the weekly Standard

LINDSEY GRAHAM, NEO-TRUMPER
JOHN MCCORMACK

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# THE LAST INSURGENT

PETER J. BOYER on Mississippi's Chris McDaniel

WEEKLYSTANDARD.COM

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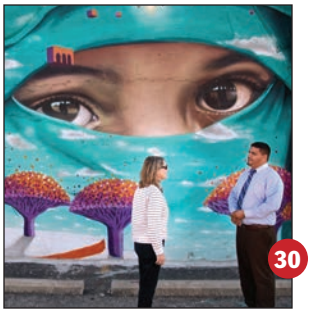
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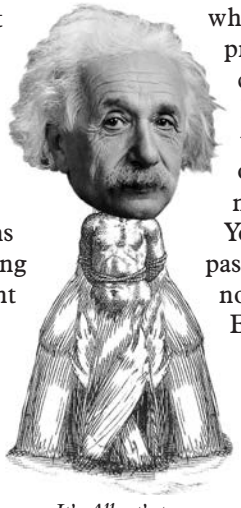
COVER BY GARY LOCKE

# Breaking: Einstein Lived in the Past

Few heroes of the past can escape the censure of today's bigotry police. Every week, it seems, brings news that some heretofore revered figure said or wrote something we enlightened postmoderns consider untoward, obliging us to qualify any subsequent expressions of admiration.



*It's Albert's turn.*

Even so, we were surprised to learn from the *Washington Post* that Albert Einstein was the same as all the rest. The great physicist and refugee from Nazi Germany, the *Post*'s Kristine Phillips tells us, was a xenophobe and misogynist and held "racist views." Sure, he spoke up for the civil rights of blacks in the 1940s and '50s. "But," wrote Phillips, "there's another side to Einstein that perhaps people did not know then."

Uh oh.

In his travel diaries, recently published by Princeton University Press, "the Nobel-winning physicist portrayed people of other races, such as Chinese and Indians, in a stereotypical, dehumanizing way." To wit: "The average Japanese, Einstein wrote, is 'unproblematic, impersonal, he cheerfully fulfills the social function which befalls him without pretension, but proud of his community and nation. Forsaking his traditional ways in favor of European ones does not undermine his national pride.'"

You might expect Phillips to pass over that masculine pronoun on the grounds that Einstein lived from 1879 to 1955 and can hardly be expected to have embraced the gender-neutral pronoun fetish of a later era. Nope. She goes on:

> While Einstein used male pronouns for deeper reflections about the Japanese, his thoughts about women were more about their physical appearance than their personality. Japanese women, he wrote as he observed them on the ship, "look ornate and bewildered. . . . Black-eyed, black-haired, large-headed, scurrying."
>
> His reflections about the Chinese, with whom he spent far less time, were more callous, even insulting. Though he called the Chinese "industrious," he also described them as "filthy" and "obtuse." They're a "peculiar herd-like nation," Einstein wrote, "often more like automatons than people." He saw them as intellectually inferior, quoting—instead of challenging—Portuguese teachers he met during his travels who claimed that the Chinese "are incapable of being trained to think logically" and "have no talent for mathematics."

Imagine—the 20th century's greatest scientific mind merely *quoting* bad remarks instead of *challenging* them!

Then we come to a reflection in which Einstein exhibits what the diary's editor, Ze'ev Rosenkranz, terms a "healthy dose of extreme misogyny": "I noticed how little difference there is between men and women," wrote Einstein. "I don't understand what kind of fatal attraction Chinese women possess which enthralls the corresponding men to such an extent that they are incapable of defending themselves against the formidable blessing of offspring."

Einstein, in other words, didn't think Chinese women attractive, and he had the outrageous temerity to say so in his personal journal. If that doesn't convince you that Einstein was a racist—or at least had "racist views"—consider a remark he recorded after a few days in China: "It would be a pity if these Chinese supplant all other races. For the likes of us the mere thought is unspeakably dreary."

We hope future journalists and scholars will be more charitable to us than today's moralists are to the greatest men of the past. Sorry—men *and women* of the past. ♦

## Little Durantys

Like hundreds of other media outlets, *Vox.com* sent reporters to cover President Donald Trump's summit with North Korea's dictator Kim Jong-un in Singapore. On June 13, *Vox*'s foreign editor Yochi Dreazen wrote a piece headlined, "The big winner of the Trump-Kim summit? China." Dreazen's analysis was unremarkable—except for the presence of a disclaimer at the bottom of the piece:

> The author of this article wrote it while on a trip to China sponsored by the China-United States Exchange Foundation (CUSEF), a privately funded nonprofit organization based in Hong Kong that is dedicated to "facilitating open and constructive exchange among policy-makers, business leaders, academics, think-tanks, cultural figures, and educators from the United States and China." Vox.com's reporting, as always, is independent.

If you believe that CUSEF is some benign "privately funded nonprofit organization," you are, shall we say, mistaken. "Tung Chee-hwa, CUSEF's chair, is vice chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which is connected to the United Front Work Department, the Communist Party agency designed to advance party objectives with outside actors," the *Washington Post*'s Josh Rogin noted in response to the story.

*Vox*, it turns out, has a long relationship with CUSEF. A 2013 Weekly Standard story on China's influence peddling, "The Media Kowtow," noted

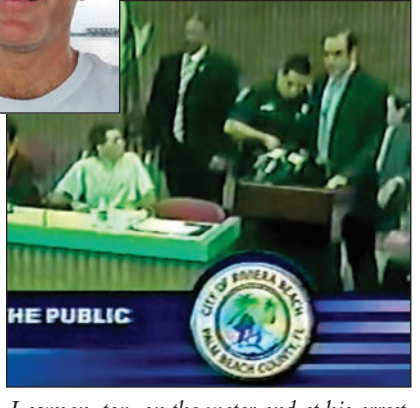
BOTTOM: KLEIN, EMILY THORSON

that *Vox* founder Ezra Klein went on a CUSEF-sponsored junket to China in 2010 (he was a *Washington Post* reporter at the time) with a bevy of other left-wing journalists. They were taken to a 21st-century version of a Potemkin village, and Klein uncritically reported what was said to him about the people living in this new government-planned housing development: "They got four free apartments, three of which they were now renting out. And medical coverage. And money for furnishings. And a food stipend. And—I'm not kidding, by the way—birthday cakes on their birthdays. Sweet deal."

This about a country in which a billion people live in grinding poverty and untold numbers are sent to labor camps for tweets the government doesn't like. Klein's apparently sincere belief that China is a utopia handing out free real estate and birthday cakes to its citizens, reminiscent of British and American intellectuals of the 1930s charmed into denying famines and writing paeans to the Bolsheviks, didn't much affect his reputation. But apparently it kept the CUSEF spigot open. Sweet deal. ♦


## Local Hero

Readers who've spent time before city or county councils may know how lawless these bodies can sometimes be. Many hold "public" meetings without announcing the time or place, disregard laws on raising taxes and the appropriation of public money, hide the details of procurement contracts and incentive deals, and move to "executive session" any time they don't want the public to hear what they say.




*Lozman, top, on the water and at his arrest*

The trend has worsened, by our reckoning, with the collapse of local newspapers. There was a day not long ago when a reporter or two might cover a small or mid-sized city's council meetings. No more. The meetings are streamed online, but hardly anyone watches.

So we were heartened to read about a persistent Floridian named Fane Lozman, the victor in a recent Supreme Court decision. Lozman is a resident of Riviera Beach, Florida. He had already won a Supreme Court case in 2013, when the justices ruled 7-2 that the city had misused federal admiralty law to seize and destroy his floating house, then docked in the Riviera Beach marina.

Lozman used a freedom-of-information request to obtain minutes of an "executive session" meeting in which councilors openly discussed ways to threaten and intimidate him. At the next council meeting, during the segment in which members of the public were allowed to speak, Lozman rose to address the council, whereupon a councilman called for a police officer to escort him out of the room. When he refused to leave, he was arrested.

TOP: COURTESY OF FANE LOZMAN; BOTTOM: VIA YOUTUBE

He sued and lost, but appealed all the way to the Supreme Court, which ruled that the Riviera Beach city council had violated his First Amendment right to speak to the council. That gives him grounds to sue the city for $230,000 in legal fees, which he'll likely win. "I've heard horror stories from all over the country," Lozman said after the decision; "people call me and they say they were physically thrown out of meetings. If you go on YouTube there's lots of people being dragged out by elected officials, and I wanted to stop that."

*Lozman* v. *Riviera Beach* won't stop it, but it just might make rogue councilors hesitate before ordering cops to arrest citizens for asking troublesome questions. ♦

## Caldwell on European Disunion

In April, PBS announced that it will reboot *Firing Line*, the long-running public affairs television program hosted by William F. Buckley. The new show will be hosted by the libertarian-conservative commentator Margaret Hoover. We wish the endeavor well, although we wonder why *Firing Line with Margaret Hoover*, as the new program is to be called, should be burdened with the older program's name, bound up as the old *Firing Line* was with the inimitable personality of its famous host.


Kristol and Caldwell

Whatever the show's name, there's still plenty of demand for literate and civil interview-based programs on public affairs. Witness the delightful and illuminating web-based *Conversations* with this magazine's founding editor, Bill Kristol, which The Scrapbook has often touted and many of our readers tell us they have hugely enjoyed.

Bill has interviewed scores of intellectuals and political leaders. Among The Scrapbook's favorite conversations: those with University of Virginia professor of politics James Ceaser, Justice Samuel Alito, Princeton legal scholar Robert George, AEI scholar and North Korea expert Nicholas Eberstadt, and *Commentary* editor John Podhoretz.

In the latest conversation, posted this week, Kristol talks to our brilliant colleague Weekly Standard national correspondent Christopher Caldwell on the subject of European populism. Caldwell's answer to the question of the European Union's future—is it at the end of its road?—got our attention. "Yes, it is," he said,

> because I think it was tied into a certain economic system that seemed to have a great deal of power. Since the financial crisis we see that a lot of that economic power was illusory, and that Europe has actually been losing ground to other parts of the world since then. So I think that people have less of a sense that they are evolved, that they are riding the crest of a wave of progress. I think that Europeans who go to China don't exactly feel [Europe is] at the cutting edge of the world economy.

This and all of Kristol's other interviews may be viewed—commercial-free and without a paywall—at conversationswithbillkristol.org. ♦

## Hooliganism Assurances

The World Cup is well underway in Russia, and that country's authorities have given "assurances" to visiting nations that their fans will be safe from what in Britain are termed "football hooligans." The Russians have a "blacklist" of known hooligans, according to the BBC, and can assure foreign governments that Russian troublemakers will make no trouble.

Which is great. Now if only they could offer those same assurances for our elections. ♦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# Dirty Words

"Profanity, like any other art," wrote H. L. Mencken, "has had its ups and downs—its golden ages of proliferation and efflorescence and its dark ages of decay and desuetude." Mencken wrote that in 1945, in *Supplement One* to his *The American Language*. Whether he thought that time, just at the close of World War II, was a high or low period, he does not say. My own sense is that we are just now in a dark and dreary period for profanity, which is a shame, for lively profanity can be a delight to both its users and its audience.

That profanity can be an art there is no doubt. I once worked with a man named Bob Larman who, when honked at in traffic, would quickly roll down his window and respond, "Blow it out your duffel bag, farthead!" I went to high school with a boy who introduced me to "Schmuckowitz," a wonderful term of contempt. Nor shall I ever forget Andrew Atherton, my sergeant in basic training at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, master of the art of high-low comic swearing. Upon announcing the availability of religious services, he closed by saying, "As for those of you of the Hebrew persuasion, it behooves you to get your sorry asses to Friday evening services."

I have a distinct recollection of my own initiation into profanity. It was, precisely, at 8-and-a-half years old, when I went off to Interlaken summer camp in Eagle River, Wisconsin. Before that summer I remember using such words and phrases as "jeez," "goldarn," "cry Pete," and "holy cow." The older boys at Camp Interlaken, widening my vocabulary in this realm, taught me more vivid language was possible.

My father never swore in mixed company, and when he did swear he never used the F-word. Nor did he ever avail himself of below-the-belt words, those many dysphemisms for the male and female genitals. He might refer to another man as "an S.O.B."; or, when aroused to true anger, "a real bastard." But that was it. I never heard my mother, a true lady though no prude, swear at all.

Today, of course, men and women swear freely, in or out of mixed company. A contemporary movie without what is designated "adult language" is rarer than Provençal French in a National Football League locker-room. In postgame interviews, athletes will occasionally speak of having "kicked ass" or describe coaches or managers as "pissed off" without being bleeped. Less than a century ago the press and radio and later network television stations were not allowed such words as "prostitute" and "bordello," let alone "hooker" and "cathouse." In 1945, Mencken noted that the general tendency was "toward ever plainer speech [in what was not yet then known as the media], and many words that were under the ban only a few years ago are now used freely." Now, with cable television having swung the gates wide open to profanity, the only dirty word left is "censorship" itself.


DAVID CLARK

Notable holdouts for a while there were. Under the editorship of William Shawn, no profane words were allowed in the *New Yorker*, and the description of the sex act in his pages was beyond unthinkable. If one came across a short story by those two regular *New Yorker* contributors John Cheever or John Updike in any other magazine, one could be sure that it included an elaborately described bonk or two.

At various times in my own life I have been more profane than others. In high school I swore no less than my friends, which was a fair amount. In the army it was no more possible to refrain from swearing than to refrain from smoking. I recall once, about to enter the mess hall at headquarters company, Fort Hood, Texas, asking a fellow trooper coming out what was for dinner and his casually replying, "Some red shit."

While profanity is ubiquitous today, it has also lost much of its ability to shock, though Samantha Bee's recently applying that still most sulphurous of words to Ivanka Trump did get the nation's attention. But the great F-word, through overuse, has become a bit of a bore, and the too-frequent, or overly dramatic, use of it shows a want of originality. (Robert De Niro, take a bow.) I try to restrict my own use of it to the exclamatory, when, say, breaking a dish or stubbing a toe, when my self-editing facility is nil.

Now an older gentleman, white hairs far outnumbering brown, I feel it unseemly to swear more than is absolutely necessary. The loss of the useful word referring to bull droppings when listening to politicians has been a genuine subtraction. Formulating insults about them in cleaner language, though, I find gives more pleasure than the easy resort to vulgar epithets. Is there life without profanity? Gosh, gee whiz, doggone, I hope so.

**Joseph Epstein**

the weekly Standard

# Separation Anxiety

Images of screaming children torn away from parents, photos of toddlers and even babies sitting alone in characterless detention centers, repellent bloviators defending the new policy as if splitting up families were itself the goal . . . the controversy over the Trump administration's new "zero tolerance" policy on illegal immigration has turned into one of the great political debacles of our time.

*Central American asylum-seekers in Texas, June 12*

JOHN MOORE / GETTY

The challenge isn't new. Current law on detaining illegal immigrants has made border security nearly impossible. The problem arises most acutely when detained adults seeking asylum or some other legal status are accompanied by children. A 1997 Justice Department settlement, since reinforced by a 2016 appeals court decision, requires that the children of these detainees be kept in custody for no more than 20 days. That means immigration authorities must release parents and children together. They are supposed to return for their hearings but often do not, and so they remain inside the country as undocumented aliens. Hence when children are present, border enforcement officials are powerless to deter illegal crossings—bound to the policy of "catch and release."

Into this difficult situation came Attorney General Jeff Sessions. He made it worse. Sessions saw the dilemma as an opportunity to impose an aggressive policy of deterrence. If the law won't allow kids to be detained with their parents, he reasoned, so be it.

It was chief of staff John Kelly, not Sessions, who first floated the idea of separating parents from children as a way to stop illegal immigrants from exploiting the catch-and-release loophole. Kelly, then secretary of Homeland Security, mentioned it in an interview in March 2017, after which the idea seemed to hibernate. Then in April of this year, Sessions began forcefully asserting separation policy in the name of deterrence, and in April the *New York Times* reported that more than 700 children had been separated from their parents in the previous six months.

The Trump administration has long planned for an increase in detentions. On January 25, 2017, just five days into his presidency, Trump signed an executive order that called for boosting the number of detention centers as part of a broad immigration crackdown. But still there were not enough detention centers, requiring the Department of Homeland Security to transport parentless kids all over the country. Plans for reuniting these children with their parents were vague—when they existed at all.

The administration's rollout of the policy—or whatever it can be called—was utter chaos. The White House's fiercest immigration restrictionists, Sessions and policy adviser Stephen Miller, defended the new policy with great enthusiasm, arguing that children were being used by traffickers to escape U.S. authorities. But other administration figures—chief among them DHS secretary Kirstjen Nielsen—denied that DHS had any policy of separation. Trump himself, irritated that the "zero tolerance" policy had become a public-relations disaster, began last week blaming the Democrats. "I hate children being taken away," he said to reporters. "The Democrats have to change their law—that's their law." The idea that it was all the Democrats' fault, like so much that passes the president's lips, was false.

But while it's not true that the policy of separation was the Democrats' law, there is evidence that the Obama administration also separated children from parents, and did so as a deterrent. As Weekly Standard contributor Jeryl Bier has pointed out, a January 2017 report submitted to Congress by an alliance of humanitarian groups noted that DHS border agents "routinely separate family members, including intentionally, as punishment—or 'consequences.' . . . These consequences are meant to deter future migration, often regardless of international protection or other humanitarian concerns."

Hidden beneath all the confusion and acrimony is this reality: The question of what to do about migrants who

cross illegally into the United States is a tangled one, admitting of no easy solution. President Trump on June 20 signed an executive order seeking to allow parents and children to be detained longer than 20 days, but that decision will be challenged by the same immigrant-advocate groups that sued the Obama administration for detaining parents and children together. After a fortnight of raging controversy, Congress is at last poised to do what it should have done years ago and change the law to allow immigration officials to keep families together for as long as it takes to arrive at a decision. But that, too, will be immediately challenged in court. The ACLU, which is already suing the administration over the zero-tolerance policy, has all but promised to sue if children are kept with parents in detention.

The immediate problem is political cowardice at the top. Trump allowed Sessions and Miller to drive the policy, then ducked responsibility when it went badly.

