and externally directed loathing.

Loveless marriages can limp on for a long time and, outside the ideological Left, Democrats have a limited appetite for rebellion. Nonetheless, the foundations of the Democrats’ coalition are easily as feeble as those of the Republicans’. At least Republicans will have sufficient company in this dismal age. **NR**

# American Grifters

*The shameless corruption of Bill and Hillary*

BY JEREMY CARL

‘THERE is no doubt this case is distasteful. It may be worse than that.’

So wrote Chief Justice John Roberts in a unanimous Supreme Court decision last month that vacated the conviction of former Virginia governor Bob McDonnell, who had received various lavish gifts from supporters, on corruption charges. But, Roberts went on, “setting up a meeting, hosting an event, or calling an official (or agreeing to do so)” does not constitute the sort of quid pro quo that would constitute official corruption.

Somewhere, Bill and Hillary Clinton breathed sighs of relief. For exactly this sort of access-trading and “soft corruption” has been the hallmark of their careers—and can be counted on to continue unabated in a Hillary Clinton administration.

As political figures, the Clintons are insignificant. They can win elections, but not lead movements—witness the sad spectacle of Hillary running on many issues that are direct repudiations of Bill’s positions. But as grifters, they are truly world-class. In comparison with the Clintons, Donald Trump is a mere piker in the corruption game. The media obsess about Trump’s vulgarity and obviousness while turning a blind eye to the subtler but far more disturbing corruption of the Clintons.

For example, by now almost everyone has heard of Trump “University,” a tacky real-estate-education marketing scam that epitomizes all of the things that conservatives (and others) love to loathe about Donald Trump.

But how many have heard about Laureate University, not technically a scam if we’re being Clintonite hair-splitting lawyers, but, in reality, a much more unseemly effort that paid Bill Clinton a staggering \$16.5 million between 2010 and 2014 to serve as “honorary chancellor” of its “global” for-profit universities, an amount that both Laureate and the Clintons took pains to hide. And for good reason, given that Hillary Clinton directly requested Laureate’s inclusion in an important State Department policy event shortly before Bill signed his contract. As best as can be determined, Bill Clinton was essentially used as a paid pitchman for the company and went around to its various campuses making bland speeches about education.

Of course, this story wouldn’t be complete without noting that Laureate University’s chairman was also chairman of something called the “International Youth Foundation,” which

*Mr. Carl is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.*



received \$55 million in grants from the State Department while Clinton was secretary of state. And that, according to liberal law professor Jonathan Turley, “Laureate Education was sued over its Walden University Online offering, which some alleged worked like a scam designed to bilk students of tens of thousands of dollars for degrees. Students alleged that they were repeatedly delayed and given added costs as they tried to secure degrees, leaving them deeply in debt.” The U.S. Department of Education listed five of the six Laureate campuses as raising concerns over poor finances and regulatory compliance. But as long as the money was flowing to the Clintons, they were glad to turn a blind eye. And the media were glad to acquiesce.

**B**UT Laureate is hardly alone on the Clinton wall of shame. The Clintons, who are always quick to play 1 percent–vs.–99 percent politics, personally took in almost \$140 million in income over the past eight years, during which time Hillary Clinton was either secretary of state or the shadow Democratic-party nominee for 2016 or both. Those numbers got even larger once Hillary exited the State Department and got on the gravy train full-time. In 2014 the Clintons “earned” \$28 million in income. Both Bill and Hillary have limited-liability corporations (ZFS Holdings and WJC LLC) that receive their speaking and consulting fees. The existence of both was not disclosed until 2015. Even the 10 percent of that money that the Clintons have given to charity in recent years was almost exclusively given

ROMAN GENNY

to the Clinton Family Foundation, where it can burnish the Clinton brand.

In 2012, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld the decisions of lower courts in *Bluman v. FEC* that foreign nationals were banned from contributing to U.S. political candidates or parties. Yet, according to the *Washington Post*, over half of the largest donors to the Clinton Foundation are foreign sources. In just the past eight years, the Clintons received tens of millions of dollars of money from foreign sources, with very little scrutiny.

Everyone knew that Hillary was running in 2008. And once she lost, everyone knew she was running again in 2016. Yet, as documented in many places (most extensively in Peter Schweizer's devastating 2015 book *Clinton Cash*), numerous foreign entities, many of them obviously sordid or at least highly questionable, have, since Bill Clinton left office, effectively bought the Clintons through various tawdry payment schemes in preparation for Hillary's run.

For the most part, the biggest givers to the Clinton Foundation haven't been recognizable brand names looking to attach the Clinton name to their charitable efforts. McDonald's Corp. sponsors Ronald McDonald Houses in part because it is a worthy endeavor, but in larger part because of the halo effect McDonald's gets by associating itself with a good

see that as a conflict of interest; for the Clintons, it's just how to do business.

As the liberal *New York Review of Books* wrote earlier this year:

Former US presidents have long used charitable foundations as a way to perpetuate their influence and to attract speaking fees as a lucrative source of income. But the Clintons are unique in being able to rely on the worldwide drawing power of former president Bill Clinton to help finance the political career of Hillary Clinton—with the expectation among donors that as a senator, secretary of state, and possible future president Hillary Clinton might be well placed to return their favors.

No wonder that, as Schweizer noted, “no one has even come close in recent years to enriching themselves on the scale of the Clintons while they or a spouse continued to serve in public office.”

**A**ND they've worked hard to protect their prerogatives. After Clinton became secretary of state, foreign entities could continue funding the Clinton Global Initiative (thus currying favor with Hillary by buying access to Bill) if they disclosed their donations and obtained approval from

**In just the past eight years, the Clintons received tens of millions of dollars of money from foreign sources, with very little scrutiny.**

cause. But the biggest Clinton Foundation donors aren't the McDonald's of the world. Instead, the Clinton Foundation took some of its biggest gifts, often with little public disclosure, from shady foreign mining magnates and corrupt businessmen (or even governments), who donated in order to benefit from the access the Clintons gave directly and to gain valuable chits once the Clintons were back in office. Russian uranium barons, Ukrainian steel magnates, and mining companies doing business in the Congo don't just decide to give tens of millions out of the goodness of their hearts. Yet they paid up to the Clintons.

Take Frank Giustra, a Canadian mining magnate who has made deals in some of the world's most unpleasant corners. He's given more than \$25 million to the Clinton Foundation. “All of my chips, almost, are on Bill Clinton. He's a brand, a worldwide brand, and he can do things and ask for things that no one else can,” Giustra said in an interview. No wonder that Bill Clinton took the time to introduce Giustra to a number of powerful world leaders in shady areas where he does business. Or consider Lukas Lundin, a Swedish mining, oil, and gas baron who was one of the few Westerners doing oil business in corrupt and dangerous locales such as Iran and Sudan. When he wasn't buying off Congolese warlords, Lundin found the time to give \$100 million to the Clinton Foundation—again, with almost no serious media coverage.

Carlos Slim, the Mexican billionaire who is the world's fifth-richest man (and the largest shareholder in the *New York Times*), is another big foundation donor. Some might

the Obama administration and the State Department. The foundation even took \$500,000 from the government of Algeria in 2010, in direct contradiction of the foundation's agreement with President Obama.

There is regular mixing of staff between Clinton's foundation and her campaign. One of the campaign's chief fund-raisers was, until recently, the foundation's director of development. Hillary's right-hand woman, Huma Abedin, arranged to work simultaneously with the State Department, the Clinton Foundation, Hillary Clinton's personal office, and a Clinton-linked consultancy. Meanwhile, leading Clinton Foundation donor and securities trader Raj Fernando was put on the International Security Advisory Board in the State Department at the direct request of the secretary, despite lacking any qualifications for it. Once the media started inquiring, he resigned quietly.

Little wonder that the Better Business Bureau said the foundation did not meet transparency and accountability standards and the watchdog website Charity Navigator refused to rate it, including it as one of 23 charities on its “watch list” along with such luminaries as Al Sharpton's National Action Network. While the foundation likes to tout its grassroots givers, approximately three-quarters of its money comes from contributors who gave \$1 million or more. “It seems like the Clinton Foundation operates as a slush fund for the Clintons,” commented a senior fellow at the liberal Sunlight Foundation. A writer from *Harper's* was even more blunt, saying that “the Clintons' so-called charitable



enterprise has served as a vehicle to launder money and to enrich family friends.”

But as the Laureate University scandal showed, the Clintons don’t just enrich their foundation and friends with their corrupt fundraising; they line their own pockets as well. As Bernie Sanders regularly noted on the campaign trail, Hillary Clinton took more than \$600,000 in speaking fees from Goldman Sachs in one year while requiring in her contract that she would not be recorded and her remarks would not be released.

Even Chelsea has gotten in (indirectly) on the Clinton corruption. Her father-in-law, Clinton family friend and former congressman Ed Mezvinsky, is a convicted felon who served several years in federal prison for various Nigerian-based scams. According to *Politico*, Mezvinsky “use[d] his friendship with the Clintons to give him credibility to convince his victims to invest their money with him.” Mezvinsky still owes millions of dollars to the clients he defrauded, but, as far as can be learned from the public record, none of the Clintons have attempted to use their own millions to reimburse those Mezvinsky scammed. Meanwhile Chelsea and her husband Marc Mezvinsky live in a \$10.5 million luxury dwelling in New York City.

The Clintons’ corruption has been evident from their earliest days. Hillary infamously made a \$100,000 profit off a \$1,000 investment in cattle futures in the late 1970s (while Bill Clinton was governor), guided by Jim Blair, a lawyer for Tyson Foods, the largest agribusiness company in Arkansas. When she was questioned about her financial shenanigans, which also included the infamous Whitewater land deal, shortly after her husband became president, Hillary, true to form, played the gender card from the bottom of the deck, blaming those uncomfortable with her influence on President Clinton for the problems. At a White House press conference she said, somewhat incoherently: “I think that, having been independent, having made decisions, it’s a little difficult for us as a country, maybe, to make the transition of having a woman like many of the women in this room, sitting in this house.”

The same shamelessness could be seen at the start of Hillary’s electoral career. Bill Clinton’s last-day-in-office pardon of fugitive financial criminal Marc Rich, whose ex-wife had made more than \$1 million in donations to Hillary’s Senate campaign and the Democratic party, prompted the *Washington Post* to comment that the Clintons had “no capacity for embarrassment.”

That Trump, a vulgar, showy businessman who probably has gold-plated toilets, has been involved in shady dealings and questionable product endorsements surprises no one. But Trump has not spent his life preparing to run for president. That the Clintons, who have spent their entire lives grasping for the brass ring, would engage in such obviously corrupt behavior tells you as much about their brazenness as it does about their ethics.

Ultimately, the Clintons are much more dangerous than Trump because their corruption is much more calculating. Trump, at least, has been quite forthright about buying favors from politicians in the past. The Clintons, however, still deny that they are bought and paid for, even though some of the world’s shadiest characters have millions of dollars of receipts. There is nothing respectable about the thoroughly corrupt Clintons—and there never has been. **NR**

# Impeach Her

*Why the e-mail scandal should bar Hillary from high office*

**BY ANDREW C. McCARTHY**

**H**ILLARY CLINTON should be impeached. Today.

In early July, in a performance as legally baffling as it was politically predictable, Federal Bureau of Investigation director James B. Comey recommended against a felony prosecution of the former secretary of state and certain Democratic presidential nominee. The recommendation was gratuitous: It is the FBI’s function to investigate crimes; the Justice Department alone exercises charging discretion. It is a commonplace for case agents and government prosecutors to consult on both investigative tactics and charging decisions. It is a rarity, though, for the FBI director to get directly involved in, much less make, an indictment decision. That, in effect, is what Comey did. That his recommendation was uncalled for makes it all the more indefensible.

To stick for a moment with the FBI’s actual function, let’s note that its agents performed admirably, particularly in the forensic aspects of the investigation: the examination of Mrs. Clinton’s “homebrew” servers, the painstaking reassembly of millions of bits of data into thousands of e-mails (out of the 30,000 e-mails that Clinton and her phalanx of lawyers and aides had quite intentionally sought to delete and destroy). The FBI thus carried its burden to uncover evidence that can be used to establish the essential elements of crimes defined in federal penal laws. In this instance, according to Director Comey’s unusually transparent and devastating account of what his investigators found, it is simply incontestable that then–secretary of state Clinton (a) mishandled classified information in a manner that was grossly negligent (indeed, Comey called it “extremely careless”) and (b) concealed and destroyed federal records.

Yet Comey claimed not only that no prosecution was warranted but also that no reasonable prosecutor could disagree with this conclusion. The first assertion is flatly wrong; the second is breathtaking, and it evoked aptly spirited dissenting reactions from such iconic former prosecutors as Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former New York City mayor who, as U.S. attorney in Manhattan, hired Comey as a young prosecutor in the mid Eighties, and Michael B. Mukasey, the distinguished former federal judge who served as U.S. attorney general in the George W. Bush administration not long after Comey served as deputy attorney general. (Like Comey, whom I have known as a friend and sometime colleague for nearly 30 years, I was hired as an assistant U.S. attorney by Mr. Giuliani.)

When Comey testified before a House committee just two days after rejecting an indictment of Clinton, the flaws in his rationale were painfully apparent. He suggested that “American tradition”

and the Constitution forbid criminal prosecution on an offense as serious as mishandling classified information—a felony carrying a potential ten-year prison term—if the required *mens rea* (state of mind) element of the crime in the relevant statute calls for mere negligence rather than intent to do harm. To the contrary, many state and federal crimes do not require proof of intentional or willful wrongdoing—indeed, virtually every state has long criminalized negligent homicide. Moreover, Comey inaccurately portrayed the gross-negligence offense as if it were an isolated excrescence in federal law; in fact, it is the bottom of a sliding scale of crimes involving national-defense secrets, carefully calibrated by Congress so that the most serious offense—classic espionage involving intended harm to the U.S.—is at the top. Appropriately, the least serious offense of gross negligence involving national-defense secrets is narrowly tailored: It applies not to all Americans but to officials with security clearances who are intimately familiar with rules governing their special obligation to safeguard intelligence.

But in any case, far from being merely negligent, Clinton's outrageous conduct screams of willfulness. She intentionally set up an unlawful non-government communication system specifically to evade federal disclosure and accountability laws. In her position at the pinnacle of American foreign relations, she had to

Comey's damning account makes it at least arguable that Clinton could be convicted under subsections of the 1917 Espionage Act (Section 793 of the penal code) that require proof of willful misconduct. Thus, to indict her on Section 793(f), the subsection calling for the lower *mens rea* of gross negligence, would seem (in prosecutors' parlance) like a slam-dunk. When Comey could not justify his suggestion that the statute was constitutionally infirm, he fell back on an even less convincing theory: Because the gross-negligence charge has been invoked only once by the Justice Department in the century since its enactment, applying it to Clinton would have been an impermissible selective prosecution—in effect, creating two sets of rules, a harsh standard for Clinton and a blind eye for everyone else.

Applied to the Clintons, who have cheated the rules that apply to the little people for a quarter century, this suggestion was especially risible. More to the point, the gross-negligence felony has in fact been used several times in military cases—which are part of the federal system even if not investigated by the FBI and prosecuted by the Justice Department. So if we are to apply Comey's "two standards of justice" notion, the reality is that low-level military officials are sent to prison for comparatively trifling offenses while the powerful former secretary of state is given a pass on an enormous one.

## Comey's purported inability to find a prior prosecution similar to Clinton's case owes to the fact that her misconduct was singularly egregious.

know it was inevitable that extremely sensitive intelligence matters would be discussed over the system. The hundreds of classified e-mails discovered included 110 (in 52 e-mail chains) sent or received by Clinton herself. Seven of these involved "top secret/special access program" intelligence—the most highly classified secrets in government, concerning deep-cover informants and closely guarded intelligence-collection techniques (meaning: information the revelation of which can get our agents killed and fold up vital national-security operations).

"Any reasonable person in Secretary Clinton's position," Comey admonished, "should have known that an unclassified system was no place for" such exchanges. The director further acknowledged that Clinton's homebrew system was woefully unsecure: It would have been better, though still against the rules, to use Gmail. Top Clinton aides exacerbated these security compromises, Comey recounted, by using unsecure communication systems while they were outside the United States and "in the territory of sophisticated adversaries." Clinton clearly knew this practice was a major security breach, assuming she read her own memoir *Hard Choices*, which—though unmentioned by Comey—takes pains to describe the extraordinary communications precautions that must be taken overseas. The director, in fact, said it was almost certain that Clinton's system had been penetrated by hostile foreign intelligence operatives (the deftness of whose methods prevents apodictic certainty). He further ruefully observed that, under Clinton, "the culture of the State Department in general" was cavalier, compared with that of other government agencies, when it came to safeguarding intelligence.

In addition, federal courts routinely reject claims of selective prosecution. Comey's purported inability to find a prior prosecution similar to Clinton's case owes to the fact that her misconduct was singularly egregious. The application of a presumptively valid statute that perfectly fits the gross derelictions of a high public official would in no way smack of bad faith. But the point, again, is that the FBI's job is to collect evidence, not draw legal conclusions. It is not the director's place to torpedo cases based on his doubts (ill-considered in this case) about the validity of a statute or—even more attenuated from the investigative role—his worries about the resolution of a prospective selective-prosecution claim that Clinton's lawyers might someday bring. That is the Justice Department's job.

THE FBI director's willingness to do her job was no doubt a relief to Attorney General Loretta Lynch. She had sullied herself in Phoenix just days earlier in a tête-à-tête with former president Bill Clinton—not only the husband of the subject of her department's most important investigation but himself at the very least a witness in the probe. In the crass Clinton style, the egregiously inappropriate meeting was followed rapid-fire by Mrs. Clinton's announcement that (wink, wink) she might be inclined to retain Lynch as attorney general in her administration. Next thing you knew, Clinton was being interviewed by the FBI and cleared by Comey three days later—even as President Obama accompanied Clinton on a campaign swing.

Regardless of how implausible his reasoning, the pass from Comey effectively precludes any meaningful action against



Hillary Clinton defends her use of a “homebrew” e-mail system, March 2015.

Clinton in the criminal-justice system. The FBI director gave even shorter shrift to Clinton’s destruction of government records. Bleaching away the evidence that she had intentionally constructed a system precisely to shield her communications from the public scrutiny that the Federal Records Act is supposed to ensure, Comey remarkably found no “intentional misconduct” in Clinton’s concealment and deletion of thousands of e-mails (at least three of which were classified). To Comey, it was immaterial that, for over a year, Clinton has repeatedly represented to the public that all work-related e-mails were turned over to the State Department. Evidently, she can lie to anyone else as long as she doesn’t lie to the FBI.

That includes Congress. Comey conceded that he had not considered Clinton’s marathon testimony before the House committee investigating the Benghazi massacre—another of Madam Secretary’s debacles. This was a strange omission given Comey’s emphasis on Clinton’s state of mind: Prosecutors often prove *mens rea* by showing that a defendant’s statements were false and thus evinced consciousness of guilt. In her Benghazi testimony, Clinton repeated her now-shattered talking points about the homebrew server system, including her assertion that she had never sent or received e-mails “marked ‘classified.’” To the contrary, Comey reported that “a very small number of [Clinton’s] e-mails containing classified information bore markings indicating the presence of classified information.”

After Comey claimed that the FBI does not investigate potential perjury in congressional testimony without a referral from Congress, House Oversight Committee chairman Jason Chaffetz (R., Utah) and Judiciary Committee chairman Bob Goodlatte (R., Va.) jointly referred the matter to the Justice Department. But the case is going nowhere—bet on it. In his House testimony, only two days after rebuking Clinton because officials in her position know what is classified and must protect it irrespective of “markings,” Comey was already downplaying the matter. He framed it as only three e-mails out of tens of thousands and even floated the astonishing

suggestion that the secretary of state might have missed the significance of the markings. If there is a renewed investigation, it will require months, taking us beyond the November election. It is inconceivable, moreover, that the FBI will nail Clinton on three e-mails after giving her a walk on 30,000.

**T**HE disconcerting truth of the Clinton e-mail scandal is that our constitutional framework is in tatters. The architects of our governmental system were under no illusions that the executive branch’s law-enforcement agencies could be trusted to rein in corrupt executive officials—indeed, there was no Justice Department until the late 19th century and no FBI until 1908.

In 2014, I wrote a book titled “Faithless Execution,” not so much to call for the impeachment of lawless executive officials as to explain why impeachment is—as Madison put it—indispensable to the functioning of our government. It is the check given to Congress, the people’s representatives, against abuses of executive power. Absent the threat of impeachment, a rogue administration scoffs at congressional oversight. Impeachment does not require courtroom proof beyond a reasonable doubt of statutory offenses. It is designed to divest power from derelict officials who, out of corruption or incompetence, endanger national security and are mendacious in dealings with Congress and the public. And because the Constitution’s penalty for impeachment includes “disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States,” impeachment is just as applicable to *prospective* holders of high executive office as to incumbent ones.

If the government were functioning properly, Congress would impeach Hillary Clinton, not refer her misconduct to the same administration that indulged it in the first place. But of course, if the *country* were functioning properly, approximately half the public would not be prepared to elect as president the incorrigibly reckless and deceitful official whom James Comey condemned but shrank from indicting.

NR



# The Long View BY ROB LONG

## CRAIGSLIST > CLEVELAND > MISSED CONNECTIONS

*\*Tuesday in Marriott lobby, made eye contact (m4f)*

Hey! Saw you in the lobby at the Marriott, couldn't tell from your ID tags what state you're from or if you're "at liberty to vote your conscience." Thought maybe there was a spark between us and would love to find out! Reply here with a description of what you were wearing and what it said on my T-shirt. Would love to buy you a drink/dinner and talk about second-ballot options and Speaker Ryan.

*\*#NeverTrumper in elevator at Quicken Loans venue*

We stood next to each other in the elevator and I thought maybe there was a vibe between us? I know you were looking at my Make America Great Again hat and getting mad, but I still felt like there was a spark or something? Also, I noticed that your hotel pass was for the Super 8 way out by the airport and it got me thinking. Maybe you'd like to move to a better room? In a better hotel? Would love to get together and talk more about the financial opportunities available to you as a delegate. Reply here.

*\*Wednesday morning, shuttle-bus stop (m4mmff)*

A bunch of us were riding from the venue to the "Party Like a Lizard" party put on by Geico Insurance and it seemed like most of you were totally on the Trump Train, but I noticed that your singing and chanting was a little halfhearted and maybe even a little forced? Which I found really sexy. We exchanged glances and I was going to say more but then the Trump group started hassling the shuttle-bus driver because his name sounded foreign, and then the whole thing became ugly (we've all seen the Periscope) and I didn't have a chance to say Hey before the mob pushed the shuttle bus over and set the driver on fire, but wanted to reach out now and say, Hey! You've got really pretty eyes. Would love to get together before the first ballot and maybe grab coffee or a drink and talk about the Virginia ruling and show you some focus-group results on a possible Marco vs. Hillary thing. Hit me back!!

**\* WARNING: THIS SPACE IS BEING WATCHED BY TRUMP**

Guys! DO NOT try to sway or win over any delegates here! Trump campaign staff are MONITORING this space and will intervene and bust up any delegate hookups you arrange. I was going to meet up with a Trump delegate to talk about the benefits of voting on first ballot for Jim Gilmore but was pushed into one of those big Rimowa suitcases and wheeled into a hotel cloakroom. They said it was just a "joke, like Gilmore's campaign," but I know they were Trump operatives. BE CAREFUL!!!