Congressional Democrats seem more interested in hurting Trump than in finding solutions. The administration's policy is "an utter atrocity that debases America's values and our legacy as a beacon of hope, opportunity, and freedom," says Nancy Pelosi. Other Democratic legislators have said the same, eager to stir outrage about conditions that didn't generate much protest under a president of their own party. And when Republicans proposed legislation that would address the problems, some Democratic leaders preemptively rejected them.

Illegal immigration along the southwest border presents major challenges to the American way of life—enormous practical difficulties as well as the social anxieties that cripple our politics—and very few in positions of leadership and influence seem interested in finding a way forward. Sen. Ted Cruz deserves credit for proposing legislation that would dramatically increase the number of immigration judges and so enhance the government's ability to process claims quickly. We hope that happens. But sensible proposals like this one have often fallen victim to the idiotic belief that any one reform must be part of a grand compromise on immigration—a compromise that always seems to be just beyond our grasp. And President Trump seemed to reject the Cruz proposal less than 24 hours later, tweeting his skepticism and seeming to take a shot in passing at the entire immigration system: "We shouldn't be hiring judges by the thousands, as our ridiculous immigration laws demand, we should be changing our laws, building the Wall, hire Border Agents and Ice and not let people come into our country based on the legal phrase they are told to say as their password."

The problem of illegal immigration is a problem of political leadership. We have plenty of opportunists, plenty of virtue-signalers and demagogues and zealots, but no leaders. On this nettlesome problem, we'll have to look ahead to 2020 and perhaps beyond. ♦

# The Shallow State

On June 14, Michael Horowitz, the Department of Justice's inspector general, released a long-awaited report on the partisan shenanigans of a few FBI agents in the lead-up to the 2016 election. The report sharply criticizes then-director James Comey for his bad judgment and disregard for agency protocol. The report also disclaims any finding of "political bias" in the investigation into Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server, but its narrower findings do not allay all our worries on that score.

In the report's conclusion, agents Peter Strzok, who later served on special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation, and Lisa Page, his mistress and texting buddy, are the primary offenders. The IG's team finds that their texts to one another not only reveal a "biased state of mind," they "imply a willingness to take official action to impact a presidential candidate's electoral prospects." It's hard to disagree: When Page texted, "[Trump's] not ever going to become president, right? Right?!" her lover responded: "No. No he won't. We'll stop it."

Similarly disturbing is the conclusion that Strzok may have failed in October 2016 to follow up on an "investigative lead discovered on the Weiner laptop" because his decisions "were impacted by bias." That's the laptop belonging to Anthony Weiner, the disgraced former congressman from New York, husband at the time of top Clinton aide Huma Abedin. There were classified emails on this laptop related to the Clinton investigation. It's not hard to imagine what Strzok's motive might have been in burying this lead. The IG report notes that his biased and political text messages call into question his decision-making at the bureau. That Strzok also served on the Russia investigation is troubling, although to special counsel Robert Mueller's credit, he dismissed Strzok from his investigation once he became aware of these texts.

The 500-page report contains plenty of other material to make a fair-minded person wonder if her fans at the bureau were able to help Hillary Clinton escape an indictment in 2016. Another pair of agents involved with the Clinton investigation, "Agent 1" and "Agent 5"—also amorously involved—exchanged texts in which one said, "we . . . shouldn't even be interviewing [her]" and,

on Election Day, "You should know; . . . that I'm . . . with her." On another occasion, Agent 1 complained that the Clinton email probe was "meaningless" and "pointless" and "a waste of resources." When Agent 1 was done interviewing Clinton, he had this to say: "done interviewing the President."

The inspector general's team went on to interview Strzok, Page, Agent 1, and Agent 2, and included relevant contents of those interviews in the report. The report faults the agents for unprofessionalism but stops short of concluding the investigation was tainted by bias. The "conduct of these employees cast a cloud over the entire FBI investigation and sowed doubt about the FBI's work on, and its handling of, the [Clinton email] investigation," the inspector general concludes. "The damage caused by these employees' actions extends far beyond the scope of the [Clinton] investigation and goes to the heart of the FBI's reputation for neutral factfinding and political independence."

There's a more optimistic interpretation, too. Strzok vowed that he and Page would "stop" the election of Donald Trump, presumably by helping to ensure a favorable outcome of the Clinton investigation, but remember: They failed. And they failed, it would seem, because they were exceptionally incompetent schemers. What sort of conspiracists text damning messages to each other on government devices?

A strong contingent on the right worries about the "deep state," the latest term for entrenched, permanent bureaucracies that presidents and prime ministers have fought—often unsuccessfully—for generations. It's not an unreasonable concern. Lawless and self-serving bureaucracies can do great damage. But it's useful to keep in mind that they are very often staffed by bumbling fools. As the inspector general's report reminds us, the deep state can be pretty shallow. ♦

# We Were Right to Withdraw

On June 19, the Trump administration made official what it had threatened to do for months. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and U.N. ambassador Nikki Haley announced that the United States is withdrawing from the United Nations Human Rights Council.

The timing is not ideal. Only the day before, the Council's high commissioner had criticized the Trump administration for its policy of separating parents from their children when caught illegally crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. While that policy is not without precedent, the Trump administration's aggressive use of separation and its failure to plan for reuniting the families it breaks up makes such criticism fair. At the same time, President Trump's downplaying of the human rights abuses in North Korea, and his willingness to make an everyone-does-it defense of Kim Jong-un's brutality, diminishes the weight of the moral argument the United States can make in this instance and others. Trump has done significant damage to America's moral standing in just 18 months. So moves like this one ring a bit hollow.

Still, the argument for withdrawal is persuasive, and the move is not unprecedented. The council's forerunner, the Human Rights Commission, was disbanded in 2006 by Kofi Annan, then the U.N. secretary general, on the grounds that it had become a laughingstock. The commission consisted, as the council does now, of many nations that flagrantly and persistently abuse human rights. When the council was formed in 2006, the George W. Bush administration boycotted it. Not until the Obama administration did Washington opt to join.

The most obvious problem with the council is the same as it was 12 years ago. A sizable proportion of the body's 47 member states are well known abusers of human rights: Venezuela, Russia, Pakistan, Cuba, Afghanistan, China, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Burundi are all members.

A less obvious but more insidious problem is the council's persistent anti-Semitism. We are prepared to acknowledge the value of remaining engaged in transnational institutions even when those institutions exhibit a low regard for humane values and democratic norms. But the U.N. Human Rights Council is obsessed with condemning the state of Israel. In the decade after its founding in 2006, as Hillel Neuer has pointed out, the council condemned Israel 68 times. It condemned North Korea 9 times, Iran 6 times, and Sudan 3 times. Venezuela, Zimbabwe, China, Turkey, Somalia, Russia, Pakistan—not at all. Even granting some of the international left's criticisms of Israel, what sort of organization feels that Israel—a government that grants civil rights and parliamentary representation to its Arab citizens—is seven times worse than a nation that systematically murders and imprisons anybody even suspected of harboring dissident thoughts?

That the Human Rights Council is beyond hope of renewal was powerfully confirmed, though inadvertently, by former U.N. ambassador Samantha Power. After the Pompeo-Haley announcement, Power conceded that the council is biased against Israel. But, she tweeted, "tough & effective diplomacy wld use US influence to change this. Before we rejoined in 2009, more than half of all country-specific HRC resolutions focused on Israel. By 2016, we had cut those in half."

That's an accomplishment?

The U.N. Human Rights Council is irredeemable. It's obsessed with a racist lie. Better to withdraw than to go on pretending that lie is somehow acceptable as long as it's expressed less often. ♦

ERIC FELTEN

# The Kadzik Affair: Clintonesque Corruption

It's a measure of how overabundant the scandal news is in the Justice Department inspector general's report that the Peter Kadzik story has been pushed to the side. Maybe it's because the Kadzik materials don't start until page 461. Or maybe it's that the Kadzik affair lacks the expletive-laced fireworks given to us by the indiscreet messaging between FBIers Lisa Page and Peter Strzok. Or maybe we've become so hyped-up on improbable scandals that we're bored by old-school political misconduct.

LIKENESSES: DAVE CLEGG

Here's the full attention the *New York Times* has given to the Kadzik affair: "The [IG] report also faulted Peter J. Kadzik, the assistant attorney general for the office of legislative affairs, for not recusing himself" in the investigation into Hillary Clinton's emails. "A longtime friend of John D. Podesta, Mrs. Clinton's campaign chairman, Mr. Kadzik tried to get his son a job with the Clinton campaign." Credit the *Times* for offering some of the basic information, but it is a bland and bloodless summary. Then again, the *Washington Post* in the week after the release of the IG's report failed to mentioned Kadzik's name at all.

Is Washington so scandal-fatigued that no one can work up any outrage over good old-fashioned Clintonesque corruption?

Let's start with the part that the *Times* condensed into "Mr. Kadzik tried to get his son a job with the Clinton campaign." In March 2015, assistant attorney general Peter Kadzik's DoJ colleague Brian Fallon put in his notice and announced he would become the Hillary Clinton campaign's spokesman. Come April, Kadzik sent an email to Fallon: "Hope all is well with you, [your wife], the kids, and the candidate. Let me know if you or someone else needs a great assistant; my 25 year old son is ready for [Hillary Rodham Clinton]."

Fallon asked for the son's résumé. "Within the hour," reported the inspector general, "Kadzik emailed [his son] asking for his current resume and then forwarded [his son's] resume to Fallon stating 'Here you go. Again, thanks.'" Asked by the Office of the Inspector General about these emails, Kadzik suffered a sudden and severe bout of selective amnesia: "Kadzik told the OIG that he did not recall sending Fallon the emails requesting a job for his son."

But that wasn't the only Clinton connection Kadzik tried to exploit on his son's behalf. On May 5, 2015, the young man emailed his credentials to Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta. He did so explicitly at the direction of his parents and told Podesta so.

Kadzik, by way of defense, emphasized time and again to the IG that nothing became of the efforts—the ones he couldn't remember—to get his son employed by the Clinton campaign. Kadzik told the IG "his son was neither hired nor offered a job by the Clinton campaign." But it wasn't for lack of trying.

Kadzik didn't exactly get the quick action from Podesta he might have hoped for. His old buddy merely sent the son's résumé down the line to a couple of campaign workers. The friendship was apparently not enough to ensure a gig for his son on the campaign. But no hard feelings: Two weeks later, Kadzik followed up with his own email to Podesta, a friendly "heads up" sharing some as yet unpublicized DoJ information about Hillary's emails. Could it be that Kadzik was trying to sweeten the pot by showing how valuable a source of information he could be? One might ask Kadzik that question, but the lawyer's memory is not acute: He told the inspector general he "did not recall" sending that email.

Kadzik is one of those lawyer-politicos who keep turning up in dubious roles. Take, for example, the infamous pardon outgoing president Bill Clinton bestowed in January 2001 on fugitive financier, Iran sanctions-buster, and epic tax cheat Marc Rich. It wouldn't have happened if not for the (presumably very well-compensated) efforts of Peter Kadzik.

John Podesta testified before the House government reform committee later in 2001 about how the notion of pardoning a man on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list got before President Bill Clinton. His first recollection of the matter was that he "returned a call from Mr. Peter Kadzik, who had been a friend of mine since we attended law school together in the mid-1970s." Kadzik told Podesta he and his firm were representing Rich and asked "who would be reviewing pardon matters at the White House." Kadzik sent over materials arguing for a Rich pardon, which Podesta said "I believe I forwarded to the [White House] counsel's office."

Working together with Jack Quinn, who had returned to private practice after serving as Bill Clinton's White House counsel, Kadzik made something of a pest of himself, calling Podesta again and again, stopping by the West Wing to visit Podesta, asking if, in the waning days of the Clinton presidency, there were going to be any more pardons or commutations. As it turned out there were: On his last day in office, Clinton pardoned Rich.

The Marc Rich pardon is hardly the only shabby affair Kadzik has

been involved with. Remember when the IRS was caught discriminating against conservative groups seeking tax-exempt status? The agency slow-walked the paperwork of organizations with *patriot* or *Tea Party* in their names, demanding they jump through bureaucratic hoops not generally required of leftist groups. The Department of Justice mounted an "investigation" to see whether then-director of exempt organizations Lois Lerner or anyone else at the IRS should be prosecuted for using their government powers for political ends. It was Kadzik who announced the results of the DoJ probe:

"Our investigation uncovered substantial evidence of mismanagement, poor judgment and institutional inertia, leading to the belief by many tax-exempt applicants that the IRS targeted them based on their political viewpoint," he wrote. "But poor management is not a crime." The notion that conservatives were being targeted, you see, was just an ill-founded "belief." What a relief! Especially for Lerner: "We found no evidence that any IRS official acted on political, discriminatory, corrupt, or other inappropriate motives that would support a criminal prosecution," Kadzik wrote to the House government reform committee.

Kadzik brings to his own defense the same prosciutto-thin slicing of ethics rules that were used to benefit Lois Lerner. Caught in an obvious conflict of interest—giving the Clinton team a "heads up" about developments regarding Hillary Clinton's emails while trying to land his son a spot on the Clinton team—Kadzik did his best to lawyer his way around, through, and under the federal Standards of Ethical Conduct.

Take the "financial interests" provision of the ethics law: As the IG summarizes it, Kadzik would have had to recuse himself from any Clinton-related matters—such as the email server investigation—that were "likely to have a direct and predictable effect on the financial interest of a member of Kadzik's household." What Kadzik told the IG was that, legally speaking, his son wasn't a member of the household: "[H]is son lived in New York City and supported himself financially." He proved that by providing a copy of his tax return showing that he did not count his son as a dependent. The inspector general duly concluded that his efforts to get his son a job "with the Clinton campaign did not require Kadzik to recuse himself."

But let's look at that a little more closely. His son was employed in New York City, but not entirely independent of the Kadzik household: He was working hourly for the public relations company owned by Kadzik's wife.

Federal ethics rules are written with the knowledge that there will be clever fellows such as Kadzik who try to outsmart the specific language of the statute. That's why there is a catch-all provision prohibiting behavior that, as the IG puts it, "would lead a reasonable person to question an employee's impartiality in a matter." Without concluding that Kadzik had explicitly violated federal ethics law, the IG "found that his failure to recognize the appearance of a conflict by participating in Clinton-related matters when he, his wife, and his son were trying to get his son a job with the Clinton campaign demonstrated poor judgment."

You think?

Advocating for Marc Rich's pardon; helping give Lois Lerner a pass; feeding inside details about Hillary Clinton matters to the Clinton campaign team while asking them to hire his son: To say that Peter Kadzik has a history of poor judgment is to put it very generously indeed. ♦

COMMENT ♦ PHILIP TERZIAN

# A Strange Interlude, Indeed

I would be the first to concede that President Trump's behavior at the recent G7 summit, while not unexpected, was certainly unconventional. In his patented way, the president seemed to waver between a breezy, hail-fellow-well-met manner and irritability, declining to endorse a summary declaration and insulting—by way of Twitter, of course—his Canadian host.

It reminded me, as if the fact were ever in doubt, that Trump seems to thrive on disruptive language and conduct, designed (I trust) to keep his global audience off-balance and his fans tuned into the show. Yet the summit also reminded me, as such meetings tend to do, of Eugene O'Neill's famous experimental play *Strange Interlude* (1928), in which the players periodically break character to address the audience directly and express their innermost thoughts.

In their comparatively short history, G7 (formerly G8) summits have customarily been exercises in polite discussion, emollient language, heart-warming visuals, and awkward bonhomie, followed by an anodyne "final statement" that represents the lowest common denominator of agreement. It may not be much, but it's diplomacy. By contrast, like a player in *Strange Interlude*, Donald Trump says aloud what he's thinking about trade and security issues and seems either not to care about the immediate consequences or to delight in his status as the Peck's Bad Boy of the G7, or both.

The question, of course, is the nature and quality of Trump's instincts. A free-trader by conviction, I am opposed to tariffs and trade wars. But I would also acknowledge that we've been living in a free-trade paradise for the past three-quarters of a century, and such policies have not benefited most people without cost to some, especially in historic manufacturing economies such as our own. Blinking at the unfair trade practices of, say, our Asian or European partners

makes for more congenial summits, but some political adjustment was inevitable. And who would have guessed, two years ago, that there were enough votes on this issue to help elect Donald Trump to the presidency?

The same might also be said about Trump's comparable complaint that our NATO allies get a "free ride" under the American security umbrella. It is true that the cost of Western European defense—to the United States, at any rate—is not especially high, and it is equally true that Trump's attitude is redolent of isolationist tendencies long dormant in American politics. But Trump is rather a mixed bag on this question—when push comes to shove, he usually reflects conventional "Republican" views on foreign policy, and I have attended far too many conferences at places like the Council on Foreign Relations where the same observations were made (albeit in sweeter tones) about our European allies shouldering a greater burden of the common defense. To no avail, it goes without saying.

All of this has led any number of scholars and analysts to take note of certain symptoms and worry that Trump is deliberately presiding (as Kori Schake observed last week in the *New York Times*) over "the end of the liberal order" in the postwar world. I have my doubts. As North Korea's Kim Jong-un has learned, Trump certainly believes in brinkmanship, which by definition is anathema to the custodians of the status quo known as foreign ministries. And for whatever reason, he has little patience for the customs and niceties of diplomatic method. But his practical policies—toward the Western alliance, against terrorism, in the Middle East and along the Pacific Rim—are more familiar than not, and governed less by his volatile personality than by the weight of precedent.

It is also of interest to note that Trump, in contrast to most of his predecessors, seems to be offended by impasses largely buttressed by hypocrisy. For example, the movement of the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem is not necessarily something I would have done as president, but as Trump himself noted, it merely affirms reality and what Congress and successive presidents have long pledged to do. Similarly, while Schake is horrified to note that Trump "even reiterated his desire to withdraw American troops from South Korea," it is worth remembering that the last president to make a similar suggestion was Jimmy Carter (1977), hardly anyone's idea of an out-of-control right-wing nationalist.

It is altogether too easy, and surely tempting, to mistake Trump's instinctive reactions—his *Strange Interlude* moments, as it were—for considered policy. For in foreign, as well as domestic, affairs, attitudes are often governed by partisan conviction, and observers are not quite as disinterested as they wish to appear. There is no doubt that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is an abhorrent regime. But why is diplomatic engagement with one Asian tyrant (Kim Jong-un, 2018) a betrayal of American principles while a smiling exchange of toasts with another, and far worse, despot (Mao Zedong, 1972) is a thrilling maneuver on the global stage?

Similarly, while Ronald Reagan deserves credit for his management of U.S.-Russia relations in the 1980s and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union, that is hardly the way it appeared at the time. His affirmation of Carter's decision to deploy a new generation of medium-range ballistic missiles in Western Europe inspired impassioned left-wing protests and rhetoric, here and abroad. In those days, it was fashionable to draw a parallel with the popular *Rambo* movies rather than with fascist Europe, as now seems obligatory. But today's reality-TV/ignoramus commander in chief was yesterday's B-movie actor/ignoramus in the White House, hurtling America toward nuclear apocalypse.

This is not to compare Trump's temperament favorably with Reagan's or insist that his actions and impulses are benign. They may well strain the Western alliance. But perspective is always a more reliable guide than prediction.

The liberal order that has governed the postwar world, and benefited from American leadership, was created partly as a means of balancing power but largely as a feature of American national interest. Franklin Roosevelt promoted the creation of the United Nations not because he believed in harmony for its own sake but because he wanted a League of Nations run by the United States. And if you think that the shaking heads and rolling eyes at the G7 summit were unprecedented, may I refer you to the relevant (private) accounts of meetings among the Allied political and military leaders of World War II?

Donald Trump will have to try especially hard to turn our postwar liberal order upside-down. ♦

COMMENT ♦ CHARLES J. SYKES

# The New Cruelty

In the movie *L.A. Story*, the character played by Chevy Chase goes to a hyper-fashionable restaurant named, appropriately enough, L'Idiot.

He is greeted by the maître d', played by Patrick Stewart, who asks, "Your usual table?"

"No," Chase's character responds, "I'd like a good one this time."

"I'm sorry, that is impossible," Stewart's character replies.

"Part of the new cruelty?"

"I'm afraid so."

Although *L.A. Story* was released in 1991, it has supplied us with an apt rubric for our own times; the New Cruelty is the Trumpian successor to the New Deal and Great Society.

I was reminded of it watching the viral video of Donald Trump's former campaign manager Corey Lewandowski defending the policy of separating children from their mothers and fathers at the border. (Less than 24 hours later, Trump would reverse course and issue an executive order he

said would stop the practice, although it's unclear how that will work.)

Appearing on Fox News, Lewandowski mocked a story about a 10-year-old with Down syndrome being separated from her parents. "Wahh, wahh," Lewandowski cracked, making "a dismissive trombone-like sound effect," as the *Washington Post* described it.

The reaction to Lewandowski's crassness was justifiably outraged. "There is no low to which this coward Corey Lewandowski won't sink," tweeted Megyn Kelly. "This man should not be afforded a national platform to spew his hate."

And, indeed, Lewandowski seems especially vile in an era in which vileness increasingly appears to be a career path. But was his insensitive gibe off-message? Or was it simply a cruder version of the New Cruelty that has displaced whatever was left of "compassionate conservativism"?

In Trump's world, there was nothing inconsistent about a policy that stripped children away from illegal immigrants and asylum-seekers. Trump rode to the presidency by embracing broad, crudely designed policies—from the proposed ban on all Muslims to mass deportations of all illegals—that ineluctably led to a zero-tolerance policy that demands the arrest of all illegal border-crossers, even those with infants or children.

Trump ran on this sort of thing, and his supporters enthusiastically cheered policies that treat large populations as an undifferentiated mass, regardless of individual circumstances. These policies do not treat individuals based on the content of their character, or their merit, or the exigencies of their circumstances, but on their religion, nationality, and immigration status.

At the same time, the president has cultivated a studied insensitivity, treating empathy as a sign of weakness or fecklessness. The distinctive rhetoric of Trumpism isn't merely the use of insult and invective against political opponents; it is also the brutal willingness to degrade and demonize others as "animals" and "rapists" while unsubtly comparing them to vermin who will "infest" the country.

The embrace of swaggering callousness became a hallmark of Trumpism, with harshness masquerading as toughness, and cruelty as a sign of strength. All the better if it triggers the libs. This is how we get the on-air mockery of a story about a child with Down syndrome being separated from her mother.

Ironically, conservatives used to lead the charge against zero-tolerance policies, because they produce foolish, knee-jerk, bureaucratic responses that lack common sense and result in absurd outcomes. It was in the name of zero tolerance that a kindergartner was once suspended for bringing a dinosaur-shaped squirt gun to school, and it was zero tolerance that led school boards to such excesses as expelling a high school student for having a single tablet of Advil in her purse.

But now, somehow, "zero tolerance," with its blunt force mindlessness, has become the go-to policy for securing our borders. (Even with the new executive order, that policy remains in place.)

What's important to recognize is that the children were not collateral damage of Trump's policy: They were the entire point. Removing them from their parents was designed to be shocking, because their trauma was intended as a deterrent. Under the New Cruelty, the pitiless separation of young children from their mothers was supposed to send a chilling message to anyone foolish enough to seek asylum here.

More important, it was supposed to project strength, or at least the bully's imitation of strength.

Perhaps more than any other trait, it is this that motivates Trump: his need to appear strong and his fear of looking weak.

Lewandowski, in this sense, is a bit player. He is just another of the menagerie of misfit toys, in the likeness of Steve Bannon, who feed off Trump's sundry insecurities. They do not shape or influence those anxieties, they simply minister to them, encouraging the president in his use of spite as substitute for real strength.

Earlier this week, the *Washington Post*'s Fred Hiatt described the New Cruelty as the ultimate victory of Bannonism:

> Truculent, anti-immigrant nationalism; disdain for the "deep state"; disparaging democratic allies while celebrating dictators: These are now the pillars of President Trump's rule. In his administration's policy, foreign and domestic, and in the compliant Republican Party, Bannonism is ascendant.

But as Hiatt later acknowledges, Bannonism is now indistinguishable from Trumpism. Perhaps it always was, because Trump's presidency has never really been about his staff, his cabinet, or his advisers.

Last year, after Bannon's spectacular defenestration, I cautioned those who thought that it might mark a significant shift in the trajectory of Trumpism.

> It's tempting to see Bannon's fall as an inflection point, [but] the reality is that his departure does nothing to change the fundamental nature of this presidency, which continues to be shaped by Donald Trump's hollow core, erratic character and impulsivity. . . .
>
> In other words, don't expect much to change. Bannon may have helped write the ill-fated travel ban, but it was Trump who denounced "Mexican rapists," and Trump who called for a Muslim ban. It was Trump, not Bannon, who rose from reality TV stardom to political prominence and power by spreading birther conspiracy theories. . . .
>
> Divorcing Bannon doesn't fix what is wrong with this presidency. The cancer at the heart of this White House isn't the staff. It's the man in the Oval Office and he is not changing.

That's aged pretty well, alas. ♦

# A War Everyone Loses

## Nothing good is likely to come from Trump's tariffs. BY MICHAEL WARREN

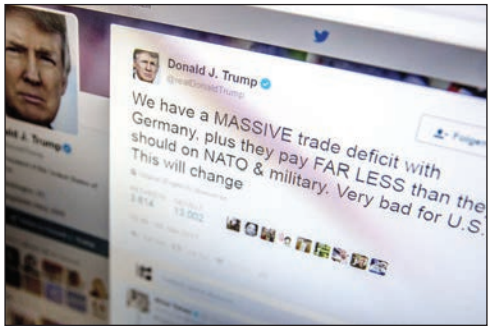
Gary Cohn, the former Goldman Sachs executive who until recently served in the White House as top economic adviser to President Donald Trump, offered an interesting admission last month. "I have always said a trade deficit doesn't matter," Cohn said at a June 14 event sponsored by the *Washington Post*.

Interesting, that is, because Cohn's former boss has spent his campaign and presidency arguing just the opposite: that trade deficits do matter, and that the United States's trade deficits with countries like China are a big problem that needs fixing. Trump offers his protectionist trade policies and "smarter" bilateral trade agreements as the antidote. It was Cohn's inability to convince Trump otherwise that prompted him to quit his job as director of the National Economic Council in April.

The president has been nothing if not consistent in his views of trade deficits: He doesn't like them. "The United States has suffered massive trade deficits with Japan for many, many years," Trump said in November 2017. At a rally in March, the president blasted the $500 billion trade deficit we have with China as "no good." Later that month, at the signing of a presidential memorandum targeting Chinese trade practices, he again bemoaned the existence of the trade deficit. "We have, right now, an $800 billion trade deficit with the world," Trump said. "So think of that. So let's say we have 500 to 375, but let's say we have 500 with China, but we have 800 total with the world. That would mean that China is more than half. So we're going to get it taken care of."

*Michael Warren is a senior writer at* The Weekly Standard.

At a press conference in Quebec following the G7 summit in June, President Trump responded to threats from allied countries to retaliate against his new tariffs on steel and aluminum with tariffs on U.S. goods. "Well, if they retaliate, they're making a mistake."




*'Very bad for U.S.': the tweeter in chief*

> Because, you see, we have a tremendous trade imbalance. So when we try and bring our piece up a little bit so that it's not so bad, and then they go up—right—the difference is they do so much more business with us than we do with them that we can't lose that. You understand. We can't lose it. And as an example, with one country we have $375 billion in trade deficits. We can't lose. You could make the case that they lost years ago. But when you're down $375 billion, you can't lose. And we have to bring them up.

Trump's view of trade deficits is not merely 180 degrees away from that of Cohn. Many economists and trade experts observe that the president appears to be ignorant of the factors that actually drive trade imbalances—and as a result he's drawing the wrong conclusions about deficits and how to fix them.

Trump's misunderstanding of the trade balance isn't unusual or all that surprising. It's a complex issue replete with counterintuitive terminology. Put simply, the balance of trade is defined as the difference between a country's exports and imports. If the United States exports more goods and services to a country than it imports from that country, it has a trade surplus; if it imports more than it exports, it has a trade deficit. The phrases "trade surplus" and "trade deficit" are descriptive of which direction the balance lies, but they say very little about the value of that balance.

The confusion arises from the use of the terms "deficit" and "surplus." When people talk about a *budget* deficit, they usually mean that an individual, business, or government is spending more money than it takes in—and that's a bad thing. A budget surplus, on the other hand, indicates there is more money in reserve than what we've spent, so let's use that extra cash to buy some champagne and celebrate! Doesn't the same principle apply to trade?

The short answer is: not necessarily. That's because trade, whether considered globally or bilaterally, isn't a zero-sum budget game. Despite the president's rhetoric, America doesn't always "lose" economic value when it imports more than it exports. In fact, when the United States has a trade deficit, it is often "paid for" by a surplus of foreign investment. That is, the cash flowing into the United States from exports, U.S. Treasury bonds, and other investment assets of foreigners is effectively equal to the amount we pay to foreign countries to import goods and services. That's the accounting relationship that really matters—not the one between exports and imports, but between so-called trade accounts and capital accounts.

Scott Lincicome, an adjunct scholar at the libertarian Cato Institute, says it "makes no sense to use the trade deficit as a trade policy scoreboard." There is near-universal consensus that trade balances have less to do with national trade policy than with macroeconomic factors such as differences between savings and investment, he says. Countries with high savings rates, such as Germany, tend to have trade surpluses. Countries like the

MICHAEL KAPPELER / DPA / PICTURE ALLIANCE / ALAMY

United States, where consumers spend a lot, foreign investment is high, and the federal government runs a budget deficit, often have trade deficits.

"If we have low savings rates, high consumption, and a ton of attractiveness for foreign investment, we have a significant trade deficit," Lincicome says. "It's always frustrating when you hear the president, in one breath, bemoan the trade deficit, and in the next breath, celebrate all these foreign companies investing in the United States."

Some economists argue that trade deficits aren't always a good thing, but not for the reasons the president usually cites. Brad Setser of the Council on Foreign Relations says an overall trade deficit can have the effect of driving up a country's external debt, for example. A debt increase could be exacerbated if our current low interest rates start creeping up, something he sees as a possibility.

"As interest rates normalize, one byproduct of that is it actually gets a little harder for the United States to run trade deficits without raising its external debt-to-GDP" ratio, Setser says. In other words, if we're importing more than we're exporting and interest rates go up, we'll have to borrow more money from overseas to finance the deficit.

Some voices from the left are also warning about trade deficits. Liberal economists Jared Bernstein and Dean Baker wrote in the *Atlantic* shortly before Trump's inauguration that although "it's not inherently a problem for a country to have a trade deficit," what matters are macroeconomic trends. In the post-2001 recession, they argue, the growing trade deficit "was subtracting from demand in the domestic economy" and exacerbating the weakness of the economy. The pair point to evidence that, even in boom times, the capital flow into the United States from countries with trade surpluses can contribute to financial-market bubbles.

And in a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed in May, Jason Furman, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Obama, expressed concern that borrowing from foreign governments like China to finance our trade imbalance could get more expensive and force drastic domestic spending cuts in the future.

Even for the economists who would like to see a more balanced trade regime, the Trump administration's proposed remedy of tariffs is a nonstarter. "A trade war typically lowers the overall level of trade. It's not the most obvious way to change the balance of trade," says Setser. Instead, he says, more saving in the United States and looser fiscal policies in countries like Germany could do a lot more to shift the balance. Counteracting currency manipulation in Asian countries, he added, would be a better way to pursue trade balance.

"Trade balances overall are driven by giant, macroeconomic factors. If you don't change the giant, macroeconomic facts, good luck using tariffs," says Lincicome, who is skeptical of trade balance manipulation. He notes that while the United States is the world's biggest importer, it's also the second-largest exporter, just behind China.

But it's the bogeyman of China that most motivates Peter Navarro, President Trump's tariff-boosting Svengali. In a speech in March 2017, Navarro, just installed as head of the president's National Trade Council, insisted trade deficits, particularly those with China, "do indeed matter, and it is a critical economic goal and in the interest of national security to reduce these deficits in a way that expands overall trade." Navarro is nearly alone among economists and trade experts in his beliefs. But he's also alone in having President Trump's ear. Just ask Gary Cohn. ♦

# Unlikely to Be Fired

## Trump may well prefer for Mueller to play out the string. BY TOD LINDBERG

For much of the past year, speculation has swirled that President Trump will fire Robert Mueller, the independent counsel investigating supposed links between Russia and the Trump campaign. Interestingly, the likelihood that Trump fires Mueller is an area of rare bipartisan agreement in Washington—though of course, the speculated reasons why he might do so vary greatly.

Democrats think Trump may or will fire Mueller as a last-ditch attempt to derail an investigation closing in on him. Republican supporters of the president think Trump might or should fire Mueller because his probe has become exactly the "witch hunt" the president often tweets that it is.

*Tod Lindberg is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and a contributing editor to* The Weekly Standard.

Republican never-Trumpers and neutrals by and large take the view that the investigation must run its course even (or perhaps especially) if there was "no collusion" with Russia, as Trump insists on a regular basis. Disrupting the investigation would worsen the president's position. But such is their generally low opinion of Trump that many of them, too, regard it as likely that the president will fire Mueller despite his own best interests in letting the investigation play out.

Hence the subsidiary ballyhoo about how to "protect" Mueller: by insisting that doing away with the investigation would itself be grounds for impeachment, or by congressional enactment of some statutory limitation on the president's authority—a proposition of highly dubious constitutionality even in the event that Congress could override a Trump veto of such legislation.

Let's acknowledge that many Republicans want Trump to defenestrate Mueller. But let's acknowledge that many Democrats would also love for him to do exactly that: for the paradoxical sake of ramping up bipartisan support for the investigation, perhaps culminating in enough GOP support for impeachment among the current neutrals and never-Trumpers, who for all their never-Trumping have mostly refrained from calling for impeachment as they await further details from Mueller's investigation.

Hmm. It seems that the single person in Washington least convinced the president will or should fire Mueller may be none other than Donald J. Trump—a conclusion borne out by the fact that, ahem, Trump has not fired Mueller.

Well, some have reported, he has thought about it and has even told aides to do it, only to be talked out of it. Yet the president's frustration with the probe is manifest, and he is well known for venting to aides and advisers. Threatening to fire Mueller is not equal to firing Mueller, nor is it clear that the proper inference to be drawn from such reports is that Trump is considering firing Mueller; rather, it may be that Trump has considered and rejected firing Mueller.

Why would that be? A conventional answer: because Trump fears the consequences of doing so. He knows that the political fallout from going nuclear could take him out as well.

Maybe. But there are good reasons to think that's not the correct answer. First, Trump may well believe that he could survive the fallout. Would enough House Republicans really turn on him to make an impeachment vote a real possibility? In congressional districts that Trump carried and where he remains in many cases very popular? Or in more marginal districts on the eve of an election in which GOP turnout is critical?

Second, firing Mueller wouldn't end the investigation. If Trump believed at the time that firing FBI director James Comey would end the matter, he has learned he was mistaken. Getting rid of Mueller would remove a personality, but not the investigative mechanisms currently in place.

Finally, and most important, leaving Mueller in place at this point may serve Trump's interests not merely in the sense of averting negative consequences but also in a positive sense.

Broadly speaking, there are two possibilities underlying the current state of affairs. Either Trump is speaking the truth when he says "no collusion" or he is lying. To break that down further, we need to ask what he means

THOMAS FLUHARTY

when he says "no collusion." He seems to be referring to his campaign as a whole, but in truth, he can't really know whether those former associates of his who got caught in Mueller's net "colluded" (whatever that means) or whether others hitherto unknown did. In this respect, it must be gratifying to Trump himself that the evidence surfaced so far amounts to little. To put it baldly, he can't really know what all the actors in his campaign have been up to.