*\* Interested in foreign travel? Want to be an ambassador? Reply! (?4?)*

Saw you checking into your hotel. Saw the look in your eyes which said, "I wish I could just vote my conscience." Well, now you can, and get paid doing it! SEEKING: delegates of all kinds from all states willing to vote for someone other than Trump—the candidate you'll be voting for is a patriot and an elected official, can't say who exactly at this time. Reply here with your convention-credential badge number and the country you'd like to become the U.S. ambassador to, and we'll meet you with all the info.

*\* Saw you at the Families USA reception looking like you were wavering (f4m)*

Saw you at the Families USA event, next to the non-alcoholic punch, looking a little like you were thinking of casting your ballot for Donald Trump despite the VA ruling that you're at liberty to vote your conscience. I know your hands were shaky and that you clearly had been crying, which I found insanely sexy. Let's get together and talk about it. I'd love to make you more comfortable voting for my guy. Let me relax you, and you can feel the stress melt away while I talk about Senator Ben Sasse.

*\* Lotta losers on this thing (m4f)*

Hey losers and haters, don't bother trying to steal delegates here or anywhere, we've found you on Tinder and Bumble and the other ones and we know what you're up to and Mr. Trump will win anyway! Only Mr. Trump can make America great again! Stop being unfair. Also, if you're the blonde one who was in the line at the breakfast deal, get at me here. Very very impressed.

## Down and Up in Paris and London

It was a few minutes to midnight, and we were finishing our pints outside the Smuggler's Inn when a gaunt bald man appeared and asked if we had any fire to lend. *A light?* he said. *A match?* He was not from here, he said in apology; his English, not so good. He was from Russia. He was from Samarra.

My blood ran cold: Do we have an appointment?

That's the old legend, of course. The man sees Death in the marketplace and knows he is marked; he flees to Samarra. As Death later remarks to someone, he was surprised to see the fellow in the marketplace, because they had an appointment later that night in Samarra. Was that the deal here? Death had pursued us across the Continent and the Channel to find us two blocks from a McDonald's in London? Maybe a McFlurry before I go. I beg you. I've never had one. They looked so fattening, but, well, that's no longer an issue.

Turns out he was a computer coder sent here to work with a firm that did something with taxis. One of those chance conversations you have when you're traveling, letting the experiences unravel the straitjackets of your back-home routine. The best part, though, is what you discover about yourself, something you always knew you had inside: the ability to make snap judgments about entire countries based on four days of traipsing around the tourist attractions.

First, Paris. We used Airbnb, which lets you stay in other people's apartments. The flat was in an early-20th-century building designed according to the Haussmann dictates, and this explains much of Paris's appeal for some: The great urban planner Georges-Eugène Haussmann carved out the broad urban thoroughfares and plazas and required buildings to be uniform in height and hue, dripping with Beaux-Arts ornamentation and tiny balconies suitable for enjoying a glass of wine or throwing paving stones on the heads of soldiers below. Around the corner from our flat was a street named after a prime minister who died while his mistress was administering the afternoon constitutional. Everywhere you look, the remnants of history! On every building, the architect's name, proudly engraved on the second floor!

Except when it wasn't, which meant it was a new building. The architects don't seem to have signed anything from the post-war period, and you can't blame them. What was new was drab. To be fair, what was old was often drab as well, and this was the surprise of coming to Paris after many years away. At the Place de la Concorde, weeds sprout from a statue; the wooden doors in the plinth are broken and spattered with graffiti. Nearby is a park dedicated to a Belgian king for being the king of Belgium or some such accomplishment; all

thistles and quackgrass, its benches busted and smeared with bird leavings. By the presidential palace, the same—unkempt streets and heaps of garbage. In our neighborhood, a stained mattress leaned against a fence by a bag of overflowing refuse.

We met up with relatives, and my sister-in-law—who lived in France for years—put it to words. “Paris, c'est fatigué.” No pop, no shine, no joy. Soldiers with guns patrol the monuments—four at the massive Arc de Triomphe and four at the small Holocaust Museum, which gives you a sense of what they consider a likely target. There was happiness when France won a sports event, and the next morning I saw a guy who'd pulled a celebratory all-nighter walking down the street and raising his arms, saying “Hoorah!” No one had time for that now. Dour people streamed around him, down the Métro stairs to the clamorous acrid holes below.

If you're inclined to rational design and visual unity, the look of Paris is a marvelous thing. It signifies a cohesive culture, confident in its values. But they are the values of the State, not the individual. The glories reach their apogee with the museums, bridges, railway stations, and exhibition halls of the early 20th century, and you cannot help but feel that the spirit that built these beautiful works has long fled. Bled white in the trenches, then smothered with shame in the '40s. *Paris, c'est fatigué.*

Then we went to London. Louder. Brighter. Happier. Could be the tourists—seems as if there are ten times more of them than in Paris. The streetscapes are more varied; Dickensian buildings abut new glass blocks. The parks are cleaner and more beautiful. At the end of the day, we watched the sun illuminate Elizabeth Tower at Parliament—okay, okay, Big Ben. The sunset falls on the Eiffel Tower like music on deaf ears; here the clock tower glows like gold. Across the street a statue of Churchill watches with jowly satisfaction.

My daughter, reading the paper, pointed out that one of the European capitals was hosting a massive art project. People showed up, took their clothes off, painted themselves blue, and lay down in the square. “That's because they believe in nothing,” I said, just to be Irritating Windy Judgmental American Father. “Take away God, King, and Country, and all they have is food and conceptual art.”

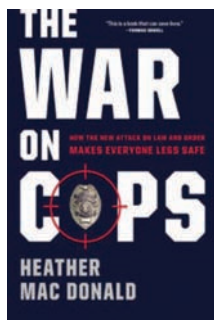
Europe's winded, but England still has strength and life. I suspected as much before I went on vacation, but having spent a hundred hours in two nations, I think I'm entitled to call this an expert opinion. I mean, the Russian guy had been in England two days and had his views on the place, too. It was friendly! Then we started talking about Ukraine and almost came to blows. Which is good! In Paris we would have just shrugged and thought: *What's the point?*

NR

# Books, Arts & Manners

## The Anti-Police Culture

JACK DUNPHY



*The War on Cops: How the New Attack on Law and Order Makes Everyone Less Safe*, by Heather Mac Donald (Encounter, 248 pp., \$23.99)

**I**N 1990, 2,245 people were murdered in New York City, the most ever. In Los Angeles, the high-water mark for homicide came in 1992, when 1,092 people were killed. In the years since, those grim numbers fell steadily in both cities, reflecting a national drop in violent crime. In 2014, New York saw 333 murders; in Los Angeles, the number was 260. In those two cities alone, thousands of people are alive today who would not be if not for the advances in policing methods that came into practice in the early 1990s. This is to say nothing of the thousands upon thousands of additional people who would have been robbed, assaulted, or otherwise victimized if crime rates had remained constant at their appalling early-1990s numbers. No writer has expended more energy in chronicling how those remarkable gains were achieved than Heather Mac Donald. And no writer is more dismayed at seeing those gains being undone.

In *The War on Cops*, Mac Donald examines the multi-front attack on the police and the justice system now being waged in a misguided campaign to lower incarceration

*"Jack Dunphy" is the pseudonym of a former officer in the Los Angeles Police Department.*

rates and decriminalize socially destructive behavior. Mac Donald, a fellow at the Manhattan Institute and a contributing editor at *City Journal*, examines each of these fronts: street-level demonstrations by Black Lives Matter activists; political efforts at the local, state, and federal levels; judicial mischief in the courts; dishonest use of data in the media and among academics; and even distortions and prevarications on crime from President Obama himself. It was President Obama, Mac Donald reminds us, who in addressing the NAACP in July 2015 propagated the destructive lie that the disproportionate number of minorities in prison could be attributed to bias in the criminal-justice system. "The bottom line," said the president, "is that in too many places, black

And the evidence, Mac Donald tells us, is that America's police officers have of late been slandered in a deliberate campaign of misinformation and dishonest interpretation of data, perhaps the most pernicious example of which is, as in President Obama's remarks noted above, the assertion that blacks are unfairly targeted by racist police officers and unjustly funneled through the justice system by equally racist (or at least indifferent) prosecutors and judges. She cites a 1997 study by criminologists Robert Sampson and Janet Lauritsen, who reviewed "massive literature on charging and sentencing" and reached a conclusion that was surely discomfiting to those searching for a biased system. The researchers concluded that "large racial differences in criminal

## America's police officers have of late been slandered in a deliberate campaign of misinformation and dishonest interpretation of data.

boys and black men, Latino boys and Latino men experience being treated differently under the law." Actual evidence of this bias, says Mac Donald, is the holy grail among academics working in criminology. But, like the Holy Grail of the Middle Ages, such evidence has not been found.

I pause to note here that Mac Donald and I are friends. I cite her frequently in my own writing, and speaking on behalf of police officers everywhere, I am grateful for her having taken up the endeavor of defending America's cops. She would seem an unlikely candidate for such a cause. A graduate of Phillips Academy and Yale, she studied at Cambridge University before earning a law degree at Stanford. She then clerked for Judge Stephen Reinhardt of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, arguably the most liberal jurist in the country. This is hardly the curriculum vitae you would expect from one speaking so forcefully on behalf of police officers. But it was not ideology that brought her to this place; it was rather an intellectual rigor and a willingness to follow the evidence regardless of where it led or whom it offended.

offending," not racism, explained why more blacks were imprisoned proportionately than whites, and for longer terms. Study after study has confirmed these findings, says Mac Donald, yet "this consensus hasn't made the slightest dent in the ongoing search for systemic racism."

Similarly, says Mac Donald, the data on unarmed blacks shot by police have been distorted and put to dishonest use. The Black Lives Matter movement rose to prominence after the 2014 police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo., and despite all evidence to the contrary, BLM activists continue to peddle the lie that Brown was shot without justification. Since the Brown incident, the *Washington Post* has been gathering data on police shootings with the apparent intent of advancing the notion that police shoot and kill unarmed blacks out of implicit bias. "In fact," writes Mac Donald, "the *Post's* findings confirm that the Black Lives Matter movement is a fraud."

Such a charge cannot be made lightly, and indeed, rather than merely examining the *Post's* raw numbers, Mac Donald digs into the actual cases to substantiate

her assertion. Some of the “unarmed” blacks killed by police, she reports, had (like Michael Brown) tried to grab an officer’s gun. Others were using some piece of an officer’s equipment, such as a radio, to attack him. “And two individuals included in the *Post*’s ‘unarmed black victims’ category,” writes Mac Donald, “were struck by stray bullets aimed at someone else in justified cop shootings. If the victims were not the intended targets, then racism could have played no role in their deaths.”

Mac Donald also catches the *Post* engaged in a subterfuge common among current police critics: comparing the number of blacks killed by the police to their number in the population rather than their share of the criminal-offender pool. The *Post* reported that in 2015, 40 percent of the unarmed men killed by police gunfire were black, while black men make up only 6 percent of the U.S. population. Again, Mac Donald swats this away with facts. “A 2011 study of California and New York arrest data,” she writes,

led by Darrell Steffensmeier, a criminologist at Pennsylvania State University, found that blacks commit homicide at eleven times the rate of whites and robbery at twelve times the rate of whites. Such disparities are repeated in city-level data. In the 75 largest county jurisdictions in 2009, blacks were 62 percent of robbery defendants, 61 percent of weapons offenders, 57 percent of murder defendants, and 50 percent of forgery cases, even though blacks are less than 13 percent of the national population.

Equally troubling to Mac Donald is the role the courts have played in the war on the police. Coming in for singular scorn in the book is U.S. district judge Shira Scheindlin, whose rulings in three lawsuits against the New York Police Department have hobbled its efforts to combat violent crime, especially in the borough neighborhoods outside Manhattan, which are most often ignored by the city’s media but where crime is most acutely experienced. Mac Donald cites the NYPD’s 44th Precinct in the Bronx, where, since 1993, crime has dropped by 73 percent, owing largely to effective, data-driven policing. Judge Scheindlin enjoined the NYPD from employing some of the methods it used to achieve these gains, like aggressive enforcement against trespassers in apartment buildings and the stopping and ques-

tioning of people engaged in suspicious behavior. In researching *The War on Cops*, Mac Donald walked these neighborhoods and met with residents, many of whom expressed gratitude to the NYPD for making their streets safe. Such voices, says Mac Donald, were absent from the litigation over which Judge Scheindlin presided.

Citing another example of judicial overreach, Mac Donald reports on the byzantine scheming in the federal courts overseeing lawsuits against the state of California. Accused by plaintiffs of Eighth Amendment violations stemming from prison overcrowding and inadequate medical care, the California Department of Corrections was ordered to release up to 46,000 convicted felons. Worse, the state’s voluntary efforts to improve inmate medical care were held by the judges as admissions that the care was constitutionally deficient, thus warranting further judicial control.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of *The War on Cops* is Mac Donald’s repeated and underscored emphasis on the dissolution of the black family and the contribution this development has made to crime. “The public discourse around policing,” she writes,

has focused exclusively on alleged police racism to the neglect of a more serious and pervasive problem: black crime. If a fraction of the public attention that has been devoted to flushing out supposed police bias had been devoted to stigmatizing criminals and revalorizing the two-parent family, the association between black communities and heavy police presence might have been broken.

Just so.

Given my friendship with Mac Donald, I felt that a sense of fairness and an honest review demanded that I find some passage in *The War on Cops* where I might find disagreement. I searched but found none. The book is a powerful refutation of the anti-police narrative that is now so pervasive in the media, among politicians and academics, and, most important, on the streets of America. The “Ferguson effect” has taken hold among the nation’s police officers, and the great gains in crime control seen since the early ’90s face a very real threat. Railing against the police is very much in fashion today, but, as was proven recently in Dallas, this is a fashion that is being paid for in blood.

NR

# MacArthur: The Rest of The Story

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON



*Douglas MacArthur: American Warrior*,  
by Arthur Herman (Random House,  
960 pp., \$40)

**O**F all the great American captains of World War II, none remains more controversial than General Douglas MacArthur, whose genius and folly have taken on mythic proportions. MacArthur alone among them fought in all of America’s major 20th-century wars as a general—World War I, World War II, and Korea—and he was the most versatile military figure since Ulysses S. Grant, as a combined tactician, strategist, geostrategist, diplomat, and politician.

Yet history has not with the same zeal sought to balance the strengths and weaknesses of the often hard-to-like MacArthur as it has with, for example, Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was a brilliant organizer but often strategically obtuse; George S. Patton, who was a dazzling field general but mercurial; and Omar Bradley, who was a media favorite but often plodding.

There are a number of writs against MacArthur, but perhaps three stand out. First, there is no doubt that his narcissism could reach obnoxious proportions. His ego was more than just superficial vanity that characteristically led him to stare endlessly in the mirror, pepper his speech liberally with first-person pronouns, and

*Mr. Hanson is a classicist and historian at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and the author, most recently, of The Savior Generals.*

choreograph his public image with corn-cob pipe, shiny khakis, gold-braided cap, aviator sunglasses, and leather coat. At times his sense of self led to hubris—and nemesis often followed. He certainly proved personally reckless in a way at odds with his public persona of a ramrod-straight devout Christian. In 1930, the 50-year-old, divorced MacArthur had an affair with the underage 16-year-old Isabel Rosario Cooper and brought the young Filipina mistress back with him to Washington—only to be both blackmailed by columnist Drew Pearson into dropping his libel suit concerning Pearson's allegations about the 1932 Bonus March and eventually leveraged into paying Cooper \$15,000 to go away.

The more experienced MacArthur saw himself as intellectually superior to younger presidents and so talked down to both Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. He thought the wisdom of his strategy of island hopping through the Philippines should be judged by all as his personal redemption for his earlier loss of the archipelago. And by 1943, his “I shall return” press releases seemed to conflate his huge land, air, and naval forces with his own person, in a manner that had already irked Eisenhower, worried George Marshall, and frightened Roosevelt. Early on, MacArthur saw himself as a figure uniquely favored by God. In World War I, all on his small patrol near the Côte de Châtillon were killed by a surprise artillery barrage—a disaster known only by MacArthur's own testimony, which would later be questioned. MacArthur remarked of his amazing survival: “It was God, He led me by the hand, the way He led Joshua.”

Second, MacArthur's most brilliant victories—the Operation Cartwheel reconquest of much of the Japanese-held South Pacific and the brilliant Inchon landings near the Korean DMZ—were bookended by equally disastrous failures. He was ultimately responsible for, despite warnings, allowing his newly supplied air forces on Luzon to be caught by surprise hours after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. His incautious approach to the Chinese border in November 1950—albeit approved by almost everyone in Washington—downplayed growing warnings about the bitter cold, the difficult terrain, and the likelihood of the entrance of the huge Chinese Red Army across the Yalu River.



*General Douglas MacArthur*

MacArthur for the most part claimed the strategic breakthroughs as his own virtuosic performances but fobbed off the disasters on subordinates and politicians.

Third, MacArthur was not just a controversial man of the Right—so were Generals Curtis LeMay and George S. Patton—but was actually, for nearly 20 years, seriously considered a possible ultra-conservative Republican candidate for the presidency. His unwavering Manifest Destiny notion of an ascendant capitalist, democratic, and Christian America as savior of the world was at odds with almost all the major political currents of his time—the post-Versailles romance with world government and disarmament, then the 1930s Depression-era flirtations with socialist redistribution, and finally the late-1940s naïveté that considered the Soviet Union a misunderstood socialist country rather than a grasping Stalinist empire with the blood of millions on its hands. At one time or another, MacArthur found himself at odds with members of the pantheon of liberal heroes—FDR, Truman, Marshall, Dean Acheson, and George Kennan. As a result, no other general in American history has been judged as much on his political beliefs as on his performance on the battlefield.

Arthur Herman, the polymath popular historian and author of a number of incisive studies on subjects ranging from Western notions of decline to the rivalry between Churchill and Gandhi, applies

his trademark sterling prose and engaging narrative skills to rehabilitate MacArthur. The result is a nearly 1,000-page volume that revisits the most egregious charges against MacArthur and summarily refutes them. Herman's aim is not to offer newly found archival evidence for MacArthur's genius, but to retell MacArthur's epic life in a fashion that is generous, fascinating, and balanced—and he does all that quite well.

MacArthur was derided as “Dugout Doug” for his retreat to Corregidor and subsequent flight from the Philippines, but he was also, we often forget, felt to have been irreplaceable, as the sole senior ground commander in the Pacific in 1942 with substantial military experience and knowledge of the vast theater from Hawaii to the Chinese coast. He was often on the front lines; Herman reminds us that few officers in World War I had been more personally courageous and so often deliberately exposed themselves to fire alongside their men. The story of MacArthur between his late thirties and his early seventies was often one of walking into fire, flying over combat zones, and cruising through enemy waters.

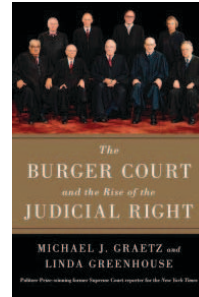
His superb leadership in World War I should have earned him even speedier promotions and a Medal of Honor, but he had gotten on the wrong side of a vindictive General John J. Pershing—whose animus MacArthur did not reciprocate when, as Depression-era chief of staff of the Army, he fought successfully to ensure Pershing's generous pension. Herman believes that many of America's key weapons—including the M-1 rifle and the B-17 bomber—were used early in the war, and in force, thanks to MacArthur's earlier advocacy.

MacArthur was reviled for using excessive force to break up the veterans' Bonus March of 1932; in fact, he had had little desire for violence and took the fall for his far more impatient political overseers in the Hoover White House. In both 1941 and 1950, he was not well served by his intelligence officers, who downplayed enemy threats. Far from being a loose cannon, he worked well with almost all of his prominent contemporaries, especially Admirals William Halsey, Ernest King, and Chester Nimitz, who had personalities as powerful as his own. He was the model of restraint and decorum while conducting the Japanese surrender ceremonies in Tokyo Bay, and professional



# Ground Beef

EDWARD WHELAN



*The Burger Court and the Rise of the Judicial Right*,  
by Michael J. Graetz and Linda Greenhouse  
(Simon & Schuster, 480 pp., \$30)

**B**Y the standards of judicial conservatives, the so-called Burger Court—the Supreme Court presided over by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger from 1969 to 1986—earns lots of poor marks. That Court invented, among other things, a supposed constitutional right to abortion in *Roe v. Wade* in 1973; struck down all existing death-penalty laws and then concocted a morass of confused standards to govern newly enacted laws on capital punishment; and paved the way for massive racial preferences by failing to give effect to federal statutes that bar discrimination on the basis of race. More broadly, the Court frequently adopted vague balancing tests that could be deployed to reach a broad range of results.

Law professor Michael J. Graetz and legal commentator Linda Greenhouse have a very different beef, so to speak, with the Burger Court, and they grind their beef throughout their sometimes interesting, sometimes tedious book. They claim that the Burger Court enjoyed much more success than has been realized in carrying out a “counterrevolution” against the historic liberal activism of the Court under Burger’s predecessor, Earl Warren. They also contend, as the second half of their title suggests, that the Burger Court “played a crucial role in establishing the conservative legal foundation” for what they label “the even more conservative Courts that followed.”

As these passages indicate, Graetz and Greenhouse write from an unabashedly

*Mr. Whelan, the president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, is a regular contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE’s Bench Memos blog.*

and liberal-minded throughout his long consulship in Japan. Herman’s point is not that MacArthur was a saint, only that, by the standards of the age, and in comparison with his often more highly regarded contemporaries, he was as gifted as any of the best. His earlier tenures as superintendent at West Point and as Army chief of staff were inspired and innovative.

At times, however, Herman’s fascinating story seems to outrace details and a number of slips pop up, both fundamental and incidental. A few examples: General Lewis Brereton could not have requested a preemptive attack in December 1941 on Formosa “using his B-29s”—given that the plane’s first prototype did not fly until nearly a year later, in September 1942. The Royal Navy did not have “only one modern battleship, the *King George V*, and two fleet carriers” after the disaster at Singapore. In fact, apart from a number of serviceable battleships, battlecruisers, and carriers, it also had the modern battleship *Duke of York*, of the King George V class, and four relatively new Illustrious-class fleet carriers. It was likely that General LeMay himself, rather than “one B-29 pilot,” grumbled that the B-29 had “more bugs than the Smithsonian Museum.” Lieutenant General Tomoyuki Yamashita’s 25th Army was not responsible for Japan’s “70-day blitzkrieg that had captured Manila and Singapore”; Manila fell to General Masaharu Homma and his 14th Army. General Matthew Ridgway was called “Iron Tits” not because he wore two grenades but because he wore one, alongside a medical kit. “George” Pershing must refer to General John J. Pershing.

On larger issues: In many ways the retaking of the Philippines was, *pace* Herman, a costly detour; the Marianas, Okinawa, and Iwo Jima were equally bloody conquests, but one could at least argue that they led to the establishment of B-29 fields within reach of Japan, a valuable halfway base for damaged bombers and escort fighters, and a final launch pad for an envisioned invasion of the Japanese mainland.