Thus "no collusion" covers two contingencies: The first is that there is no evidence of any collusion by anyone on or close to the campaign (at least nothing worse than Donald Trump Jr., son-in-law Jared Kushner, and then-campaign manager Paul Manafort meeting with a couple of shady Russians in Trump Tower in June 2016 in the quickly frustrated anticipation of getting dirt on Hillary Clinton). If Mueller produces no evidence to the contrary, the blanket denial can stand as having referred to the entire campaign. But if Mueller does find such evidence, Trump can readily pivot to the position that by "no collusion" he meant on his own part. Those who think the actions of former Trump campaign figures such as Manafort, George Papadopoulos, Carter Page, and Michael Flynn already constitute sufficient evidence of collusion or intent to collude have yet to come to grips with the extent to which what matters is what Trump knew and did.

So "no collusion" constitutes, above all, his emphatic denial of personal wrongdoing. And indeed, his pique with Comey seems to have originated with Comey's unwillingness to say publicly what Comey told Trump privately: that Trump himself was not under investigation. Likewise the hay Trump spokespersons made of the language in the most recent Mueller indictments—that the campaign did not "knowingly" have any inappropriate contacts with Russians. While evidence of wrongdoing by those close to him during the campaign would be damaging, Trump can likely survive it if his personal "no collusion" denial still stands.

Under the proper circumstances, that is. Some look at Trump and see a man who is acting like he is guilty of something. By and large, however, these are people whose minds were made up against Trump long ago. It is at least equally plausible, given his mercurial personality, that he is acting exactly as a Donald Trump blameless on the underlying question of collusion would act.

In either case, what Trump has understood is that his political opponents are trying to drive him out of the White House, and for them, the Mueller investigation is neither more nor less than a means to that end. Some of the opposition motivation is sheer personal disgust, some of it the pursuit of the kind of partisan advantage

Democrats enjoyed following Richard Nixon's resignation in 1974, some of it principled in terms of his policy choices and his domestically and internationally disruptive behavior. But it's the political reality he faces.

It's impossible to speculate with any credibility on what Mueller himself thinks of this whole project. Does he see his job as bringing down a man so many of Mueller's most vocal supporters believe is unfit ever to have ascended to the Oval Office? Or would Mueller be content to de-escalate to the point at which he poses no threat to Trump's presidency? One way or the other, it is quite plausible to say that Trump has reached the conclusion that it's either Mueller or Trump—that is, this epic political confrontation can have only one winner. Trump has thus concentrated his Twitter account on deriding the legitimacy of Mueller's investigation and discrediting it.

This has rightly reminded many people of Bill Clinton's effort to discredit the independent counsel investigation into the 42nd president's conduct, including his sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky. For some, "no collusion" sounds like "I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky."

We know now that Clinton was lying, but there is no reason to think his political strategy would have been any different had the allegations indeed been fabricated by a "vast right-wing conspiracy." He understood his presidency was in grave peril and that his top priority was to keep his party united behind him. That included members of his cabinet, to whom he lied personally, Democrats in Congress, and the party base. Clinton's surrogates focused on the supposed injustice of the independent counsel investigation of Kenneth Starr not only to smear Starr but also and primarily to create a bête noire upon whom his supporters could focus their anger.

Clinton couldn't fire Starr, who was appointed under the authority of the now-defunct independent counsel statute. Whether he would have considered doing so if he could have we will never know, but from the time news of the Lewinsky affair broke in January 1998 until Starr presented his findings of "impeachable offenses" in a report to Congress in September of that year, Starr's investigation served as an ideal whipping boy, constrained as it was by prosecutorial canons requiring that the independent counsel refrain from explaining or defending his office's conduct.

Clinton resolved at the outset, in one of the most determined decisions of his presidency, that he was not leaving office early. He would do whatever it might take to avoid that outcome, including lying in public and under oath. By the time the Starr report did come out, outrage against Starr among Democrats was sufficiently solid that there was no realistic chance enough Democrats in the Senate would defect to remove Clinton from office.

Mueller and his "13 angry Democrats"—Trump's reference to the bizarre decision of Mueller to mainly staff his office with Democrats—have likewise served Trump's interest in galvanizing his supporters. In the absence of a voluntary decision on the part of Mueller to exonerate Trump and shut down the probe, Trump is probably about as well-positioned to make good on his own determination to remain in office as he could be. Mueller is his whipping boy: Dumping him would be counterproductive; worse than a crime, it would be a blunder.

It's also worth noting that Trump has a longer time horizon than Clinton did (not counting the latter's political aspirations for his wife). Trump no doubt has in mind using a victory over the effort to drive him from office as a springboard to reelection. Clinton never had such an opportunity—which, strictly from the point of view of the connoisseurship of our democratic politics, is really kind of a shame. ♦

# Heterodoxy Now

## Celebrating viewpoint diversity.

**BY ADAM RUBENSTEIN**

*New York*

There is truth to the cliché that academic politics are so vicious because the stakes are so low. But the stakes might not be as low as we think. Recent polling data from the Brookings Institution suggest that a near-majority of college students don't believe hate speech is protected by the First Amendment (it is). Sixty-two percent of students who identify themselves as left-leaning agree that silencing another person's speech through protest is acceptable. And one in five college students believes it is acceptable to use violence to stop speech with which they disagree.

*Adam Rubenstein is assistant opinion editor of* The Weekly Standard.

The growing power of these views on the campus left has many principled liberals (or classical liberals, as they often call themselves) worried. On June 15, Heterodox Academy (HxA), an organization founded in 2015 by academics to advance "viewpoint diversity" and tolerance on college campuses, met in New York City for its inaugural Open Mind Conference.

Jonathan Haidt, one of the founders of HxA and a professor at New York University's Stern School of Business, opened the gathering by parsing the challenges to liberal education posed by what he calls viewpoint orthodoxy. He identified and rebuked "call-out culture," wherein students gain prestige or status by trying to appear more radical than their peers. "You say it's

white supremacy, I'll raise you fascism [or] Nazism," Haidt says, describing the phenomenon. In this climate of woke one-upmanship, many students end up self-censoring, fearful of reprisals in the form of online harassment or ostracism by their peers. This call-out culture can only thrive in an environment of intellectual homogeneity, Haidt says, where orthodoxy is more powerful than inquiry.

Heterodox Academy wants to change that. The organization boasts over 1,800 members committed to viewpoint diversity. HxA's statement of principles includes a vow to "support viewpoint diversity in my academic field, my university, my department, and my classroom." Some of the organization's members have done so at considerable professional and personal cost.

Allison Stanger, a political scientist at Middlebury College and outspoken liberal, had to leave Middlebury during the spring semester of 2017 to recover from a concussion she suffered at the hands of an angry student mob that was trying to prevent her from interviewing the scholar Charles Murray. Another panelist at the conference, Alice Dreger, a historian and bioethicist, resigned from the faculty of Northwestern University in 2015 after her dean censored her work. Professor Heather Heying, a biologist, was effectively run off campus and out of her job at Evergreen State after her husband, also a professor, ran afoul of activist students. She now calls herself a "professor-in-exile."

All three of these academics are stalwart progressives, but because they attempted to defend free speech and open inquiry, they ended up on the wrong side of the campus left. During a conference panel discussion, Heying points out that it's not solely students who are running amok. In fact, the protests targeting her and her husband "weren't led by the protesters. [They were] initiated by, basically, a cabal of faculty and staff behind the scenes," she says.

HxA is fighting back with an impressive and prolific group of scholars. In his new book with Greg Lukianoff, *The Coddling of the American Mind* (out in September), Haidt argues that despite avowedly good intentions, campus faculty have weakened the emotional and intellectual capabilities of their students. Haidt and Lukianoff describe three "Great Untruths" that have spread on campus in recent years: the "Untruth of Fragility (What doesn't kill you makes you weaker)," the "Untruth of Emotional Reasoning (Always trust your feelings)," and the "Untruth of Us Versus Them (Life is a battle between good people and evil people)." They urge university administrators, faculty, and students to reaffirm their commitment to free speech and free inquiry on campus.

*Above, Greg Lukianoff, left, and Jonathan Haidt; inset at right, Allison Stanger*

Nadine Strossen, former ACLU president and HxA booster, echoes this theme, describing to conference-goers how she was "no-platformed" at American University after being invited to speak about Title IX. In her new book, *HATE: Why We Should Resist It With Free Speech, Not Censorship*, she eviscerates the misguided view that hate speech (however offensive) is not protected by the First Amendment. And Zachary Wood, a recent graduate of Williams College and author of the new book *Uncensored: My Life and Uncomfortable Conversations at the Intersection of Black and White America*, received an award for his efforts as president of the campus group Uncomfortable Learning, which brings controversial speakers to campus for lectures. Wood tells me that he wished his campus administration and college president had been more supportive of the viewpoint diversity he brought to campus.

HxA drew a lively audience of conservatives and liberals to New York, but the focus of many of the panels also highlighted one of the organization's biggest challenges: moving beyond discussions of the *form* campus debates should take and into the more vexed question of the *substance* of the ideas being debated. Most of the panelists at the conference agreed that people invited to campuses to speak shouldn't be disinvited as the result of student pressure and that students shouldn't be allowed to stifle speech by shouting each other down in public settings or in the classroom. Most also agreed that to be offended or uncomfortable in the classroom is part of what it means to be educated.

But the greater challenge is assessing the *quality* of speech on campus.

"Why are we spending university money on non-intellectuals?" Alice Dreger asks, no doubt thinking of the clownish radicalism of publicity-seekers such as Milo Yiannopoulos. Should such views be added to the mix simply for the sake of diversity or should additional quality standards apply, even among those who rightly disdain orthodoxy? If so, who is qualified to set those standards and how can campuses be sure they are applied fairly?

"If we're going to pursue justice, we have to care about truth," Dreger says. How does the ideal heterodox campus deal with issues such as climate science, which draws both vehement skeptics and supporters to the debate, all of whom justify their arguments by citing scientific proof?

In other words: Heterodoxy is all well and good, but who decides the limits of heterodoxy on campus, and which standards apply?

For the moment, it's enough of an

HETERODOX ACADEMY

achievement that HxA has succeeded in creating a movement to restore civility to academic disputes. As the lively debates among panelists and audience members in New York attest, disagreement doesn't have to be vicious or ideologically driven; it can be passionate without becoming violent. ♦

# The Disease of Political Jealousy

## It takes experience to drain a swamp.

**BY STEPHEN MILLER**

There are polls about how Americans rate Congress—very low!—but of course there are no polls about how congressmen and senators rate the American people. Many national politicians, I suspect, would give the American people a low rating for one reason: So many Americans have the fantastical notion that the best person to represent them in Washington is someone with no political experience whatsoever.

The *New York Times* reported that the results of some recent primaries were "a vivid illustration of just how toxic the taint of Washington may be in 2018. The night was a near-wipeout for members of the House seeking higher office." The *Washington Post* hit the same note: "If there was one descriptor you didn't want next to your name Tuesday, it was 'congressman.'" To be sure, many Americans have a favorable opinion of their own congressman, but not of Congress in general.

Is there any other job where having work experience in your field is something that you do not want to tell your prospective employer?

To paraphrase Yeats, many Americans have fed their hearts on fantasies. They assume that the more time a person spends in Washington—aka the swamp—the greater the likelihood that he (or she) will lose his


*Except when it is*

integrity and become disconnected from "real" Americans.

The suspicion of national politicians is an old, old story. In 18th-century America it was called jealousy. Americans were jealous of their rights, and they feared that Washington politicians would conspire to undermine them. Both Alexander Hamilton and James Madison worried that excessive political jealousy would make it difficult to form an "energetic"—Hamilton's term—national government.

In *Federalist* 26 Hamilton argues that "the principles which had taught us [Americans] to be jealous of the power of an hereditary monarch were by an *injudicious* excess extended to the representatives of the people in their popular assemblies [emphasis mine]."

Madison agreed. In *Federalist* 55 he says: "Were the pictures which have been drawn by the political jealousy of some of us faithful likenesses of the human character, the inference would be, that there is not sufficient virtue among men for self-government; and that nothing less than the chains of despotism can restrain them from destroying and devouring one another."

Political jealousy has always been a strong current in American politics, but for two reasons it has become even stronger in recent years. First, many Americans say they would like to reduce the size of the federal government, yet at the same time they want the government to help them in myriad ways. If there are cutbacks in the government programs they rely on, they jump to the conclusion that unsavory deals are being made in swampy Washington by politicians beholden to well-heeled lobbyists.

Second, the Internet is rife with websites that peddle conspiracy theories and promote a hyperpartisan brand of politics that is also the stock-in-trade of many television commentators on the left and the right. These opinionators are angry that Congress is dysfunctional, yet they often criticize congressmen who cross party lines to draft legislation.

Since political jealousy is likely to remain a strong current, in November we will probably see a new crop of outsiders in Congress—people with no experience in government. It is reasonable to assume that they will fail to fix what's wrong with Congress.

To make the legislative branch of government effective, we need experienced politicians who have the courage to compromise on legislation—politicians who can also oppose foolish legislation proposed by the executive branch.

Madison hoped that Americans elected to Congress would develop the esprit de corps that comes from sitting in a national deliberative body. Mark Twain once said, "Suppose you were an idiot, and suppose you were

NEWSCOM

*Stephen Miller's books include* Special Interest Groups in American Politics *(Transaction, 1983).*

a member of Congress; but I repeat myself." This is a cheap shot. Many members of Congress—even those who have served many terms—are smart and possess integrity. The most superficial reading of American history gives us examples of honorable members of Congress—from Henry Clay to John McCain. I worked once for a senator—he would be embarrassed if I mentioned his name—who is one of the most admirable Americans I've ever met.

Politically jealous Americans should keep in mind that "playing politics" is not reprehensible. Tommy Corcoran—a Washington insider who advised many presidents—is reported to have said: "You can't take the politics out of politics." George Will once spoke of "the dignity of the political vocation." Americans will continue to have a dysfunctional government so long as they assume that serving in Washington means losing your integrity. ♦

# The Clock Ticks for Affirmative Action

## Sandra Day O'Connor envisioned a deadline for racial preferences. BY MARK BAUERLEIN

June 23 marks the 15th anniversary of *Grutter* v. *Bollinger*, the most important affirmative action decision since the *Bakke* case of 1978. We mark the date because Justice Sandra Day O'Connor told us to—and the deadline she set is only 10 years away now. In her majority opinion in *Grutter*, she upheld the University of Michigan Law School's treatment of race as a "plus" factor in admissions, but she also set a time limit for that policy: "We expect that 25 years from now the use of racial preferences will no longer be necessary to further the interest approved today." Given what she said about the temporary nature of race-based decision-making elsewhere in her opinion, we know that the statement was not merely an expression of hope that colleges would by 2028 reach minority enrollments in proportion to the general population. It firmly decreed that affirmative action would be legal only for a set period of time, a quarter-century.

*Mark Bauerlein is an English professor at Emory University and senior editor of* First Things.

Three months earlier, Atlanta attorney A. Lee Parks, who had won a case challenging affirmative action at the University of Georgia, wrote in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, "Title VI provides a straightforward statutory basis for invalidating Michigan's policy." In *Bakke*, Justice Lewis Powell famously elevated diversity into a compelling state interest that overrides Title VI, but as Parks noted, "no other justice joined in that part of his opinion." Instead, during oral arguments, Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Antonin Scalia and Anthony Kennedy pressed Michigan's counsel on whether the term "critical mass" amounted to a quota (if it did, it clearly violated what the court ruled in *Bakke*). She responded that at Michigan "there is no fixed number," but rather variation every year due to "the characteristics of the applicant pool"—at best, a thin justification.

When the court's 5-4 decision in *Grutter* came down, supporters of affirmative action claimed victory. The *New York Times* editorialized that the decision "essentially ratified an existing national consensus." A letter signed by a group of distinguished constitutional scholars began, "Affirmative action in higher education is alive and well."

But depicting the decision as an unequivocal victory for affirmative action meant deliberately ignoring the expiration date O'Connor had set. Justice Clarence Thomas said in his dissent, "I agree with the Court's holding that racial discrimination in higher education admissions will be illegal in 25 years," but progressive supporters of affirmative action interpreted the 25-year horizon as conditional, or at least ambiguous enough for them to claim that if proportional representation of minorities isn't reached by 2028, affirmative action won't end.

Harvard law professor Charles Fried, solicitor general under Ronald Reagan but later a supporter of Barack Obama, stated that O'Connor's assertion "is no limitation at all," only an "expectation." Yale professor Robert Post argued that the timetable "sounds more like a pious wish than a conclusion of law." An article in a 2006 issue of the *Ohio State Law Journal* claimed that O'Connor cast the whole issue of durational limits "almost as an afterthought."

On the contrary, everything O'Connor wrote in her opinion suggests she intended the deadline as more than a mere suggestion or hope.

In oral arguments, she worried about programs with "a vague distant termination base." In the paragraphs in her opinion preceding the 25-year marker, she cited one precedent that made clear the 14th Amendment doesn't allow "governmentally imposed discrimination based on race." It doesn't matter how "compelling" the goals, she continued, our "fundamental equal protection principle" forbids us from "enshrining a permanent justification for racial preferences."

Further, she wrote, "Race-conscious admissions policies must be limited in time" and "all governmental use of race must have a logical end point." She even noted that institutions of higher education could use "sunset provisions in race conscious admissions policies

and periodic reviews to determine whether racial preferences are still necessary to achieve student body diversity." The university itself acknowledged the temporary aspect of the practice, O'Connor noted: "The Law School, too, concedes that all 'race-conscious programs must have reasonable durational limits.'"

You can't construe Justice O'Connor's statements as anything other than an expiration date. To make race-conscious decisions is "dangerous," she wrote, a "deviation from the norm of equal treatment," as another precedent she quoted put it. That is why she said explicitly that it is a "requirement that all race-conscious admissions programs have a termination point." When O'Connor wrote her *Grutter* opinion it had been 25 years since *Bakke*; another 25 years probably seemed a reasonable amount of time. By this reasoning, on June 24, 2028, affirmative action will be unconstitutional.

Of course, when that day arrives and colleges haven't achieved racially proportionate representation, everybody will be dismayed. But by specifying an endpoint to affirmative action policies, Justice O'Connor did something useful for the cause of equality: She decoupled the laudable goal of equality from the means employed to achieve it.