And, contrary to Herman’s suggestions, the relationship between General Ridgway and MacArthur was *always* rocky, owing mostly to MacArthur’s ego and his inability to square a political and military circle of his own making: Paradoxically, he hoped that the brilliant

Ridgway could save his nearly lost Korean campaign, while resenting that the White House and the Pentagon were using Ridgway’s epic restoration of the theater to contradict MacArthur’s serial gloomy predictions of catastrophe. Ridgway later displayed genuine surprise and hurt that MacArthur had so often praised him to his face only to criticize his brilliant salvation behind his back—“a puzzle,” Ridgway later lamented, “for which I have no satisfactory answer.”

Contra Herman, the split-force advance up to the Yalu was poorly planned and conducted and was ultimately MacArthur’s responsibility, however distant he often was in Tokyo. And the pell-mell Army retreat—the longest withdrawal in U.S. military history—was even more wildly and poorly led.

Regarding MacArthur’s dismissal by Truman, it may be true, as Herman asserts, that MacArthur technically never disobeyed a clearly written, direct order, but he had created a politicized climate in which his entire staff scoffed that Washington was not only foolish but dangerous. This was perhaps accurate, but such views created an unsustainable situation for a five-star general in the midst of a Cold War theater war that threatened to engulf much of Asia. After MacArthur was relieved of his command, his star faded because he could not articulate to Congress a coherent strategy that would unite the Koreans, win the support of the American people, and not lead to the use of nuclear weapons or a wider war with China and the Soviet Union, all while securing the continued commitment of United Nations forces and the support of the European allies. There may well have been a way to thread that needle, but the relieved MacArthur soon proved unable to present a convincing argument to Congress and the public.

Arthur Herman’s aim was not necessarily to litigate these endless controversies that surround the long career of Douglas MacArthur, but rather to offer an engaging and balanced reassessment of one of the most mystifying figures in 20th-century American history, by exploring another side that we now rarely encounter. And he largely succeeds—by showing that the flawed MacArthur was not just exasperating, vain, and sometimes lax but, more, more often, professional, brave, and competent during some of the nation’s darkest moments. **NR**

# 2016 Post-Election Cruise

**PLEASE JOIN** Victor Davis Hanson, Sheriff David Clarke, Heather Higgins, Steven Hayward, Dinesh D'Souza, Bing West, Jonah Goldberg, Andrew McCarthy, John Podhoretz, Kevin Williamson, Neal Freeman, John Yoo, Richard Allen, James Lileks, Kathryn Jean Lopez, Eliana Johnson, Charles C. W. Cooke, Jay Nordlinger, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jim Geraghty, Katherine Timpf, John J. Miller, John Hillen, David French, Reihan Salam, Rob Long, & Charmaine Yoest as we visit Ft. Lauderdale, Half Moon Cay, Cozumel, Grand Cayman, & Key West

Join us on the *National Review* 2016 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise, certain to be the conservative event of the year. Featuring an all-star cast, this affordable trip—prices start at \$1,999 a person (based on double occupancy), and just \$2,699 for a single—will take place November 13–20, 2016, aboard Holland America Line's beautiful MS *Nieuw Amsterdam*.

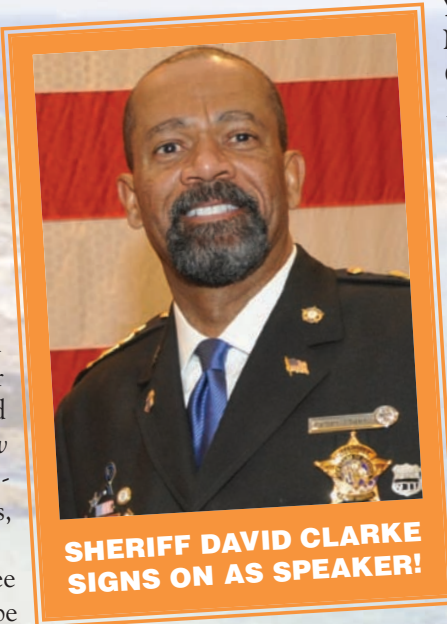
From politics, the elections, the presidency, and domestic policy to economics, national security, and foreign affairs, there's so much to debate and review, and that's precisely what our conservative analysts, writers, and experts will do on the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, your luxury getaway for fascinating discussion of events, trends, and the 2016 elections.

We're thrilled to announce: Milwaukee Country Sheriff David Clarke will be joining our terrific line-up of speakers, which will also include historian Victor Davis Hanson, terrorism and defense experts Richard Allen, Bing West, Andrew McCarthy, and John Hillen, Independent Women's Forum chairman Heather Higgins, conservative

moviemaker Dinesh D'Souza, best-selling author and policy expert Steven Hayward, pro-life champion Charmaine Yoest, conservative legal expert John Yoo, NRO editor-at-large Kathryn Jean Lopez, Commentary editor John Podhoretz, former NR Washington Editor and Buckley expert Neal Freeman, NR senior editors Jonah Goldberg, Jay Nordlinger and Ramesh Ponnuru, NR essayists David French, Charles Cooke, Kevin Williamson, and Reihan Salam, NR Washington Editor Eliana Johnson, NR columnists Rob Long and James Lileks, ace political writers Jim Geraghty and John Miller, and culture-scene reporter Kat Timpf.

We're expecting over 500 people to attend. They'll enjoy our exclusive event program, which will include eight scintillating seminars featuring NR's editors and guest speakers; two fun "Night Owl" sessions; three revelrous pool-side cocktail receptions; late-night "smoker" featuring superior H. Upmann cigars (and complimentary cognac); and intimate dining on at least two evenings with a guest speaker.

All that and more will take place over a spectacular week of world-class cruising on the beautiful and luxurious *Nieuw Amsterdam*, which will sail a Western Caribbean itinerary that includes Ft. Lauderdale, Grand Cayman (always an ideal place to snorkel—you must visit Sting Ray City, or catch the other rays on Seven Mile Beach), Half Moon Cay (Holland America's private island, home to a most pristine blue lagoon and tons of fun), Cozumel (your gateway to the Mayan ruins at Tulum), and Key West (with its beaches, beaches and beaches—and of course lime pie).



JOIN US FOR SEVEN BALMY DAYS AND COOL CONSERVATIVE NIGHTS				
DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
SUN/Nov. 13	Ft. Lauderdale, FL		4:00PM	evening cocktail reception
MON/Nov. 14	Half Moon Cay, Bahamas	8:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminar "Night Owl" session
TUE/Nov. 15	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars
WED/Nov. 16	Georgetown, Grand Cayman	8:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
THU/Nov. 17	Cozumel, Mexico	11:00AM	11:00PM	morning seminar late-night Smoker
FRI/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars "Night Owl" session
SAT/Nov. 19	Key West, FL	8:00AM	5:00PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
SUN/Nov. 20	Ft. Lauderdale, FL	7:00AM		Debark

# THE CONSERVATIVE EVENT OF THE YEAR — DON'T MISS IT!

And for those times when we are “at sea,” or you feel like staying on board, the *Nieuw Amsterdam* (need I say it offers well-appointed, spacious staterooms and countless amenities, and hosts a stellar staff that provides unsurpassed service and sumptuous cuisine?) has a classy, terrific spa, a must-attend Culinary Arts Center, exceptional evening entertainment, pools, luxury boutiques, plenty of nooks and crannies to hide in with a good book, and, oh yeah, a casino!

NR's 2016 Post-Election Cruise will be remarkable, and affordable. Prices start as low as \$1,999 a person, with “Single” cabins starting at only \$2,699 (in many cases our rates are lower than we charged in 2012!). And they can go even lower: Get a friend or family member to reserve a cabin (a single or a couple who are first-time NR cruisers), and you'll receive an additional \$100 discount (and so will they).

If you've always wanted to go on an NR cruise but could never pull the trigger, couldn't send in the application, chickened out, for whatever reason, you've just got to give in. Make the *National Review* 2016 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise the one where you finally yes. You will not regret that decision: Take the trip of a lifetime with America's preeminent intellectuals, policy analysts, and political experts. Reserve your cabin online at [www.nrcruise.com](http://www.nrcruise.com). Or call The Cruise Authority (M-F, 9AM to 5PM EST) at 800-707-1634.

(Single and worried you'll be a fifth wheel? Don't: About a third of our contingent, a most happy and welcoming crowd, are single travelers.)

Come. You'll be glad you did. We'll see you—in the company of **Sheriff David Clarke**, Victor Davis Hanson, Bing West, Heather Higgins, Steven Hayward, Richard Allen, John Yoo, Dinesh D'Souza, Jonah Goldberg, Andrew McCarthy, John Podhoretz, Neal Freeman, James Lileks, Kathryn Jean Lopez, Eliana Johnson, Charles Cooke, Kevin Williamson, Jay Nordlinger, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jim Geraghty, Jillian Melchior, Rob Long, John J. Miller, Charmaine Yoest, David French, Reihan Salam, and Kat Timpf—this November 13-20 aboard the *Nieuw Amsterdam* on the *National Review* 2016 Post-Election Caribbean Cruise.

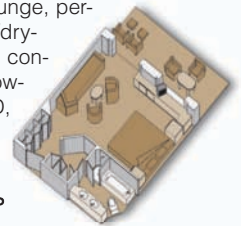
For more information or to apply online go to [www.nrcruise.com](http://www.nrcruise.com) or call The Cruise Authority at **1-800-707-1634**

## RATES START AT JUST \$1,999 P/P!

Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the *Nieuw Amsterdam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Per-person rates for third/fourth person in cabin (by age and category):

<b>Categories C to N</b>	17-younger: \$ 567	18-up: \$ 748
<b>Category VC</b>	17-younger: \$ 617	18-up: \$ 798
<b>Categories SS &amp; SA</b>	17-younger: \$ 670	18-up: \$ 851

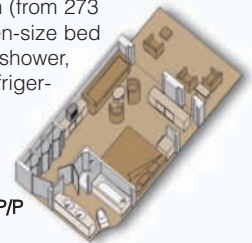
**DELUXE SUITE** Magnificent quarters (from 506 sq. ft.) features use of exclusive Neptune Lounge, personal concierge, complimentary laundry/dry-cleaning service, large private verandah, convertible king-size bed, whirlpool bath/shower, dressing room, large sitting area, DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, safe, much more.



**Category SA**

<b>DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 4,899 P/P</b>
<b>SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 7,599</b>

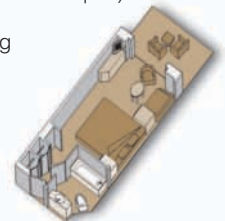
**SUPERIOR SUITE** Grand stateroom (from 273 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), whirlpool bath/shower, large sitting area, TV/DVD, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows, safe, and much more.



**Category SS**

<b>DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 3,799 P/P</b>
<b>SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 5,999</b>

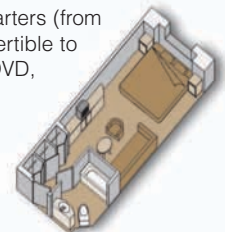
**DELUXE OUTSIDE** Spacious cabin (from 213 sq. ft.) features private verandah, queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), bath/shower, sitting area, mini-bar, TV/DVD, refrigerator, and floor-to-ceiling windows.



**Category VA**

<b>DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 2,899 P/P</b>
<b>SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 4,299</b>

**LARGE OCEAN VIEW** Comfortable quarters (from 174 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), bathtub/shower, sitting area, TV/DVD, large ocean-view windows.



**Category C**

<b>DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 2,399 P/P</b>
<b>SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 3,299</b>

**LARGE INSIDE** Cozy but ample cabin quarters (from 151 sq. ft.) features queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), shower, sitting area, TV/DVD.