It is easy for people to become so invested in a policy that they stress the practice more than the purpose, especially when the practice has acquired so much symbolic value and when the livelihoods of thousands of diversity administrators depend upon it. Recall the name of a prominent group formed to defend affirmative action in the 1990s: BAMN, which stands for "By Any Means Necessary."

Sunset provisions, by contrast, force administrators periodically to assess whether a particular method remains effective. If they know a policy won't last forever, they must keep alternatives in mind, which means adopting a more pragmatic rather than an ideological approach to implementation. This also allows administrators to adjust to changing times.

The racial gap in education closed significantly during the mid- to late-20th century, but in recent years that progress has slowed. The black-white score gap on the National Assessment of Educational Progress exam for 8th-grade students in reading was 27 points in 2002, 27 in 2007, and 26 in 2017. The math gap for 12th graders was 31 points in 2005 and remained mostly unchanged in 2015.

At the postgraduate level, rates of African-American achievement are disheartening. According to the National Science Foundation, people who are "Black or African-American" earned barely 2 percent of Ph.D.s in physical sciences and earth sciences in 2016. Universities awarded 1,730 doctorates in math and computer sciences in 2016, but only 78 of them went to black or African-American individuals.

Even in the humanities, where African-American studies programs and hiring have been an obsession for more than three decades, blacks and African-Americans didn't even reach 4 percent of the total.

DAVE MALAN

An understanding that affirmative action policies are only temporary helps a society that embraces them to weigh the costs against the benefits, which in this case, as data show, are meager for the group the policy is intended to help.

Fifty years of affirmative action in college admissions hasn't led to anything like a critical mass of African-Americans in the higher reaches of academia, but it has aggravated group tensions on campuses and throughout the country. Equal protection gives Americans confidence in their nation and their place within it. Preferences erode that civic sense. That's why Justice O'Connor was not being hyperbolic when she called racial classifications "dangerous." (It is telling that when she retired from the Court, Justice O'Connor devoted herself to civic education in primary and secondary schools.)

Meanwhile, as academics and advocates have fervently defended the practice in spite of its small demonstrable advantages, the share of black children who live in single-parent households has risen to two-thirds. Given the high correlation between family structure and educational attainment, this trend casts affirmative action in a different light. Racial preferences boost a tiny cohort of African-Americans once they reach the point where they can seek entry into elite institutions. But for everyone else, it does little.

A time limit on affirmative action makes it easier to recognize this incongruity. The end of *Grutter* wouldn't mean the end of efforts to improve the prospects of minority students. It signals a more flexible approach to democratic problem-solving and reminds everyone that each particular instrument of social engineering that skirts American norms must, at some point, end.

We may find that end coming sooner than O'Connor's 2028 deadline. A group called Students for Fair Admissions has sued Harvard University on the grounds that Harvard discriminates against Asian-American students. It has marshaled persuasive evidence to justify its claim. The pool of highly competitive Asian-American applicants has grown considerably in recent years, but at Harvard and other elite schools, the rate of acceptance for those students hasn't risen accordingly. As the case moves forward—it will be heard in a district court in October—defenders of affirmative action will no doubt rely on the *Grutter* decision.

**Fifty years of affirmative action in college admissions hasn't led to anything like a critical mass of African-Americans in the higher reaches of academia, but it has aggravated group tensions on campuses and throughout the country.**

But *Grutter* may not prove the most reliable ally. If we go back to Justice O'Connor's opinion, we find another statement about preferences that perfectly suits the claims of the Asian-American students: "Narrow tailoring, therefore, requires that a race-conscious admissions program not unduly harm members of any racial group." In the next sentence, she reiterates the need for "continual oversight" to ensure that such harm doesn't occur:

> Even remedial race-based governmental action generally "remains subject to continuing oversight to assure that it will work the least harm possible to other innocent persons competing for the benefit."

Note carefully the words O'Connor chose to quote in that sentence. They come from Justice Powell's opinion in *Bakke*, the ruling that first allowed diversity ideology in higher education. Powell's reasoning carries great standing among affirmative action proponents, but it will not be difficult to use his formulation to demonstrate that Asian-Americans are "innocent persons" who nevertheless now have a much higher bar to cross to gain admission to elite institutions.

In demonstrating the undue harm visited upon Asian-Americans, the complainants can cite the very sources that fans of affirmative action have depended upon for 40 years and whose decisions they would do well to revisit more carefully: Justices Powell and O'Connor. ♦

# A Health Care Victory for Small Businesses

**THOMAS J. DONOHUE**
PRESIDENT AND CEO
U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

There is good news at last for the millions of small businesses nationwide that have struggled to find affordable health insurance. Last week the Trump administration released a new rule expanding Association Health Plans (AHPs), which will allow small businesses to finally offer their employees the same type of coverage that large businesses have had for years.

AHPs are a way for small businesses and self-employed Americans to band together, whether by industry or geography, to enroll in a single group health plan that will cover far more employees than a plan used by an individual small business. Under the rule, these companies and their employees will have additional choices for health coverage. Because AHPs will cover so many people, these plans will be governed by rules that apply to large group plans, which are far less prescriptive, allowing coverage to be significantly more affordable.

Previously, the unequal treatment of large and small companies left smaller businesses with a stark choice: either pay for high-priced comprehensive plans or offer no health coverage at all. Is it any wonder that the number of small businesses offering coverage has fallen in recent years?

Thanks to AHPs, that trend may soon reverse. According to the Congressional Budget Office, some 400,000 currently uninsured Americans are expected to attain coverage due to last week's rule. In total, an estimated 4 million Americans will enroll in and benefit from new AHPs. State and regional chambers of commerce and other associations are eager to offer meaningful AHP coverage at a cost that member companies and their employees can afford—while preserving important consumer protections and nondiscrimination provisions.

This regulation will provide welcome opportunities for small businesses, but much more still needs to be done to expand access to affordable health coverage choices for all Americans. Many of these additional reforms will require congressional action, which is why the U.S. Chamber of Commerce is continuing to work with Congress to achieve the long-standing goal of a modern, stable, and affordable health care system.

Nonetheless, AHPs are a major step in the right direction for small businesses and the millions of Americans who will now be able to buy lower cost health insurance plans. The Chamber applauds President Trump, Labor Secretary Acosta, and Health and Human Services Secretary Azar for making this a reality. And we look forward to working with them on further improvements to American health care.

# The Anti-Israel Seat

## Ilhan Omar bids to succeed Keith Ellison in Minnesota's Fifth District. BY SCOTT W. JOHNSON

*Minneapolis*

Norah Shapiro is either the luckiest or most prescient filmmaker around. She debuted her documentary *Time for Ilhan* in April at the Tribeca Film Festival and then screened it in May at Minnesota's Duluth Superior Film Festival. The film recounts the 2016 election of Ilhan Omar to the Minnesota statehouse. It's not much to hang a hat—or headscarf—on, but it rocketed Omar to international renown as the first Somali-American elected to an American legislature. A member of the Democratic minority in the Minnesota house, Omar has accomplished approximately nothing of substance.

*Ilhan Omar*

But events in the weeks after the premiere prove Shapiro was on to something. On June 5, after receiving the DFL (the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor party, affiliated with the national Democratic party) endorsement for his reelection bid, incumbent Minnesota congressman Keith Ellison announced he would stand down to contest the DFL nomination for state attorney general against endorsed candidate Matt Pelikan. Pelikan secured the nomination when incumbent attorney general Lori Swanson rocked the DFL convention by withdrawing her candidacy for reelection after she failed to secure the nomination on the first ballot. Swanson has since filed to run for the party's gubernatorial nomination against DFL-endorsed candidate Erin Murphy.

In the DFL this year, whirl is king. The Fifth Congressional District seat is a Democratic sinecure; it was Ellison's for as long as he wanted it. He has abandoned it to challenge the party-endorsed candidate for attorney general, and it's not necessarily a sure thing. Ellison has never run for statewide office, and his bid to become Minnesota's chief law enforcement officer is particularly problematic. He has a record of making statements supporting cop killers, including Joanne Chesimard (aka Assata Shakur), the first woman to be named to the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list. No Republican has served as Minnesota attorney general since 1971, but Ellison might be just what the GOP doctor ordered.

Ellison's June 5 announcement created an opening for Omar. Omar's legislative district in Minneapolis sits squarely within the Fifth District. She quickly declared her intention to seek to succeed Ellison. Despite her lack of accomplishment, she won the party's endorsement at the special DFL Fifth District endorsing convention held on June 17. She'll face four opponents in the August 14 primary to determine the party's nominee, but by any reckoning she must be deemed the heavy favorite.

Omar has a certain star quality. An articulate and attractive woman, she came to the United States from Somalia by way of a Kenyan refugee camp at the age of 12. She's nevertheless a self-described "intersectional feminist" who espouses the full Bernie Bro socialist catastrophe with slightly less charm than Hillary Clinton.

The Fifth District is made up of Minneapolis and inner-ring suburbs including St. Louis Park. With a Cook Partisan Voting Index of D+26, it is one of the most heavily Democratic districts in the country. The DFL nominee will win the election this November. One of the four candidates contending with Omar for the nomination, incidentally, is Frank Drake. Drake last ran for office as the *Republican* candidate against Ellison in 2016; Ellison defeated Drake by 47 points, though the Legal Marijuana Now candidate siphoned off 30,000 votes to hold Ellison's margin down. Drake's candidacy is a joke, but in the unlikely event he scores the party nomination this time around, he would be elected.

The Fifth District includes thousands of Jewish voters. Many of them are party stalwarts and community leaders. In 2006, after winning the party endorsement and proceeding to a contested primary, Ellison felt compelled to answer the concerns of Jewish voters about his past association with the Nation of Islam in a public letter addressed to the Jewish Community Relations Council. Each of the letter's basic assertions of fact was false—see my "Louis Farrakhan's First Congressman" (THE WEEKLY STANDARD, October 9, 2006)—but Ellison paid the community the courtesy of making up a plausible story to allay its concerns. It was more than enough for him to come away with the endorsement of Minneapolis's (very liberal) *American Jewish World*.

Omar may have to address a similar issue of her own. During Israel's hostilities with Hamas in 2014, Omar tweeted, "Israel has hypnotized the world, may Allah awaken the people and help them see the evil doings of Israel." In a May 31 tweet this year, she referred to Israel as an "apartheid regime." This raises a question for prominent Minnesota Democrats as much as for the district's Israel-supporting Jews. I wrote Governor Mark Dayton, who has endorsed Omar, senators Amy Klobuchar and Tina Smith, DFL chairman Ken Martin, and others to ask whether someone who calls Israel a racist state is an acceptable DFL candidate for congressional office. Only Smith responded—sort of: "Senator Smith is not taking a position in the 5th Congressional District primary race, but believes voters in the district have several great candidates to choose from." We'll learn months before the November election whether it's again time for Ilhan. ♦

EMILIE RICHARDSON / BLOOMBERG / GETTY

*Scott W. Johnson is a Minneapolis attorney and a contributor to the* Power Line *blog.*

# The Last Insurgent

*In Mississippi's special Senate election, Trump's favor is 'stronger than goat's breath.' This year that may hurt anti-establishment campaigns like Chris McDaniel's.*

*Chris McDaniel at a Biloxi event during his 2014 GOP runoff campaign against Mississippi senator Thad Cochran*

JUSTIN SULLIVAN / GETTY

**By Peter J. Boyer**

*Hattiesburg, Miss.*

It's an unusual election year in Mississippi, where both Senate seats are at stake. There is talk of a doomsday scenario in which a Democrat will win a seat that has been held by Republicans for 40 years. What is striking about this narrative is that it is recited most insistently by Republicans.

Central to this storyline is the specter of Alabama and last year's special election there, in which the problematic Republican Roy Moore lost a previously invulnerable seat to Democrat Doug Jones. Choose the wrong candidate, this cautionary tale warns Mississippians, and the Senate seat won by Thad Cochran in 1978, and held by the GOP ever since, could be lost—and possibly the Republican majority with it.

In the special election to replace Cochran, who resigned earlier this year at age 80 for health reasons, establishment Republicans have made it clear who the wrong candidate would be—state senator Chris McDaniel, who challenged Cochran in the GOP primary in 2014 and very nearly beat him. That race crystallized the divide on the right and raised the alarm from Jackson to Washington, D.C. McDaniel was an avowed troublemaker, a self-proclaimed "constitutional conservative" backed by the Tea Party. His role model was Texas senator Ted Cruz, who months before had led an effort to defund Obamacare that resulted in a government shutdown. Many Republicans in Washington thought one Ted Cruz was more than enough.

McDaniel had seemed to come out of nowhere in 2014, propelled by grassroots energy and a populist urge to upset the established order. This year, establishment Republicans were prepared for his return.

In late January, Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell invited Mississippi's Republican governor, Phil Bryant, to be his guest at the State of the Union address. Cochran's resignation, though not yet publicly announced, was expected, and the governor would be key in deciding his replacement. A special election to fill Cochran's seat would not occur until November, but in the meantime, Bryant had the option of appointing an interim senator, thus giving that person the advantage of several months' incumbency going into the election. Bryant's options were discussed: McConnell slyly suggested that Bryant appoint himself; the governor demurred. The message was clear: anybody but McDaniel.

Cochran, for his part, timed his departure in a manner that boxed McDaniel into an awkward position. He

*Peter J. Boyer is a national correspondent at* The Weekly Standard.

announced his resignation on March 5 (effective April 1), which was past the filing deadline for Mississippi's other Senate race, for the seat being defended by Roger Wicker. McDaniel, who'd been lured by the Cochran delay into entering the Wicker race, withdrew and announced for the special election. Governor Bryant publicly scolded McDaniel for his "opportunism" and appointed the state agricultural commissioner, Cindy Hyde-Smith, Mississippi's interim senator.

Hyde-Smith, a lifelong Democrat who became a Republican in 2010 for her run for the commissioner's office, had been a relatively minor player in Mississippi politics, but her appointment put McDaniel at a distinct disadvantage. Republican leadership in Washington gave Hyde-Smith, the first woman to represent Mississippi in Washington, the gift of key committee assignments, including Agriculture and a coveted seat on Appropriations, which had been chaired by Cochran.

Hyde-Smith had scarcely been sworn into office before the Chamber of Commerce spent $750,000 in Mississippi on commercials praising her and attacking McDaniel. "To me, that says they're counting noses for the leadership race in a Republican Senate," says David McIntosh, president of the Club for Growth, "and they really want to make sure McConnell isn't challenged by a conservative." McDaniel has already declared himself a "no" vote on McConnell's leadership, if elected.

Haley Barbour, former Mississippi governor and the godfather of the state's political establishment, has contributed $25,000 to a super-PAC run by his nephews, who were key players in Cochran's narrow defeat of McDaniel in 2014. The Mississippi Victory Fund's sole mission, its website proclaims, is "to make sure that a poor candidate like Chris McDaniel doesn't cost Republicans in November."

The November 6 special election is a "jungle general," a free-for-all among candidates from all parties, the winner being whoever attains 50 percent of the vote. In the likelier event that no one reaches a majority, a runoff three weeks later will decide Mississippi's next senator. Almost certain to reach the finals is the Democratic candidate, former congressman and Clinton agriculture secretary Mike Espy. African-Americans comprise nearly 38 percent of Mississippi's population, with 90-plus percent of their votes going consistently to Democrats. That rate will, presumably, hold or even increase for Espy, who is black. That means that the special election is effectively a Republican primary to see who'll face Espy in the November 27 runoff.

It is the Republican establishment's aim to convince voters that McDaniel would be playing, in the language of the Barbour fund, "the role of Roy Moore in the race." Espy will go into the runoff with 40 percent of the vote, this argument holds, and will only need to attract another 10 percent of voters weary of agitators like McDaniel to turn Mississippi into another Alabama.

**Last year, when anti-establishment fever was coursing through the right, conservative billionaires Robert Mercer and Richard Uihlein gave $500,000 each to a super-PAC supporting McDaniel, with Uihlein pitching in another $250,000 in January. Neither has made a contribution since, and the PAC has reported no other contributions of $200 or more this year.**

It may be that McDaniel's greatest enemy is not the establishment but the current political mood. With Donald Trump in the White House, the grassroots revolt that began with the Tea Party and culminated in the 2016 presidential election has lost much of its impetus. The wreckage of the insurgency can be seen not only in the failed campaigns of McConnell antagonists Roy Moore and Don Blankenship, who finished a distant third in West Virginia's Republican Senate primary, but in the anti-establishment campaigns that didn't materialize. President Trump, apparently seeing advantage for his agenda in Republican unity, has been discouraging would-be insurgents, such as Danny Tarkanian in Nevada, and endorsing establishment figures, like Mitt Romney, who were once his targets.

Last year, when anti-establishment fever was coursing through the right, the conservative billionaires Robert Mercer and Richard Uihlein gave $500,000 each to a super-PAC supporting McDaniel, with Uihlein pitching in another $250,000 in January. Neither has made a contribution since, and the PAC has reported no other contributions of $200 or more this year. The Club for Growth spent heavily on McDaniel's 2014 campaign, attracted by his message of limited government and constitutional conservatism. It has not invested in any challenger to Republican incumbents in this cycle. McDaniel has been told that the group is waiting to see how his campaign comes together.

Just a few months ago, Steve Bannon, Trump's former chief strategist and a prime instigator of the populist insurrection, promised to challenge nearly every Senate Republican facing reelection this year, with Chris McDaniel playing the marquee role. Bannon remains a McDaniel

enthusiast. "You need McDaniel desperately because very few of them understand, much less agree with, Trump's program," Bannon says of the Republicans in Washington. "McDaniel has a quality you can't coach—courage. It's why he is needed in the Senate in particular."

But circumstances have also forced a reassessment of Bannon's priorities: Saving Trump's agenda takes precedence over battling the Republican establishment. "We are now in jeopardy of losing both houses—with catastrophic consequences," he says, noting that if the House passes into Democratic hands, Trump may well be impeached.