**Category J**

<b>DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 1,999 P/P</b>
<b>SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE:</b>	<b>\$ 2,699</b>





liberal perspective. I don't mean that observation necessarily as a criticism: It would be difficult to evaluate the Burger Court without adopting some fixed perspective, and their joint effort is, for the most part, much less tendentious than Greenhouse's usual output. But like many advocates of the freewheeling "living Constitution" approach, they seem to suppose that their ideological preferences are some sort of substitute for constitutional interpretation. We're told, for example, that the "overarching theme" of their iconic Warren Court "was equality" and that "no such lodestar drew the Burger Court," but they offer little or nothing in the way of constitutional analysis to enable the reader to assess, or even to think about, whether one Court was more faithful to the Constitution than the other was.

There is no dispute that the Burger Court changed course from the Warren Court in many respects, perhaps most markedly on matters of criminal procedure. But straining to support their more ambitious theses, Graetz and Greenhouse marshal and assess the Burger Court's cases in a makeshift manner. When the Burger Court issued liberal rulings they like, it's because "the American people forced the Court to accept, and in some cases even endorse, massive shifts in public opinion and conduct." But when they don't like the rulings, it's "the ideological commitments of the justices [that] forced a transformation of constitutional doctrine." And they entirely ignore some big progressive victories they can't explain away, such as the Court's 1982 ruling that the equal-protection clause requires states to extend their systems of free public education to the children of illegal aliens.

Their treatment of *Roe* and of the Court's later rulings rejecting any constitutional right to *funding* of abortion is particularly striking. Much as they welcome *Roe*, they are stingy in giving the Burger Court any credit for it; "strong historical forces" are instead responsible. Worse, they complain that, given the funding rulings, the right to abortion ended up being only "a negative right: not a right *to* anything but a right *against* something, the right not to be prosecuted for performing an abortion or obtaining one" (emphasis in original). The unreflective reader is unlikely to recognize that, in the classical-liberal tradition, the Constitution has been widely understood to confer only such "negative" rights. The First Amendment

right to free speech, for example, does not include a right to have the government fund your speech. So why would the (entirely atextual and contrived) right to abortion be any different?

Graetz and Greenhouse attack a 1972 victory for Amish parents as "one of the strangest and . . . most problematic" rulings about the free-exercise clause of the First Amendment. But they don't see fit to highlight the fact that William Brennan and Thurgood Marshall, the great liberal lions of the Warren Court (both of whom went on to outlast Burger), voted with the majority and that the ruling, far from setting a "high-water mark" for religious-liberty rights, applied the very standard Brennan had set forth nine years earlier. Anyone familiar with Greenhouse's barrage of misguided attacks on the Little Sisters of the Poor and others challenging the Obama administration's contraception mandate will have ample reason to suspect that her current agenda is warping the authors' judgment.

Was there, in any meaningful sense, ever really a Burger Court at all? It's conventional to divvy up Supreme Court history into periods corresponding to the tenure of the chief justices and to name each period after the chief justice. But that convention can have the misleading effect of overstating the chief's influence. In deciding cases, the chief justice has the same lone vote as any other justice, and what special powers he has, such as the ability to pick who will write the lead opinion for the Court when he is part of the majority, don't confer much leverage. Unless four other justices can be counted on to join him—a situation that hasn't existed since Earl Warren's retirement in 1969—the chief justice won't have a working majority that would enable him to define the trajectory of the Court.

Warren Burger took the helm of a Court on which he was the most conservative justice. To be sure, within his first three years as chief, he was joined by three other Nixon appointees: his childhood friend Harry A. Blackmun, corporate lawyer Lewis F. Powell Jr., and the man who would succeed him as chief, William H. Rehnquist. But as Blackmun moved left and Powell joined Potter Stewart and Byron R. White in the Court's center, Burger had to compete with the much craftier Brennan to compile a majority. The later additions to the Court—Ford appointee John Paul Stevens in 1975 and Reagan pick Sandra Day O'Connor in

1981—were each somewhat more conservative, at least during Burger's tenure, than the justices they replaced (William O. Douglas and Stewart, respectively), but Burger never enjoyed a reliable majority for his positions.

Nor is it evident that Burger had a consistent methodology or approach that underlay his various positions (which included joining Blackmun's majority opinion in *Roe* while contesting that it meant what it seemed to say). Insofar as Graetz and Greenhouse credit the Burger Court for the "rise of the judicial Right," they seem to misunderstand the nature of any causal relationship. I would submit that conservative advocacy of the methodology of constitutional originalism, by the likes of Robert Bork, Antonin Scalia, and Ed Meese, and the establishment of the Federalist Society in the early 1980s were much more a reaction against the intellectual aimlessness of the Burger Court than they were a positive outgrowth of that Court's work. Thus, the best marker of the (alas, far from triumphant) "rise of the judicial Right" may well be President Reagan's appointment of Scalia to the Court upon Burger's retirement (and Rehnquist's elevation) 30 years ago.

NR



#### HEAD OF SCHOOL OPPORTUNITY

TASIS The American School in Switzerland, an independent boarding and day school providing excellence in American education based on the traditional values and ideals of Western civilization, is seeking an accomplished educational leader for July 2017.

TASIS, the oldest American boarding school in Europe, serves 730 students of 64 nationalities in grades Pre-K to 13 on a magnificent campus near Lugano, in the southern part of Switzerland near the Italian border. The School offers unparalleled opportunities through a broad-based academic program—Core Knowledge, EAL, American AP, and International Baccalaureate curricula—and a varied extra-curricular program enriched by travel throughout Europe.

Qualifications include a solid liberal arts education, experience in boarding schools, administration, and hiring, as well as expertise in the management of school operations. International experience or experience with multi-lingual educational programs or institutions, a strong interest in European culture, and the ability to build rapport and loyalty with constituencies and faculty are indispensable.

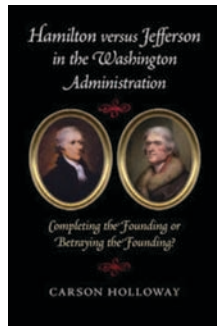
For more information contact Reni Scheifele, TASIS, CH 6926 Montagnola, Switzerland, or email [reni.scheifele@tasis.ch](mailto:reni.scheifele@tasis.ch)

Complete information is also available online: [www.tasis.ch/head\\_search](http://www.tasis.ch/head_search)

The deadline for applications is September 19, 2016.

# Roots of a Nation

MATTHEW SPALDING



*Hamilton versus Jefferson in the Washington Administration: Completing the Founding or Betraying the Founding?*, by Carson Holloway (Cambridge, 360 pp., \$34.99)

**I**N American politics, there has been nothing like a good debate to elucidate principles and sharpen differences. For proof, one need look no further than the great debates between Webster and Hayne, or Lincoln and Douglas. While not as formally structured as those clashes, the titanic struggle—through a series of documents, across an array of issues, and over a wider span of time—between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson was just as dramatic and just as consequential for the course of American history.

With a keen eye for the best talent, new president George Washington in 1789 tapped the eloquent and idealistic Jefferson to be secretary of state and his brash but beloved former aide-de-camp Hamilton to be secretary of the Treasury. By the middle of 1792, Hamilton and Jefferson were at loggerheads about the political project to which both had dedicated so much thought and effort. Washington's Herculean efforts could not restrain their growing disagreements. They became lightning rods for every political storm—Jefferson was an “intriguing incendiary,” said Hamilton; Jefferson called Hamilton “a tissue of machinations.”

*Mr. Spalding is the associate vice president of Hillsdale College and the dean of education programs at its Kirby Center in Washington, D.C.*

The divide between Jefferson and Hamilton, according to the liberal narrative, defined the contradictory forces at the heart of the American idea: the egalitarian populism of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and the elitist, reactionary Constitution of Hamilton's commercial republic. John Dewey did call Jefferson “our first great democrat”—but it was to Hamilton that Progressive intellectual Herbert Croly looked to historically justify “active interference with the natural course of American economic and political business and its regulation and guidance in the national direction.” He thought America could transcend the Founders' divide only by eschewing Jeffersonian localist democracy, as well as Hamilton's commercialism, in favor of a thoroughgoing, centralized, nationalist democratic community. Jeffersonian ends would be achieved by Hamiltonian means in order to fulfill, in the title of Croly's seminal book, “The Promise of American Life.”

A similar synthesis is embraced by many conservatives, who like to emphasize Jefferson's localism and strict construction of the Constitution (despite what some see as his troubling egalitarianism) and emphasize Hamilton's market economics (without the not-so-invisible hand of his nationalism). The early development of a strong federal government (even during Jefferson's administration) leads some to claim wrongly that the seeds of big-government central planning were sown by Hamilton at the very beginning, and others to look longingly to the Anti-Federalists or even the Confederate cause as a support for reviving Jefferson's supposed states'-rights constitutionalism.

Confusion abounds, but all seem to agree that there is not much new to be learned from the old Hamilton–Jefferson back-and-forth. Not so, argues political-science professor Carson Holloway, of the University of Nebraska Omaha, in his new book. While there are many excellent biographies and period histories, they are too broad and usually present only one side of the argument. Holloway takes a different approach, and has produced the first detailed book-length account of the Hamilton–Jefferson divide not as biography but as political and constitutional debate. His account presents something profound and interesting: a rigorous, sustained dispute between two

key Founders on the principles and practices of politics.

In early January 1790, in response to the nation's spiraling debt problems, Hamilton issued his “Report on Public Credit,” proposing (among other things) that the new federal government assume the Revolutionary War debts of the states. Jefferson had reservations, but was willing to accept assumption and even brokered the dinner between Hamilton and James Madison at which the deal was made to allow assumption in exchange for a southern location of the new capital city.

Jefferson and Hamilton's first great confrontation was over Hamilton's proposal to create a national bank. In his “Second Report on the Further Provision Necessary for Establishing Public Credit,” in December 1790, Hamilton called for the establishment of a public bank, the main purpose of which was to increase the flow of legal tender by monetizing the national debt through the issuance of federal bank notes. He also thought the bank was necessary for the federal government to be able to exercise the Constitution's general powers (taxation in particular) and, eventually, for America to build a commercial republic. Jefferson, at Washington's request, offered his opinion that the enumerated powers “can all be carried into execution without a bank” and warned that a loose constitutional interpretation threatened to destroy limited government. Hamilton responded that “necessary often means no more than needful, requisite, incidental, useful, or conducive to” and that too narrow a constitutional interpretation would render the government unworkable.

In his “Report on Manufactures” of December 1791, Hamilton argued that the protection of domestic manufacturing was needed to build a dynamic nation-state capable of maintaining its independence. The two men's critiques were now comprehensive: Jefferson thought Hamilton's policies aimed to destroy constitutional limits on national power with a view to establishing a monarchy. Hamilton responded that Jefferson favored weakening the government to the point of creating chaos and inviting a demagogue to take command.

The last part of the book focuses on 1793—the last year that Hamilton and Jefferson served in the cabinet. They

split on the meaning and implications of the French Revolution and, as that conflict metastasized, gave President Washington different advice on how to deal with continuing Franco-American treaty obligations as France spread war throughout Europe. Hamilton thought the change of regime in France meant treaties were null and void, Jefferson objected, Hamilton defended his proposals, and—on the advice of his whole cabinet, including Jefferson—Washington wisely chose to remain neutral in the wars of the French Revolution.

The seriousness and substantive nature of Hamilton's and Jefferson's arguments is evident in every chapter of this fine volume, in the original documents quoted as well as in the author's analysis. Their central disputes were on fundamental matters: the meaning of republican government, the extent of national

Jefferson was less nationalist than Hamilton and was concerned that national commerce would destroy local agrarianism, but he always remained a friend of the Union. Hamilton favored a strong government, but (as Holloway establishes in detail) did not believe that the general-welfare and necessary-and-proper clauses conferred unlimited power on government (and so he is not the proto-progressive that some claim). While they reach different conclusions about the practical limits of government power to achieve the proper ends of government, Hamilton in the end was not an advocate of unlimited federal power, nor was Jefferson's Constitution so narrow as to cripple government from taking legitimate action in the public interest.