"The Trump supporters on Capitol Hill have known this for awhile and understand we don't have the margin for error because of where the establishment put the president," Bannon says. "This is why the Freedom Caucus and others put so little emphasis on primary challenges. Trump needs to survive the onslaught of 2018. For this movement there is no higher priority."

McDaniel knows that with Obama gone and Trump scoring policy wins, the activist right might consider the revolution over, its goals achieved. "There was a time a few months ago when the anti-incumbent environment was more intense," he tells me, over supper at a Hattiesburg restaurant called the Purple Parrot. "Trump has tempered that somewhat among the base, in that a lot of people believe that now that he's there, the fight is won—he's going to take on Washington, he's going to prevail eventually."

When I suggest that the populist insurgency may be in retreat, McDaniel stiffens. "Not this one," he promises. "I'm ready for the fight, even if I have to stand alone."

Combat is very much McDaniel's political motif, as reflected in the battle-cry name of his political action committee: Remember Mississippi. That term was coined by McDaniel supporters aggrieved by his narrow primary loss to Cochran in 2014. They believe (as does McDaniel) that Cochran and the establishment only won by underhanded means.

McDaniel had received more votes in the primary than Cochran, but not the absolute majority that would have sent him to the Senate. Still, momentum and energy were on his side going into the runoff. Cochran, who was first elected to Congress in 1972, the year McDaniel was born, was by 2014 a diminished figure, distracted and strangely disconnected from the political peril he faced. In a rambling talk at one point during the runoff campaign, he slipped into a reverie about childhood visits to his grandparents' home, "picking up pecans, from that to all kinds of indecent things with animals—I'm sure some of you know what that is."

Some who worked on Cochran's campaign say privately that he should have lost that race. But Cochran, and the Barbour machine supporting him, seized upon a wrinkle in Mississippi's election law that provided a decisive advantage. Primary voters in the state are not required to register by party as long as they vote for the person they intend to vote for in the general election—an obviously unenforceable honor system. The Cochran forces invested in ginning up votes from traditionally Democratic precincts (one pro-Cochran flyer declared that "the Tea Party intends to prevent blacks from voting"), enlisting the support of black churches in the effort. Cochran won the runoff by 7,667 votes, his greatest gains from the first round of voting coming in the 10 Mississippi counties with the largest African-American populations.

*Senator Cindy Hyde-Smith acknowledges EPA administrator Scott Pruitt after his testimony before the Senate appropriations subcommittee, May 16.*

MARK WILSON / GETTY

McDaniel still seethes. "What they did was almost unthinkable," he says. "That night, Republicans were asked to select a nominee for the United States Senate. And that night, the Democrats selected a nominee for the United States Senate. It's irrefutable." His current run is predicated on voter lividity. "The anger is still in the grassroots," McDaniel says. "They're still mad. They still feel like they're disconnected from Washington, particularly in Mississippi."

The June 12 Republican primaries in Virginia, where a populist won the Senate nomination, and South Carolina, where Trump critic Mark Sanford was turned out of the House, would seem to validate McDaniel's belief that anti-establishment fervor still abides. He means to place Mitch McConnell squarely at the center of his campaign. "After the way the games were played to appoint Cindy Hyde-Smith to that position,

the grassroots feel like that position was essentially stolen from them," he says. "And they know that Mitch McConnell played a role. . . . If Mitch McConnell is going to play politics in Mississippi, that's a clear example that Washington is still disconnected and that the anger has to prevail if we're going to be successful, ultimately."

Establishment Republicans doubt that this is the cycle for populist anger, especially in a race against Hyde-Smith, an unassuming 59-year-old cattle farmer from south Mississippi. She is universally described as "a nice lady."

"His message hasn't changed, but the environment around him has completely," one prominent Mississippi Republican says of McDaniel. "There's a Republican president, a Republican majority accomplishing things that Republican voters are for. There's a new senator who's a female, who doesn't have 40 years in Washington, who is literally a cow farmer. It's going to be very difficult to brand a cow farmer from Brookhaven as a tool of the Georgetown cocktail circuit."

Hyde-Smith certainly intends to play up the nice-lady role. "I'm a God-fearing Southern Baptist from southwest Mississippi, and that's exactly how you're going to see me," she promises. And however much Mitch McConnell may have helped her, she is not likely to embrace the majority leader in her campaign. "I had never met the man until I stepped on the floor of the Senate," she tells me. "I have no history with Mitch McConnell at all, *what—so—ever*!"

McDaniel says that he need not attack Hyde-Smith, just highlight the distinctions between them, such as her likely support from McConnell and the fact that she was a Democrat until 2010. In that regard, he means to alert voters to the fact that Hyde-Smith voted in the 2008 Democratic presidential primary, in which the top candidates were Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, both of whom are anathema to Mississippi conservatives.

"In 2008, she votes for one of the two," McDaniel says. That has the makings of a potent TV ad, and when I put the question to Hyde-Smith, she offers a response that still seems to need some work. "You can leave a ballot blank, or you can vote for the third or fourth person on there that nobody knows," she says, "because I assure you that I didn't vote for either. That is just honestly the 100 percent truth. It was probably a no-name, but I still can't remember who the no-name was. But it certainly wasn't either one of them. Because you have so many folks who just, you know, their names on the ballot"—Chris Dodd, Dennis Kucinich, and John Edwards were also on the ballot in 2008—"or you can have a write-in. That was, gosh, 10 years ago, and I have no idea what the name was."

On the broader matter of having once been a Democrat, Hyde-Smith's footing is surer. "When I first ran for office 20 years ago, the entire courthouse in my county was Democrat. Everybody was a Democrat," she says. Mississippians of Hyde-Smith's generation will sympathize. For most of a century, the state was so rigidly one-party that to register to vote was, effectively, to become a Democrat. Willie Morris in his memoirs wrote that such was the Democratic party's old-time hegemony in his home state that "the only thing protecting Republicans was the game laws." Mississippians didn't send a Republican to Congress until the 1970s, and it wasn't until the Haley Barbour era 25 years later that Republicans made meaningful inroads at the county courthouses across the state.

Mississippi's special election may well be decided by the Trump factor. The torches-and-pitchforks fervor of 2010 and 2014 has subsided, but across the country Republican voters' assessment of a candidate's standing on the Trump scale still counts for much. They have been punishing Trump's Republican antagonists with crippling poll numbers (Jeff Flake and Bob Corker) or outright defeat (Mark Sanford). In Mississippi, Trump's favor, as one local website put it, "is stronger than goat's breath."

But Trump's recent rapprochement with the party establishment may complicate the calculation for voters. In the 2014 race, Trump twice tweeted his support for McDaniel. Yet during McDaniel's brief run against Roger Wicker this year, Trump endorsed the incumbent. After Hyde-Smith's appointment, Republican leaders arranged a White House visit for the new senator in the hope of gaining Trump's endorsement. The meeting was said to be cordial, but Trump has yet to give her the nod.

Hyde-Smith tells me that she recently received encouraging signals from people around the president, but added that a Trump endorsement "is certainly not anything that my campaign is hinging on."

For McDaniel, a Trump endorsement—or simple Trump neutrality—could be critical. "I think Trump's being pushed hard by McConnell to endorse his hand-selected person," he says. "If he'll hold off, and I believe he will, he'll see that he's getting a stronger conservative, and he's getting one that'll help him push back against McConnell as opposed to just catering every time McConnell speaks."

McDaniel casts the race as a "generational election" and says that his campaign is a chance to "redefine what conservatism really is"—fiscal austerity and constitutional fealty. Those are not necessarily Trump's core values, nor those of a party that is increasingly defined by Trumpism. Which is why the considerable forces arrayed against McDaniel believe that his campaign will be remembered as something else—a last, lonely skirmish in the Republican party's long civil war. ♦

# The Neo-Trumper

*Lindsey Graham, team player*

**By John McCormack**

Lindsey Graham is running a half-hour late when he arrives back at his Senate office at 6:00 P.M. for an interview, but that's understandable. There was rush-hour traffic on Constitution Avenue, and he's had more important places to be. Graham has just finished a meeting at the White House with a group of 15 Republican senators and President Donald Trump. They'd been discussing tariffs in the wake of Trump's increasingly bellicose trade moves and Tennessee Republican senator Bob Corker's announcement the day before, June 5, that he'd introduce a bill to take back some of the authority Congress had given the executive branch to raise tariffs.

"He asked me to call the meeting," Graham says of Trump. "We talked yesterday and I said, 'Well, let me get a group together, and we'll see what happens.'" Within days, it's clear that the meeting has been a success for Trump. Bob Corker is on the Senate floor berating his fellow Republicans for blocking a vote on his amendment despite the fact, he says, that "95 percent of the people on this [Republican] side of the aisle support intellectually this amendment" but are afraid "we might poke the bear"—i.e., President Trump.

"There's a lot of concern that this tariff thing is going to get out of hand," Graham tells me in his office on June 6. "We have to realize this is one of the centerpieces of the campaign; it's not traditional Republican policy, but we need to respect the fact that he won. . . . Maybe we need to change [Section] 232 [tariffs] one day, but now is not the time to do that, because it will undercut his negotiating position."

Graham's role in protecting Trump's protectionist policies isn't entirely out of character. The senator from South Carolina, a textile-manufacturing state, has a mixed record on free trade: He voted against the Central American Free Trade Agreement in 2005, for example, but backed the Trans-Pacific Partnership in recent years.

*John McCormack is a senior writer at* The Weekly Standard.

**'He's on track to do big things,' Graham says of the president. 'He's doing much of what I campaigned on, and I'm pleased.'**

What is surprising is the very existence of Graham's close relationship with Donald Trump.

Trump is "the world's biggest jackass," Graham said a month after Trump launched his presidential campaign, in response to Trump's trashing his friend John McCain and other American prisoners of war ("I like people who weren't captured"). Trump responded by calling Graham an "idiot" who is "probably . . . not as bright, honestly, as Rick Perry" and by reading off Graham's cell phone number at one of his televised rallies. Graham had to get a new number.

While most Republicans fell in line before the 2016 election, Lindsey Graham—along with fellow senators Mike Lee, Ben Sasse, John McCain, and Rob Portman—was a high-profile NeverTrumper on Election Day. "My party has gone batshit crazy," Graham said in a February 2016 speech about Trump. Graham told Fox News that Trump is "a kook. I think he's crazy. I think he's unfit to be president."

But sometime after the election, Graham became a neo-Trumper. "You know what concerns me about the American press is this endless, endless attempt to label the president some kind of kook," Graham said in November 2017. "I intend to support him in 2020 without equivocation," Graham tells me now.

What changed since 2016? A neoconservative, in Irving Kristol's famous formulation, was a liberal who'd been mugged by reality. Neo-Trumpers like Graham, then, are NeverTrumpers who were mugged by—what, exactly? Necessity? Expediency? Sean Hannity?

To hear Graham tell it, policy is what changed his mind. "He's on track to do big things," Graham says of the president. "He built up the military. I campaigned on it. He got out of the Iran deal. I campaigned on it. He's destroying ISIL. I campaigned on it. He's restructuring the tax code and the way we do business. I campaigned on it. He's doing much of what I campaigned on, and I'm pleased." Graham now speaks regularly with Trump and has become a close ally on matters ranging from North Korea to health care.

What about the issues of temperament that in 2016 made Trump, in Graham's view, unfit to be president? Is there anything specific, I ask, that has convinced the

senator that Trump isn't the "kook" Graham called him back then? "One, I got to know him," Graham says. "I've played golf with him. You know, play golf with somebody for three or four hours, you get to know them better. He's funny as hell. He's got a great sense of humor. There's a method to the madness."

"He's nobody's fool," Graham adds. "Very smart. And he asks a lot of good questions."

In 2016, Graham also suggested Trump's character made him unfit. "Name one sports team, university, publicly held company, etc. that would accept a person like this as their standard bearer?" Graham tweeted in October 2016 after the release of the *Access Hollywood* video, in which Trump bragged about groping women by the genitals. If that behavior disqualified Trump in 2016, why doesn't it disqualify him in 2020? "The American people listened to all that, and they said: 'I want him to be president.' Okay. I believe the elections have consequences," Graham says. "I've always been of an opinion when the election's over, you try to help the guy that won."

In his efforts to help Trump, Graham hasn't just been running interference on trade policy. He took the lead on a last-ditch attempt to partially repeal and replace Obamacare by block-granting money to the states, a bill that conservative health-care expert Yuval Levin called the "most coherent" plan considered by Republicans. Graham says Trump "loves the idea," and it's "almost a certainty" it would pass in the (unlikely) event Republicans pick up a seat or two in the Senate and hold the House.

Graham has also been the most enthusiastic congressional supporter of Trump's North Korea diplomacy. Graham says that Trump's credible threat of military force has brought North Korea to the negotiating table, and he believes Trump agrees with him that a war with North Korea is better than letting North Korea develop an arsenal of nuclear-tipped missiles that could strike the United States. The prospect of war with a regime that already has nuclear weapons might seem crazy to many, but Graham at least doesn't downplay how apocalyptic a war would be. "If [President Trump] has to pick between millions of people dying in America and millions of people dying over there, he's going to pick millions of people dying over there if he has to," Graham says. There's no hint in his rhetoric that military action against North Korea would stop at giving them a "bloody nose."

Graham says that he still calls it like he sees it, supporting the president when he's right and opposing him when he's wrong. "I'm really worried about what he's talking about in Syria. We pull out of Syria, ISIS will come back, and the Kurds will get eaten alive by Turkey," Graham says. "That'd be the biggest mistake he could make. It will undo all of his achievements when it comes to ISIS. It'd be an Obama-on-steroids decision. I told him that."

Graham has also warned Trump against firing special counsel Robert Mueller and refuses to call the investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election a "witch hunt." But he thinks it's unlikely Mueller will uncover evidence Trump has committed any impeachable offenses: "You could fire [former FBI director James] Comey for any reason except a corrupt reason." The May 2017 memo by deputy attorney general Rod Rosenstein, critical of Comey's handling of the investigation of Hillary Clinton's emails, "suggests there were valid reasons. Democrats wanted Comey fired. I think it's going to be tough to prove that the president committed obstruction of justice in firing a guy that most people wanted to fire."

Back in August 2017, after a neo-Nazi killed counter-protester Heather Heyer in a vehicular terrorist attack at a white nationalist rally in Charlottesville, Trump blamed "many sides" for the violence, failing to forcefully single out the side that committed murder, the side that claimed to have Trump's support. The president made matters worse by saying some "very fine people" had participated in a torchlit white nationalist march where protesters chanted: "Jews will not replace us!" Graham issued a scathing statement:

> Through his statements yesterday, President Trump took a step backward by again suggesting there is moral equivalency between the white supremacist neo-Nazis and KKK members who attended the Charlottesville rally and people like Ms. Heyer. I, along with many others, do not endorse this moral equivalency.
>
> Many Republicans do not agree with and will fight back against the idea that the Party of Lincoln has a welcome mat out for the David Dukes of the world.

Trump responded with a pair of tweets: "Publicity seeking Lindsey Graham falsely stated that I said there is moral equivalency between the KKK, neo-Nazis & white supremacists and people like Ms. Heyer. . . . Such a disgusting lie. He just can't forget his election trouncing. The people of South Carolina will remember!"

It was only a few months after Trump warned Graham "the people of South Carolina will remember!" that Graham publicly did a 180 on whether Trump is a "kook." Graham's criticism of the president has been more tempered since Trump's threatening August 2017 tweets, but he hasn't gone completely in the tank for Trump.

In January 2018, Graham was at the Oval Office meeting where Trump said he opposed letting in more immigrants from certain "shithole" or "shithouse" countries. Georgia GOP senator David Perdue, who was also in the room, called the reported quotation a "total misrepresentation." But Graham couldn't bring himself to lie for Trump. "My memory hasn't evolved," Graham told

reporters. "I know what was said, and I know what I said."

"Following comments by the president, I said my piece directly to him yesterday," Graham said. "The president and all those attending the meeting know what I said and how I feel. I've always believed that America is an idea, not defined by its people but by its ideals."

But there has been perhaps no greater rhetorical desecration of American ideals by President Trump than his recent gratuitous praise that Kim Jong-un, the tyrant of the North Korean gulag state, "loves his people" and that the North Korean people love him with "great fervor." In Graham's media tour following the Trump-Kim summit, he left no illusions about the brutality of Kim, but he didn't call on Trump to stop sanitizing the Stalinist dictator. Trump demands an unusual level of loyalty from his supporters, and there is some price to be paid for being his ally.


THOMAS FLUHARTY

While President Trump was initially arguing last week that he was forced to impose a policy of separating children from parents who had illegally crossed the border because a law passed by Democrats tied his hands, Graham said on CNN that it simply wasn't true: "President Trump could stop this policy with a phone call." But Graham didn't call on Trump to actually make that call. When Graham was asked on CNN on June 15 whether his newfound support for Trump was "two-faced," he had a simple answer: "If you don't like me working with President Trump to make the world a better place, I don't give a shit."

While Graham argues he's been motivated by policy and principle, it would be naïve not to consider the possibility that political necessity played some role in his evolving view of Trump. Texas senator Ted Cruz, for example, withheld his support from Trump through the Republican convention, relenting coincidentally at a time when the presidential polls tightened and he faced mounting pressure from his donors to back Trump. Cruz was thus able to avoid a serious primary challenge in 2018.

Graham was always certain to face a primary challenger in 2020, and the fact that he hasn't previously been defeated is somewhat surprising. Frequently derided on talk radio for his stance on immigration as Lindsey "Grahamnesty," he won a seven-way 2014 primary in conservative South Carolina with 56 percent of the vote (his closest challenger lost by 41 points), just a year after participating as an author of the "Gang of 8" comprehensive immigration reform bill.

But while voters were willing to tolerate Graham's heresy on immigration, there's reason to think they wouldn't be as ready to tolerate opposition to the incumbent president in 2020. On June 12, South Carolina Republican congressman and staunch Trump critic Mark Sanford was defeated in a primary. In the 2013 House primary, voters were willing to overlook Sanford's extramarital affair, which had forced his resignation in disgrace from the governor's mansion. But harsh criticism of Trump was apparently a bridge too far. On June 5, Alabama congresswoman Martha Roby, who had said she couldn't vote for Trump after the *Access Hollywood* tape came out, came in first in her primary (39 percent to 28 percent) but, having failed to win a majority, was forced to a July runoff. Even in suburban Northern Virginia, Rep. Barbara Comstock, a Republican who didn't vote for Trump, lost 39 percent of the vote to a primary challenger.

It's no coincidence that two of Trump's most outspoken Republican critics in the Senate, Jeff Flake of Arizona and Bob Corker of Tennessee, are not seeking reelection in 2018. Mitt Romney will very likely win the Utah Senate nomination this month without having committed to backing Trump in 2020, but Utah Republicans were a national outlier in their opposition to Trump. Among the dozens of current and former prominent Republican officials who didn't vote for Trump in 2016, Lindsey Graham may be the first neo-Trumper. But he likely won't be the last. ♦

# The Girls Who Go Away

*Child marriage is alive and well among the Yemeni-Americans in Dearborn, but education may finally erode that social norm*

**By Kaylee McGhee**

*Dearborn*

When Amal was 15 years old, her best friend Jasmin stopped coming to school.

They were both freshmen at Fordson High School, in Dearborn, Michigan, home to America's largest and most diverse Arab community. When Jasmin didn't show up to their English-language learners (ELL) class that Wednesday, Amal assumed she was sick. But a day soon became a week, which quickly turned into a month. Amal tells me she suspected early on that Jasmin was not coming back.

"Her parents wanted her married," Amal, who is Lebanese, says. "She was Yemeni—they always do that very young." (Some names have been changed to protect privacy.)

Dearborn's Yemeni population has grown significantly over the past five years, largely due to an influx of refugees fleeing the ongoing war in Yemen, according to a spokesperson for the City of Dearborn. More than one-third of Dearborn's approximately 100,000 residents identify as Arab, and of those approximately 8 percent are Yemeni, which includes immigrants and Americans of Yemeni descent. Like most immigrant groups, the Yemeni bring their social customs with them.

Child marriage is one such norm, and its practice has affected Dearborn's Yemeni girls for decades. On the south side of the city, where many Yemeni immigrants have settled, it's impossible to know just how many girls like Jasmin drop out of school every year. As Danielle White, a teacher in an English as a second language (ESL) program told me, many of them "just go off the grid." "They drop out of school. It's like they're under the radar here—nobody knows they exist. Sometimes they go to Yemen for the summer, get married over there, and when they come back, nobody knows they're here," she says.

*Kaylee McGhee is a former intern at* The Weekly Standard *and a journalism student at Hillsdale College.*

Rola Bazzi-Gates, special education coordinator for Dearborn Public Schools, knows the Yemeni community well from her 14 years as a social worker, and says she often heard of girls between the ages of 15 and 17 marrying their first cousins, another Yemeni norm.

Liberal state laws in Michigan make such child marriages relatively easy to obtain. Michigan is one of 26 states that doesn't have an age floor, meaning children can get married at any age if certain conditions are met. The state will legally recognize the marriage of a 16- or 17-year-old if the parents consent. If the child is 15 years old or younger, approval of the Wayne County probate court must be granted as well.


*Elementary school students in Dearborn*

IMAGES: NEWSCOM

The need for court approval hasn't slowed the rate of such child marriages. According to a 2017 *Frontline* report on child marriages in America, Michigan's child marriage rate in 2010 was 20 per 10,000 marriages, higher than its neighboring state of Ohio, which had a rate of 12 per 10,000, but lower than rates in Kentucky (73) and West Virginia (63). Although child marriage rates have been steadily decreasing nationwide, Fraidy Reiss, founder of Unchained At Last, an advocacy group working to outlaw marriage before the age of 18, told *Frontline* it's still staggering. "The number was

so much higher than I had thought it would be," she said.

Early marriages often result in Yemeni girls being pulled from the public school system, White says. Michigan's relatively flexible homeschooling laws might be one reason these dropouts aren't always flagged and investigated. Abigail Moore, a volunteer in Dearborn's refugee centers, tells me that it's common for Yemeni girls to leave the public school system for homeschooling when they reach adolescence. "The families will take them out of the schools and tell officials they're homeschooling them, but basically they're not getting any education after that," Moore says.

And although parents are typically the driving force behind these early marriages, Bazzi-Gates doesn't believe they do so to limit their daughters' opportunities. On the contrary, "marrying young, it's a tradition for the Yemeni," she says. "It's to preserve the family, to keep it. They feel secure that this is the right way to do it."

As for the schools' understanding of the practice of child marriage among the Yemeni, Dearborn's superintendent Glenn Maleyko told me he isn't "aware of it being a problem" and said he hasn't seen statistical evidence proving it's common. "I've heard of people telling me, 'She should be in school, but she dropped out,' and this and that. But I don't have any data on that. It's mostly just hearsay," he says. "If someone were to drop out, we have intervention specialists who track them down. They'll go to the homes and find them."

Bazzi-Gates confirms this and says when she was a social worker in the Yemeni community she was often the person sent to do the tracking-down. "I used to talk to the parents about the importance of education, especially for a girl," she says. But Danielle White and Abigail Moore both claim that despite the schools' best efforts to prevent girls from dropping out, child marriage ends some girls' educations. The Yemeni community has found ways around the system, White says, either by homeschooling the girls or sending them to Yemen to marry—which is perhaps why Superintendent Maleyko doesn't frequently hear about girls like Jasmin.

On a rainy spring morning, I accompany Amal to the ESL class where she is a volunteer. She is 20 years old now and hasn't seen Jasmin since she dropped out of Fordson. Amal imagines Jasmin with two or three kids, teaching them about exotic plants and animals—biology was Jasmin's favorite subject. She wanted to be a scientist, Amal says.

Outside the building that houses the ESL class, a group of Yemeni women students are huddled together, the wind pelting rain at their backs, waiting to be let in for class. They range in age from 20 to 64, and while many of the women have only been in the United States for a year or two, Dirar, 42, tells me she has lived in Dearborn for 25 years. She just started learning English five months ago. When she first arrived with her husband, her "home and kids" took priority. She was 17 when she had her first child and says it was a "big job." Now she has four boys and two girls, the youngest of whom is 17. "Now they are all grown and I can learn," she says.

*Yemeni-American girls at a protest in Hamtramck, Michigan, against political and religious extremism*

Hana, who is 20, is the youngest of the group and the one woman who attended school in Yemen. But six months into the school year there, her parents arranged her marriage to her first cousin. She says that her education ended then.

"When you're married, everything stops. You can't go to school. This happens to girls here, too. Some of their husbands want them to stay home and clean," Hana tells me. She's lived in Dearborn for three years but only began learning English four months ago, around the same time she divorced her husband. "I've always loved learning," she says.

All the women I spoke to at the class were married before their 18th birthdays, and all of them believe that things must change for the next generation of Yemeni girls. Dirar does not want her daughters to repeat their mother's experience. She remembers Yemen well enough to know the United States is one of the only places her girls will get the chance to better themselves. Her 17-year-old daughter will graduate high school next year, and Dirar says she encouraged her other daughter, now 19, to attend the University of Michigan-Dearborn. "She has been there one year," Dirar tells me in broken English. "She wants to be an engineer."

When I ask Dirar why neither of her daughters was married, she says, "They finish learning first."

Like Dirar, the other Yemeni women tell me how

thankful they are to live in a country—and city—that embraces their children and educates them. Each Dearborn school official I spoke to described this gratitude as a staple characteristic of the Yemeni community. They trust the school officials and are eager to work with them, says Bazzi-Gates.

"In all my years as a social worker in the Yemeni community, I never had an issue. I'm talking to you about thousands of families I dealt with, whether in their homes, the schools, in the community, or at events, they are always so appreciative," she says.

The trust that exists between Yemeni families and the school district plays a key role in helping change traditional social norms in the community, albeit slowly, Bazzi-Gates says. As a social worker, Bazzi-Gates says she pushed parents to encourage their daughters, not just their sons, to attend college. "I would tell them, 'She needs to be educated, not just married and raising a family, so she can depend on herself financially instead of waiting on a man and his money.'" And the families are listening.

"I've worked in different schools in Dearborn for more than 24 years. And before it used to be common for a girl to go to middle school, maybe high school, and only a few of them would go to college. But now, for the last 10 years, I see more and more of them pursuing higher education, and I keep encouraging them to go to college," Bazzi-Gates says.

**Yemeni-American women in Dearborn tell me how thankful they are to live in a country—and city—that embraces their children and educates them. Each Dearborn school official I spoke to described this gratitude as a staple characteristic of the Yemeni community.**

Iman Ismail, the head of Edsel Ford High School's bilingual department, says when she first started in Dearborn's school district 12 years ago, it was common for school officials to call Yemeni parents to find out where their daughters were and why they were not in class. But now, Ismail says, there are open lines of communication between the schools and the families. If a student is not in class, school officials typically know why.

But there are still exceptions. Amal says it took a week for her teacher to ask the class whether they'd seen Jasmin. It's unlikely her teacher attributed Jasmin's absence to an early marriage because, as Danielle White notes, "These things are kept pretty quiet."

Ismail says stories like Jasmin's are increasingly less common, though, because of the bridge Dearborn's schools have built into the Yemeni community. Today, she says, Yemeni parents support the teachers and school officials completely because they recognize that the desire unifying parents and educators is to do what's best for the girls.

"If the teacher tells them, 'This is the right way to help your female,' they're very open," Ismail says. "When we call them, they respond and say, 'Oh, please, how do we help her?'" And continued education is almost always the school's answer. Dearborn's schools respect the Yemeni culture, Ismail told me, but that won't stop school officials like Bazzi-Gates from speaking against norms that limit girls' educations.

The Dearborn school district's approach to its immigrant communities has made it a leader among cities. I sat in on a presentation given to Slovenian officials who were visiting Fordson High School, hoping to learn from its program how to better assist their own refugee populations. Fordson hosts several such groups each year, principal Heyam Alcodray says.

Fordson's success is clear: Alcodray says that despite the fact that a majority of Fordson's students are considered economically disadvantaged, the school boasts a 95 percent graduation rate. She says this eagerness to excel is especially evident in Fordson's ELL classes. "The kids in these classes are excellent. The teachers love teaching them because every one of them wants to learn. They're very, very motivated," she says.

Edsel Ford High School students are also excelling. Among Dearborn's three public high schools, Edsel Ford has the largest Yemeni population. This has created its own set of challenges, since many Yemenis have faced indescribable trauma, Ismail says. But despite this, her students are determined to prevail. She leads me down the hallway toward the school's bilingual classrooms, past an inner courtyard that is home to 12 peacocks, which she notes have been with Edsel Ford nearly as long as the Yemenis. She has been especially proud of the progress made by her female Yemeni students.

"Girls in Yemen don't have as much opportunity," she says. "But the girls are very competitive now. They want to compete with the boys. They are the ones showing the biggest signs of improvement in academic learning."

When Loukia Sarroub, author of *All American Yemeni Girls: Being Muslim in a Public School*, was in Dearborn conducting fieldwork, she says she was struck by the drive of the young women. Now a professor at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Sarroub says that in the late 1990s, she knew of only two Yemeni women who were in college. In 2002, she knew of 22. Since then, the number has grown consistently.

Ismail agrees, noting that 10 to 12 years ago, Yemeni girls didn't think about attending graduate school. Now, she says, the majority of students in the local university's teacher education graduate program are Yemeni females—and many are married with children.

Child marriage in the Yemeni community will never disappear entirely. When I spoke to Yemeni women in the ESL class, Faizan, 53, told me all three of her daughters were married in Dearborn before they turned 13 years old; her youngest was 11 years old when Faizan and her husband arranged her marriage. Faizan tells me she would not do anything differently because that is what she did and that is what her granddaughters will do. "She is a girl, so she is a wife," she says.

And as Amal reminds me, there will be others like Jasmin who will never be able to become scientists, doctors, or teachers. Over dinner in her two-bedroom apartment, Amal's mother, Lina, tells me she feels bad for Jasmin. "She is having children, but she is a child herself. And even if she didn't like her husband, she can't say no. Even if it's not good for you, no choice," she says.

"As a researcher, I spent a lot of time listening to young women tell me they did not want to be married," Loukia Sarroub says. "It was too early for them. Many of them wanted to finish school. Many of them just didn't want to be married, regardless of school. These women had children very early, but now I don't see the same patterns of parenting. But that doesn't mean there won't be exceptions. That doesn't mean the newcomers from Yemen won't be marrying their daughters early. That's still going to happen."

There is, however, an unmistakably positive trajectory away from child marriages among Yemeni women in Dearborn, and education is the reason. When these young women marry and raise families, Sarroub says, she hopes many of them will raise their daughters to expect an education. "The generation of young women I was interviewing—now they have their own children—I don't see that these children of the first-generation Americans will have the same lives that their moms did. I agree that in times past the women didn't have a lot of choice," she says. "But with each generation, there may be more options."

Sarroub says that given the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Yemen, and the opportunities for education and acculturation for Yemeni refugees in this country, America should welcome and support these families. But President Donald Trump's current immigration policies reflect a different sentiment. Trump's restriction on travel from a handful of Muslim-majority countries, including Yemen, prevents Yemeni women and girls like the ones I met in Dearborn from coming to the United States. A challenge to Trump's travel ban is currently before the Supreme Court, with a decision expected this summer.

These opportunities don't only benefit the young. Many older Yemeni women attend ESL classes like the ones I observed, and many of them told me they eventually want to become U.S. citizens. Others simply want to be able to communicate with their neighbors, teachers, and doctors. A growing number of married Yemeni women are enrolled in GED programs as well. It's also encouraging, as Ismail tells me, that many of these women receive support from their husbands in their efforts. Nine of the 10 Yemeni women I spoke to told me their husbands supported their decision to learn English.

*A mural on the side of a restaurant in Hamtramck*

SALWAN GEORGES / WASHINGTON POST / GETTY

This wasn't the case for Hana, the 20-year-old I met at the ESL class who divorced her husband so she could "finally learn." But that hasn't prevented her from pursuing an education. Hana practices writing words in English, decorating the pages of a notebook with the phrase "Let your dreams set sail" on its cover. She says when she started learning English four months ago, she didn't know what those words meant. Now she does.

She tells me she wants to travel to New York City and stand in Times Square, and she wants to help her 2-year-old son "become a great man." Eventually, Hana wants to become a teacher so she can give other Yemeni girls the opportunities she found through education.

She smiles and says, "I'm free now." ♦

# The Very Model of a Modern Maestro

*Simon Rattle helped democratize classical music. As he leaves the Berlin Philharmonic, what's next for the people's conductor?*

BY CATHY YOUNG

On a sunny day in late May in Berlin, an extraordinary scene took place just outside the Philharmonie, the sloping golden home of the Berlin Philharmonic: A festive flash mob of French horn players of all ages from all over the city joined the orchestra's professionals in an exuberant march from Weber's *Der Freischütz*. Wielding the baton and singing along—and looking positively boyish despite his white locks—was Sir Simon Rattle, the Philharmonic's outgoing chief conductor and artistic director and the London Symphony Orchestra's new music director. Fresh from leading a special performance of Brahms's First Symphony by amateur players from all over the world, and days away from embarking on his final European tour with the Berlin Philharmonic, Rattle mingled happily with the crowd. It was, in every way, a very Simon Rattle moment.

Rattle is an undisputed superstar of classical music. With a career spanning five decades and five continents, he has been called "the British conductor who conquered the world." He has conducted the best orchestras to near-universal acclaim and has been eagerly sought after by several of them, including the Los Angeles Philharmonic, as a principal conductor. His visits are a movable feast for lovers of classical music from Seoul to Paris to New York, where his first appearance with the London Symphony this past May drew standing ovations. He has dedicated followers who travel the globe to attend his performances. He is acclaimed as a figure of astounding versatility, championing both cutting-edge modern music and period instruments.

A conductor who usually mingles with the musicians backstage during concert intermissions rather than stay in his dressing room, Rattle also represents a model of leadership very different from the long-held image of the tyrannical, almost godlike maestro. It is a model especially relevant in our time, when the world of the arts has been shaken by reports of grotesque abuses by authority figures—including some conductors—who set themselves above mere mortals.

BBC music critic Tom Service spoke for many when he wrote a few years ago that "it's almost impossible to imagine orchestral music and the idea of what an orchestra could and should be in the 21st century" without Rattle.

Rattle is also a man with a mission that extends beyond concert halls and recording studios: to take classical music to new places and new audiences, from schoolchildren to prison inmates. "Music is for everybody," Rattle recently told Sarah Willis, a Berlin Philharmonic horn player who doubles as a music broadcaster. "This has been, really, one of my most important goals while I was here [in Berlin]—to spread it everywhere."

It is a mission of particular importance at a time when the classical music scene is beset by angst about how to counter the graying and dwindling of its audience. "No one has done more for that than Simon Rattle," Willis told me in an interview in the final days of Rattle's 16-year tenure in Berlin. "He just embraces the young—*and* the old, and the underprivileged, and the rich; he embraces everybody, and his absolute mantra is: Music should be a necessity, not a luxury. You know how they said Princess Diana was the princess of hearts and minds? I think Simon is the conductor of hearts and minds in all his outreach work."

'I think one of my faults is that I can often love music to death," a twentysomething Rattle, then a slender, fresh-faced rising star with a heap of curly brown hair, says in an old BBC interview clip—pausing to add impishly, "It's a lovely way to go."

That love affair began very early in Simon Denis Rattle's life, in the late 1950s and early 1960s in Liverpool. His music-loving parents and older sister encouraged his interest in jazz when he was barely out of toddlerhood and in heavier fare like Shostakovich, Mahler, and Messiaen a few years later. When he was 7 or so, he would read scores his sister Susan borrowed from the public library and pore over Berlioz's *Treatise*

*Cathy Young is a columnist for* Newsday *and a contributing editor to* Reason.

**Simon Rattle leading the Philadelphia Orchestra in Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust* at Carnegie Hall, May 1, 2009**

HIROYUKI ITO / GETTY

*on Instrumentation*. ("I think if I found a child doing that I'd think, 'God, how ludicrous,'" he remarked years later to biographer Nicholas Kenyon.) He attended every concert he could at the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic, ducking backstage to chat up the bemused conductors about what they did in this or that passage. At home, he copied the percussion parts from music scores and held "concerts" in which records were played with live percussive accompaniment from Simon, his sister, and sometimes their parents.