Holloway concludes that both were reasoning "within the context of a shared

# Dark Days On the Continent

MICHAEL F. BISHOP



*A Hero of France*, by Alan Furst  
(Random House, 256 pp., \$27)

## The seriousness and substantive nature of Hamilton's and Jefferson's arguments is evident in every chapter.

powers, the nature of the Union. Yet even when they disagreed on a substantive point, and when personal animosity made their divide wider than it had to be, their argument was usually less about the *principle* of a matter than about its practical meaning. Holloway points out that their "differences over republicanism, in the end, may have been less a difference over fundamental principles and more a difference in perceptions of republican government's actual ability to secure rights."

This is because beneath their disagreements was a profound agreement on the principles. They both understood republican government to be based on the natural rights with which each is equally endowed, a point evident in Hamilton's 1775 pamphlet *Farmer Refuted* as much as in Jefferson's 1776 Declaration. While Jefferson was more optimistic, they generally shared the Founders' view of human nature. Both men saw the dangers of centralized power and defended federalism and the separation of powers as the key constitutional structures. Although they accused each other of going outside of the Constitution, neither rejected the principles or the framework of American constitutionalism.

set of principles": "The differences between Hamilton and Jefferson were deep, but they did not go all the way down." Properly understood, their disagreements, as wide as they were, are narrow in comparison to the schism between the Founders and the later progressive political science that rejects outright the principles and forms of American constitutionalism. The bureaucratic despotism that threatens to overwhelm us today would be equally alien and equally abhorrent to Hamilton and Jefferson.

In the end, this book is an outstanding case study in statesmanship and a profound lesson in how to apply principles to practice. It was impossible for either one of them, as it is impossible for us, to be fully disinterested constitutionalists. They were surrounded by politics, as are we. Nevertheless, Hamilton and Jefferson were more than mere partisans. They displayed a "higher kind of partisanship," argues Holloway, one that allowed "political considerations external to the Constitution to shape their interpretations of it, although they did so with a view to preserving the Constitution itself." Would that we had such statesmen today, to serve—and save—the cause of constitutional self-government. **NR**

**T**HERE is a certain sort of reader who craves a good thriller but is more concerned with atmosphere and character than with plot. Not for him are the fat, garish paperbacks about gun-toting heroes racing against time to avert an assassination, a nuclear detonation, or some other catastrophe, in clunky prose laden with clichés. Better if the story is set in another time and place, offering a welcome escape from wearisome, too-familiar headlines. Better still if it's slim and gracefully written, offering a few hours of guilt-free pleasure while imparting historical insights along the way.

Therefore it is a pleasure to recommend the gripping and suspenseful *A Hero of France*, the 14th in a series of spy novels by Alan Furst set in the 1930s and '40s. Like all of them, it is intensely atmospheric, transporting the reader to a Paris redolent of cigarette smoke, succulent food, and romance in the face of danger. The heavy tread of German jackboots echoes in the cobbled streets, and Parisians admonish one another, regarding their occupiers, "You must not meet their eyes."

Most of Furst's novels are set during the "gathering storm" of the 1930s, as

*Mr. Bishop is the corporate-communications manager of Strategic Investment Group. He has held several posts on Capitol Hill and in the White House and is the former executive director of the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission.*

nervous Europeans become gradually aware of the Nazi menace, and spy games are a prelude to the clash of arms. But *Hero* takes place in a world at war, with Europe aflame and France conquered, and depicts the early days of the French Resistance. Rather than the sabotage operations that would later be the stuff of legend, the focus of the Resistance in 1941 was the rescue of downed British airmen and the perilous effort to smuggle them out of occupied France so they could again take to the sky.

The Resistance would eventually be organized and supported by the exiled Free French government in London, led by General Charles de Gaulle. But in 1941 it was made up of independent and uncoordinated cells, operating in the shadows and always in danger of discovery. *A Hero of France* is the tale of one such cell, composed of men and women of varying ages and backgrounds united by love of country and hatred of the occupier.

The cell is led by a man known as Mathieu, who, like all of Furst's protagonists, is brave, fortyish, and irresistible to women. A little rougher-edged than Furst's usual aristocratic, fine-boned heroes, he has "thick shoulders and big hands, and, from an amateur boxing match when he was twenty and a student at the Sorbonne, a small, curved scar by his right eye." Aiding him is a cast of colorful characters, each deftly drawn. Among them are Chantal and Annemarie, high-born women of grace and grit; Daniel, a young Jewish bicycle messenger bent on revenge; and the

enigmatic nightclub owner Max de Lyon, in whose slightly disreputable establishment German officers cavort with dancing girls.

Mathieu and his compatriots are beset by deadly enemies. They dodge Vichy agents on crowded trains as they transport fliers to safety; a young thug lurks at their café meeting place, aware of their clandestine activities and with blackmail on his mind; and a brilliant and methodical German policeman works to infiltrate their cell. They must constantly improvise; carefully laid plans are undone by a botched airplane landing or hard-eyed border guards. But with the help of their fellow citizens, eager to do their bit, Mathieu's team admirably accomplishes its missions.

Success brings other complications: A British intelligence officer known as Edouard arrives with a suitcase stuffed with badly needed cash, but Mathieu, prizing his cell's independence, is wary and resentful of a man he considers a "rich English bastard from Mayfair," an "arrogant, supercilious jackass," and a "nasty little twit." British spies rarely figure in Furst's continental adventures, but when they do, they are invariably untrustworthy dilettantes, and sometimes vaguely sinister. Furst's chief sympathies are with those who know the pain of occupation, whether in Paris—the spiritual heart of all his novels—or in the bloodlands of Eastern Europe.

That sympathy extends not merely to the heroic resisters but to everyday survivors. Furst adeptly conveys the discomforts of occupation: Hot water was a

luxury and Parisians shivered as "French coal was used to make German homes cozy and snug." The City of Lights had grown dim; the curfew cleared the once-busy nighttime streets. A pall of foreboding hung over the captive population. As Mathieu observes to a colleague, "When we lost the war, the heart went out of the people here. It was as though the city had died."

But Furst being Furst, the atmosphere is charged as much with eros as with menace. Often the ardor for resistance takes a backseat to ardor of another sort. For Mathieu, the beautiful and willing Joëlle, "with the creamy-brown skin of southern France," offers a welcome respite from the German peril. Later, he conducts a vital meeting with a contact in a Ritz hotel room, three scantily clad women sprawled on the bed between them. And a wealthy, married young socialite performs a languorous strip-tease on the terrace of a Norman farmhouse, for the benefit of Mathieu and his female companion. A hero of France, indeed. Most of the other characters also find the pleasures of the flesh indispensable to maintaining their equanimity, whether in a stone barn serving as a hideout or simply in the imagination. No doubt the plentiful sex scenes do Furst's book sales no harm; they certainly convey the characters' lust for life amid the darkness.

Cuisine, too, is a comfort. Even in occupied Paris, the right connections and sufficient cash could secure a restaurant table in a secluded upstairs room, with "real food, black-market food, at black-market prices." In one such room, Mathieu spots a former lover and potential recruit while savoring his dinner: "The steak seared and running blood, the *frites* in a sizzling mound by its side. Dark gold. Crisp. And . . . plenty of rich brown sauce with peppercorns." In a prostrate France, even a good meal is a minor victory.

*A Hero of France*—filled with breathless chases and narrow escapes—is Furst's best and most exciting novel since 1995's *The Polish Officer*. It arrives as Paris again finds itself under siege, though its current tormentors lack the deadly suavity of the German occupiers—they would rather blow up nightclubs than cavort in them. But Furst's latest reminds us that Paris has suffered worse horrors, and survived. **NR**

## MAKE BELIEVE

When she was playing in the yard she talked  
to someone she imagined by her side:  
a soldier or a prince, perhaps, who walked  
along with her when she was playing bride.  
I stood there, too, but never saw or heard  
whoever came between us on the lawn.  
One August day he left without a word.  
September came; the princess, too, was gone.  
But she returned this morning dressed in white,  
and I am finally learning to pretend;  
for standing right beside her in plain sight  
for just a moment I could see her friend:  
A prince in full-dress uniform was there,  
before my thoughts escaped into the air.

—STEPHEN SCAER



Film  
**Dog  
Days**

ROSS DOUTHAT

**M**ICHAEL CIMINO, who died recently at 77, was often cited (and is now eulogized) as the man whose hubris singlehandedly ended the age of the auteur. This was an overstatement—there were deep forces at work, as ever, in the transition from the years of Coppola and Scorsese to the years of Jerry Bruckheimer. But Cimino’s famous studio-bankrupting turkey, *Heaven’s Gate*, really was a kind of Gladwellian tipping point, a hinge from the cinema of the ’70s into a very different world.

In our own era of tentpoles and sequels and reboots and endless “pre-sold” properties, I’ve often wondered what it would take to bring the entire blockbuster-industrial complex down. Could there ever be a *Heaven’s Gate* of the blockbuster era—a movie so costly and so disastrous that it forced a rethink, a reset, a return not to the auteur era but at least to the days when summer movies were actually original?

Alas, it’s hard to imagine. The “pre-sold” formula is beloved by Hollywood precisely because brand recognition and media saturation can effectively buy big opening weekends even for hot garbage. The blockbusters that go truly belly-up tend to be the all-too-rare originals—*John Carter*, say—while even a superhero turkey like the Ryan Reynolds *Green Lantern* can still make hundreds of millions of dollars (and still more overseas) and a so-called disappointment like this spring’s *Batman v. Superman* disappoints to the tune of \$800 million worldwide.

Thus we’ve been stuck in a kind of vicious circle, where Hollywood, having forgotten how to make original crowd-pleasers, sees its occasional attempts at originality underperform and thus becomes ever more reliant on its pre-sold formula—which in turn gets more creatively bankrupt with every sequel, remake, and reboot.

This is how you end up with the movie wasteland that is the summer of 2016. I’m used to having trouble finding



Isabelle Huppert and Kris Kristofferson in *Heaven’s Gate*

interesting movies to write about in January and February, or late August and September—the traditional dumping ground for films without either Oscar hopes or box-office potential. But normally June and July provide obvious material, steady-enough work.

This summer, though, Hollywood’s major offerings are not just bad but boringly bad, not just unoriginal but staggeringly so. There is literally nothing to be written about *X-Men: Apocalypse* that couldn’t be written about a half dozen other uninspired superhero sequels. The same goes for the incredible plague of lesser sequels: *Neighbors 2* (at least the original was funny), *Now You See Me 2* (nobody who saw the original remembers it), *Alice through the Looking Glass* (in practice, the umpteenth “put Johnny Depp in a weird costume” sequel to *Pirates of the Caribbean*), *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles: Out of the Shadows* (a sequel to a reboot to . . . oh, never mind), *The Conjuring 2*, and *The Purge: Election Year* (my snark has run out).

The most dispiriting sequel of all is *Independence Day: Resurgence*, a follow-up to a long-ago summer blockbuster that in its time was pure popcorn silliness, but by comparison to its successor looks like, well, the work of a 1970s auteur.

Indeed, comparing the two is an object lesson in what the age of blockbusters has done to basic storytelling. As *Vox*’s Todd VanDerWerff noted in a perceptive essay, the new *Independence Day* follows many recent comic-book movies in dispensing with the classic three-act structure, replac-

ing it with two acts plus a closing segue: In Act One we meet the characters, in Act Two things blow up and blow up and blow up some more, and then something happens to set up a potential sequel, cue credits. There’s no time for even the modest character development, the very limited sense of intimacy, that even “dumb” summer movies once naturally included.

In this landscape even the un-terrible depresses. *Finding Dory*, the sequel to Pixar’s beloved *Finding Nemo*, continues its studio’s transformation from one of the few sources of joyful originality in Hollywood to just another sequel factory. Steven Spielberg’s *The BFG* looks likely to be one of his few flops—a rare stab at (adapted) originality biting the dust, as though studios no longer know how to sell as basic a combination as a famous director and a beloved children’s book. *Central Intelligence*, which I reviewed last issue, is a serviceable entertainment that makes good use of its stars. But what does it say that a serviceable entertainment might be one of the summer’s three best movies?

Of course there’s still time. Maybe the all-female reboot of *Ghostbusters*, the second sequel to the J. J. Abrams reboot of *Star Trek*, or *Suicide Squad* (film three of 1,455, or so its makers hope, in the DC Comics Extended Universe of tentpoles) will save the summer.

Don’t laugh—it’s possible! I’ll let you know in two weeks; until then, my advice to you is stay home, make microwave popcorn, and download summer movies from 1996.

NR

## Who Ya Gonna Troll?

HAVEN'T seen the new *Ghostbusters* yet, but I have an opinion about it. And, reader, therein lies the problem.

My opinion is that—though I revere the original *Ghostbusters* and think its sequel wrongly maligned—a “reboot” featuring all-female leads is a perfectly fine premise. While I consider myself a purist in most things, I didn't have the reflexive aversion to this particular bit of demographic pandering that some of my friends did. And I find all four of the women cast in the leads—Kristen Wiig, Melissa McCarthy, Kate McKinnon, and Leslie Jones—funny and watchable to greater and lesser extents.

Apparently my opinion is shared by precisely no one else—or at least no one else who spends his or her free time TYPING IN ALL CAPS ON THE INTERNET.

You see, when the movie was announced and the Great *Ghostbusters* Civil War of 2016 commenced, the bloodiest factions were the contingent of anti-PC bros who promised to boycott the film and the horde of Problematriarchs who decreed opposition to it ipso facto misogynistic. Both of these positions ossified, mind you, before there was even a fricking trailer.

At that point I found both positions thoroughly silly. But there's something interesting—and since it's 2016, you can safely substitute “terribly depressing” for every use of the word “interesting”—about the way this particular scrimmage in the culture wars has shaken out since the movie actually started screening for critics.

As Jay Cost of *The Weekly Standard* pointed out, the critical-aggregation site Rotten Tomatoes shows an odd split on the film: Overall, critics have a 78 percent favorable view of it (a respectable C+) as I write this. But when you consider only the reviews from “Top Critics”—designated as such by the site based on the size of their audience, the length of their tenure as critics, and their overall reputation—*Ghostbusters*' score drops to 48 percent. A big fat F–.

What could account for this discrepancy? It could be just a highbrow/lowbrow thing, sure. But could it also be the product of a pop-cultural commentariat increasingly populated by hyper-politicized smarm-merchant scolds who have to turn every human endeavor into a political proxy fight?

Consider the headline of a recent *Vanity Fair* piece from Laura Bradley: “Sorry Haters: *Ghostbusters* Producer Says the New Franchise Will Be ‘Endless.’ Start Nursing Those Ruined Childhoods Now.” Or of the *New York Times* review from Manohla Dargis: “Girls Rule. Women Are Funny. Get Over It.”

Mmmkay.

Don't get me wrong, I don't think this problem is one-sided. For instance, there was a great effort among haters to tank *Ghostbusters*' rating at another popular film site, the Internet Movie Database. How do we know this effort was driven by bitter bros? For one thing, because 4,268 of the users responsible for the movie's current 3.7/10 rating

are male, compared with just 509 female raters. For another, and by way of reminder, the film hasn't even been released as of press time.

But even if both sides are guilty of dumb, ultimately faintly sad acts of trolling, the pathologies are very different.

The haters are hating on something that, by their own oaths, they will never experience. I met a fellow at Oxford. He told me of his uncle, also an alum, who his life entire refused to set foot at Cambridge. The closest he came was to once pass nearby it on a train. And in the event, he closed the curtains until he was well clear.

That's silly and small but also kind of endearing in a way that only temperamental conservatives will well understand. It's the same reason I'll never know what it's like to catch a Pokémon or learn how the Harry Potter books end. (Personal motto: *When was the last time 100 million people were right about anything?*) And even if, in the current case, the stodginess is flecked with a little misogyny, it's just about the most harmless way I've ever seen misogyny expressed.

Odder to me is the headspace of the sight-unseen *Ghostbusters* lovers. Will they be obliged, once they see it, to pretend it's good even if it isn't? More interestingly, will they in some way even convince themselves it's good? We live in increasingly Orwellian times, but can one brainwash oneself?

Could something like this explain the critical divide? By my math, 71 percent of female “top critics” on Rotten Tomatoes gave the movie favorable reviews, while only 35 percent of male “top critics” did the same. Do the male “top critics” have more in kind with the bitter bros than the female top critics do with the “Girls Rule, Get Over It” set?

Are the curmudgeons with the curtains closed more right about the new *Ghostbusters* than the cinema suffragettes overplaying every chuckle into a guffaw?

Similar thoughts occur to me when I watch John Oliver and the dozen other heirs of Stewart and Colbert half-leap across their desks as they expectorate about the latest outrage under the never-ending stream of Photoshops and bullet points dropped in over their shoulders.

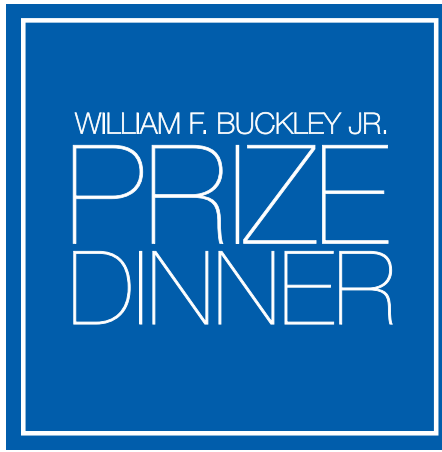
I think our politics has broken these PowerPoint comedians. I think there is something almost tragically feeble in their attempts—after 20 years of making every conservative sound like Donald Trump—to parody the actual Donald Trump. I can't remember the last time I cracked a smile watching one of them DESTROY this or that abstraction. And yet there remains a sizeable audience for this sort of thing, sitting at the edge of its seat with mouth agape and eyes wide and hands held expectantly a foot apart, waiting to explode into rapturous affirmation at every Bill Maher zinger.

Are they right, or am I? I suspect the answer to this question is no laughing matter.

NR

NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE  
ANNOUNCES THE

*3rd Annual*



HONORING

**SECRETARY GEORGE P. SHULTZ**  
FOR HIS ROLE IN DEFEATING COMMUNISM  
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR. PRIZE  
FOR LEADERSHIP IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

**MICHAEL W. GREBE**  
THE LYNDE AND HARRY BRADLEY FOUNDATION  
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR. PRIZE  
FOR LEADERSHIP IN SUPPORTING LIBERTY

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2016

CITY HALL  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

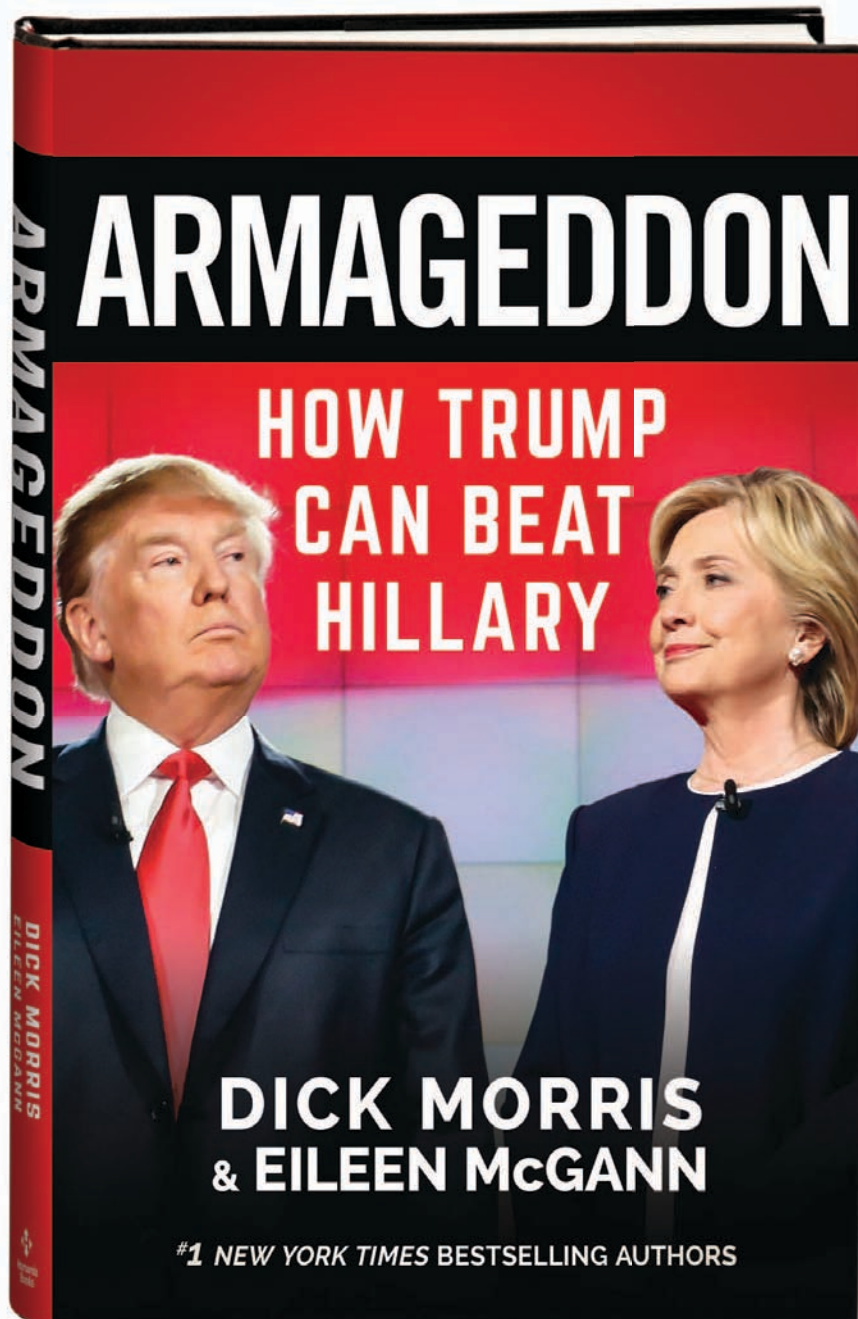
For his entire life, Bill Buckley sought to preserve and buttress the foundations of our free society. To honor his achievement and inspire others, National Review Institute's Board of Trustees has created the William F. Buckley Jr. Prizes for Leadership in Political Thought and Leadership in Supporting Liberty. We hope you will join us this year in San Francisco to support the National Review mission.

For reservations and additional information contact Alexandra Zimmern, National Review Institute, at 212.849.2858 or [www.nrinstitute.org/wfbprize](http://www.nrinstitute.org/wfbprize)  
[www.nrinstitute.org](http://www.nrinstitute.org)

**NATIONAL REVIEW  
INSTITUTE**

National Review Institute (NRI) is the sister nonprofit educational organization of the *National Review* magazine. NRI is a qualified 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organization. EIN#13-3649537

**#1 Amazon Bestseller**



**Available In Bookstores Everywhere**

Or Check Out Our **FREE OFFER:**

Go Online: [Newsmax.com/National](http://Newsmax.com/National)

Call: 1-800-987-1845

See Website for terms, conditions, and eligibility for this offer.