At the age of 10—four years short of the required minimum age—Rattle was accepted into his hometown's Merseyside Youth Orchestra as a percussionist. At 12, having won a piano competition in which he was one of the youngest entrants, he played Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue* with the Liverpool Concert Orchestra. Three years later, he assembled and conducted a 72-person orchestra, which included professional musicians, for a charity concert (stunning the organizers, who had expected perhaps two dozen). By 16 he was studying at the college-level Royal Academy of Music in London and helming an international youth orchestra at a festival in Lausanne. At 20, having won an international conducting competition, he was back at the Liverpool Philharmonic, first as a guest conductor and two years later as an associate conductor. His rapport with the musicians, he later said, was somewhat complicated by the fact that they had only recently known him as "a bumptious little kid running around backstage collecting autographs and listening to every rehearsal." Not long afterward he became assistant conductor of the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra.

In 1980, 25-year-old Rattle took over as the principal conductor of the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra. Over the next 18 years, he transformed Birmingham's cultural life—among other things, spearheading the effort to build a new concert hall and developing a vast network of community outreach, especially to children—and turned the CBSO into an acclaimed, world-touring orchestra.

Yet the Berlin Philharmonic, which voted in 1999 to make Rattle its next music director at the end of Claudio Abbado's term in 2002, was on a different level altogether. This was perhaps the world's greatest orchestra, previously led by such towering figures as Wilhelm Furtwängler and Herbert von Karajan—under whose stewardship Rattle had first guest-conducted the orchestra in 1987.

The passionate, expressive Rattle was in many ways the anti-Karajan. In a 2014 interview on the BPO's video channel, the Digital Concert Hall,


*Rattle at the keyboard at age 12*

Rattle spoke of being "fascinated and awestruck and slightly repelled, almost, by the control and the distance and the perfection" when he first saw Karajan in concert. Rattle has always been open about his distaste for the tyrannical-conductor model; Karajan had been the ultimate autocrat. (Notwithstanding their differing styles, Rattle has recalled in interviews that Karajan was warm and welcoming to him and to many other young musicians.)

By the time Rattle took over, Abbado had already democratized the Philharmonic—by, for instance, asking the musicians to call him by his first name—and added modern fare to its classical and Romantic repertoire. Rattle, known as a tireless champion of the moderns, was chosen in large part because he was seen as someone likely to take the revolution further.

"The orchestra was a very traditional orchestra, and they decided that they wanted to be pushed, they wanted a more modern repertoire—and Simon has certainly given us that, for better or for worse," Willis says with a laugh. "He made us play John Adams, George Gershwin, Mark-Anthony Turnage—fantastic modern-day composers that pushed our limits in a way the orchestra wasn't used to doing. Simon made us work very hard on things like Stravinsky—pieces that were part of our repertoire, but that he turned into real everyday pieces for us, [like] *Le Sacre du printemps*, which we can now play in our sleep thanks to Simon. He has given us 16 years of the most colorful repertoire, from Rameau to the Bach Passions to the absolute modern stuff."

That repertoire has included new works specially commissioned by Rattle from an international array of composers: German Jörg Widmann, Briton Thomas Adès, Finn Kaija Saariaho, Australian Brett Dean, South Korean-born Berliner Unsuk Chin, and many others. (Rattle's final European tour with the BPO featured a new Widmann piece, *Tanz auf dem Vulcan* or *Dance on the Volcano*.) It has included 20th-century composers who are already part of the canon: Mahler and Sibelius (two composers especially close to Rattle's heart), Janácek, Shostakovich, Bartók, Britten, Berg, Strauss. It has included underappreciated works by Haydn and baroque music such as Rameau's sparkling *Les Boréades*. And it has included, of course, the German canon from Mozart and Beethoven to Brahms and Bruckner—an area regarded by some critics as Rattle's weak spot, despite an award-winning 2007 Brahms recording and full cycles of Beethoven, Schumann, and Brahms symphonies performed as consecutive series.

And Rattle's innovations at the BPO have extended far beyond commissioned compositions. One of his experiments has been to pair modern atonal pieces with more traditional ones—and, on a few occasions, to perform the two with an uninterrupted transition from the modern into the classic (thus, Ligeti's *Atmosphères* became a shimmering foreword to Wagner's *Lohengrin* overture while Ives's *The Unanswered Question* segued into Richard Strauss's *Metamorphosen*).

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In recent years, Rattle has also teamed up with Peter Sellars, the maverick American theater director, for semi-staged vocal works that depart radically from the usual concert performance in which elegantly dressed singers stand decorously on the stage. Stunning, controversial—and highly praised—realizations of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* in 2010 and *St. John Passion* in 2014 featured the Berlin Radio Choir and top solo singers including Mark Padmore, Thomas Quasthoff, and Magdalena Kožená (Rattle's wife and frequent collaborator). The barefoot, black-clad singers dramatically acted out Christ's agony and his followers' anguish; the chorus too joined the action, surging forward, raising a forest of arms, or collapsing to the floor, and the entire hall became part of the stage with singers walking down the aisles or standing in balcony seats. This was followed by semi-staged performances of several 20th-century operas, most notably a powerful, poignant, intensely physical 2015 version of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, with a large black block and some neon light tubes as the only props.

Also on the Rattle scoreboard: a new tradition, started in 2011, of one-hour late-night (10 P.M.) concerts in intimate settings with dimmed lights, a small orchestra, and sometimes a soloist, and little-known, often whimsical works—from Berio's *Sequenzas* to William Walton's instrumental/vocal *Façade*, in which Rattle and Canadian soprano Barbara Hannigan took turns at recitation in a comical high-pitched patter.

Although Rattle's BPO tenure began with great fanfare, Berlin was not always smooth sailing. Early on there was criticism that he was eliciting dull, bland performances from the great orchestra. A couple of years later came another rash of negative reviews, along with reports of tensions between conductor and orchestra—mainly over the difficult new repertoire—and hostile articles in the German media suggesting that Rattle had worn out his welcome and that the orchestra was losing its "German soul." (In a bizarre twist, an editor at *Die Welt* was caught amplifying his anti-Rattle polemics by creating a sock-puppet to write for another newspaper; the stunt cost him his job.) Many British critics thought the gang-up was driven by German elites' resentment toward a Liverpudlian upstart. Rattle did his best to take it in stride.

The early Berlin years were also marked by turmoil in Rattle's personal life. He and Kožená, a Czech mezzo-soprano who had quickly gained international acclaim after the fall of the Iron Curtain, met in the summer of 2003 at the Glyndebourne opera festival, where she sang the trouser part of Idamante in a production of Mozart's *Idomeneo* that he conducted. Both were married to other people. The following year, as rumors swirled about the famed British conductor and the beautiful singer 18 years his junior, Rattle ended his marriage to American writer and film director Candace Allen. (From 1980 to 1995, he had been married to American soprano Elise Ross, with whom he had two sons.) In July 2004, he and Kožená publicly acknowledged that they were a couple, refusing all further comment on the issue.

*Rattle and Kožená*

By the end of the decade, things had settled down. Rattle and Kožená married in 2008 after the birth of their second child; their partnership seems to be a remarkable balance of personal and professional. That same year, the Berlin Philharmonic voted to renew Rattle's contract—due to expire in 2012—for another six years. This year, he is leaving his post to as much of a hero's farewell as he had arrived to a hero's welcome—and is already scheduled to return as a guest conductor next March, with two programs including the Sellars dramatization of the *St. John Passion*.

When Rattle took the coveted job in Berlin, one of his conditions—besides raising the players' pay and making the Berlin Philharmonic a public foundation independent of the government—was support for music education. The Philharmonic had opened an academy years earlier under Karajan as a training ground for the orchestra's future players, but Rattle has been at least as interested in bringing music to a far wider circle of young people. He has conducted several Berlin school orchestras. It is no accident that when the Philharmonic arranged for a filmmaking crew to chronicle Rattle's first season, the venture turned into his first educational project in Berlin: the award-winning documentary *Rhythm Is It!* that followed the experiences of 250 Berlin schoolchildren from different backgrounds recruited for a performance of *Le Sacre du printemps*. (The captivating film, which premiered at the Tribeca Film Festival in New York in 2004, is available online at DigitalConcertHall.com like the rest of Rattle's work at the Berlin Philharmonic.)

In 2007, Rattle and choreographer Royston Maldoom brought a version of that performance to New York as "The Rite of Spring Project," with students from Harlem as dancers. This was just one of Rattle's many educational efforts in the United States, which have included some off-the-beaten-path projects. When I attended his concert guest-conducting the Philadelphia Orchestra at the Kimmel Center in April 2012, something unexpected happened after the lights dimmed: The orchestra members rose and filed off the stage, to be replaced by a group of neatly dressed children, ranging in age roughly from 10 to 15. Rattle took the microphone to introduce them as members of a West Philadelphia project called "Play On, Philly!" modeled on Venezuela's 40-plus-year-old classical music education program, El Sistema. (I later learned that Rattle was, in a way, Play

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On's forebear: Play On's founder Stanford Thompson had become interested in El Sistema after hearing Rattle praise it when he was studying at the Curtis Institute of Music and Rattle was a visiting conductor.)

The children went on to give a heartfelt if somewhat dissonant rendition of the finale of Brahms's First Symphony—and Rattle conducted with every bit as much energy and dedication as if he were leading a real orchestra. (Video of the rehearsal leaves no doubt he was giving his all.) Backstage after the concert, he talked excitedly about working with the young players and shared memorable moments—such as the time one of the children asked if he played the violin and he replied that he wasn't very good at it, only to be earnestly advised that he shouldn't say that because it's not good to put yourself down.

The amateur concert in Berlin this past May—BE PHIL, the brainchild of Rattle and Berlin Philharmonic violinist and assistant conductor Stanley Dodds—shows Rattle is just as dedicated when working with grownup nonprofessionals. "In some ways, it's better and more beautiful and more loving than any professional orchestra," he said in an interview with Willis during a break in rehearsals.

An American who came to Berlin as one of 101 musicians selected from nearly 2,000 applicants, 36-year-old Cody Lidge is a French horn player who, in his everyday life, works as an administrative manager at the Children's Law Center at the University of South Carolina. Lidge was deeply moved by the BE PHIL experience. "Sir Simon exudes passion in each second of music he conducts, so naturally, we musicians wanted to convey the emotional and musical expressions he demanded," Lidge told me by email. "He treated us as if we were professionals and demanded it in a way that was both educational and inspiring." Lidge was thrilled when Rattle complimented him during a rehearsal—and moved to tears when Rattle shook his hand after the performance, stepping off the podium to thank the principal players as he does with any other orchestra.

Rattle has strong ties to the American music scene and an abiding love of American music (one of his New Year's Eve concerts in Berlin had an all-Gershwin and Bernstein program, including a 75-minute abridgment of Bernstein's 1953 musical *Wonderful Town*). He is a regular visitor to New York—most recently in May, when he led the London Symphony in three Mahler symphonies at Lincoln Center and at the New Jersey Performing Arts Center in Newark. Besides the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Philadelphia Orchestra also courted him as a principal conductor; when Rattle appeared in Philadelphia as a guest conductor in fall 2016, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* referred to him as "the conductor who got away." From 1983 to 2000, he was also a regular guest conductor with the Boston Symphony Orchestra—a role that eventually led to a very different kind of concert in Boston after a 10-year hiatus.

That event's organizer, flutist Julie Scolnik, had gotten to know Rattle when she was a frequent substitute with the Boston Symphony and they often talked backstage. "At the time we both had young children and compared photos and stories," Scolnik told me in an email. In 2005, Scolnik was diagnosed with breast cancer. After being successfully treated, she organized a breast-cancer benefit concert in her hometown of Andover in 2008, and then got the idea of doing one in Boston and asking Rattle to conduct. When she contacted him through his manager, he readily agreed.

The concert, involving musicians from several cities, was scheduled for December 2010, when Rattle was in New York for his debut at the Metropolitan Opera in *Pelléas et Mélisande*, with Kožená (who sang the lead) and their two sons, then aged 3 and 5. Scolnik gets tangibly emotional when she recalls that in the middle of intensive daily rehearsals at the Met, when time with his young family was precious, Rattle made the trip to Boston for the Concert for the Cure. "His generosity on that day was astounding," Scolnik told me. "It was supposed to be his day off from the Met. Instead, he took a 4-hour limo [ride] to Boston from New York City, rehearsed from 3 to 6, and conducted a 90-minute concert—then took a limo back to New York, ready to begin his own rehearsals again at 9 A.M. Not only that, but he thanked me for asking him to come."

Tales of such dedication have been echoed by many others who have worked with Rattle. "It's not only about the music with him; he has time for everyone," says Sarah Willis. "He's opened up the Philharmonie to the outside world. The best thing about Simon Rattle is that he's Simon Rattle, and he's an incredible human being."

I was introduced to Rattle's work around 2006 by my late father and my mother, both professional musicians. I have heard him conduct dozens of times with different orchestras, in person and in recordings and simulcasts, in an astonishing variety of works—from baroque arias to Beethoven symphonies to Wagnerian opera to Stravinsky's *Petrushka* to Bartók's *Concerto for Orchestra* to Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*, a masterpiece of existential terror, lyricism, and wistful serenity to which Rattle has returned time and again.

Opinions on Rattle's musical leadership, though mostly laudatory, have not been uniformly so—and not just during the trying times in Berlin. Some critics believe his quest to expose audiences to more modern music can be hard on the ears; others have complained that his versions of the classics can be too pedestrian or too formless. In a generally glowing review of the recent Mahler concerts in New York, the *New Yorker*'s Alex Ross noted that at times, "Rattle's aversion to cliché can lead to … arrays of contrarian insights" that don't feel fully integrated. Yet Ross also praised the "ideal balance of precision and intensity" and the "unsettling potency" in the Mahler series—apt descriptions of Rattle's overall style. "An unlikely mixture of wildness and precision" is how the *Financial Times*'s Shirley Apthorp described another recent Rattle performance.

One may always dislike specific performances or quibble with specific interpretations; for me as for many others, lay and professional music lovers alike, Rattle's defining qualities are charismatic energy and total, contagious love of the music he performs. Three years

ago, when Rattle's return to London was announced, the violin virtuoso Tasmin Little told the *Independent* that while some conductors occasionally let the orchestra take over, "Simon is fully present every second of performance. Every nerve, every fibre of his being is involved." It shows.

Rattle's personality also shines through his stage presence and in his offstage publicity efforts. There is his comedic knack, particularly evident in the police chief's aria from Ligeti's *Le Grand Macabre*, which Rattle has performed several times with Barbara Hannigan in the devilishly difficult coloratura part, joining her in unscripted antics—jostling for the spot at the podium or storming off in a supposed tantrum to berate the audience for laughing. There is his role as a presenter of music, notably the post-concert conversations on the BPO's Digital Concert Hall, informative, insightful, and infectiously enthusiastic. There is his longtime involvement in artistic commemoration of the Holocaust, from the 2000 performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony at the site of the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria with the Vienna Philharmonic (which generated intense debate) to the 2015 Holocaust Remembrance Day Concert, performed on a unique collection of string instruments once owned by Holocaust victims and survivors and featuring a poignant slow-tempo performance of Mahler's *Adagietto*.

Rattle's arrival in London as the new music director of the London Symphony Orchestra last September, succeeding Valery Gergiev, was a huge occasion, treated as the homecoming of a native son and celebrated with 10 days of events at the Barbican Hall. Rattle will continue to live in Berlin—because, he has explained, it's neutral ground between him and the Czech-born Kožená, and because they don't want to uproot their children, the two boys, now 13 and 10, and a 4-year-old daughter. Nonetheless, he plans to be the hands-on music director that Gergiev was not.

London may not be any easier than Berlin: Among other things, Rattle will face political battles over his demand for a new concert hall in London, an alternative venue to the Barbican's small stage and notoriously poor acoustics. But he is already leaving his mark on the London Symphony, bringing in unusual fare such as the *Genesis Suite* performed in January—a rarely heard 1945 composition by seven composers, most of whom (including Stravinsky and Schoenberg) were World War II refugees, in which spoken biblical text is accompanied by orchestral and choral music, and in the Rattle version by 20th-century documentary footage on an overhead screen—and innovations such as the "Half Six Fix," a series of one-hour concerts that start at 6:30 P.M., a boon to people who can't afford the time or money for a full evening at the symphony.

Rattle, 63, understandably describes the leadership of the London Symphony as his "last job." Still, he appears to have lost none of his energy or his youthful sense of wonder. His official tenure in Berlin is concluding with a June 20 performance of Mahler's Sixth (a perfect coda, since it began with an acclaimed rendition of Mahler's Fifth) and then a more freewheeling program at the open-air Waldbühne amphitheater on June 24. On July 1, he will lead the LSO in a free concert on Trafalgar Square featuring music from Dvorák, Massenet, Tchaikovsky, and Stravinsky, to be broadcast live on YouTube. The new season with the LSO starts in September. And in fall 2019, when Rattle is set to conduct *Der Rosenkavalier* at the Met in New York, he also plans on returning to Boston for Julie Scolnik's next benefit concert. ♦

B&A

# All Ye Need to Know

*The challenge of distinguishing science from nonscience.*

BY DANIEL SAREWITZ

**Lost in Math**
*How Beauty Leads Physics Astray*
by Sabine Hossenfelder
Basic, 291 pp., $30

**The Secret Life of Science**
*How It Really Works and Why It Matters*
by Jeremy J. Baumberg
Princeton, 236 pp., $29.95

What separates science from other intellectual activities? The search for a distinctive logical structure of scientific inquiry and for the essence of scientific truth goes back at least to David Hume's concerns with the limits of inductive inference (does the fact that the sun rose yesterday mean that it must rise tomorrow?) and has been pursued along a variety of philosophical lines. Perhaps best-known among such efforts is the falsifiability criterion devised by the Austrian-born philosopher Karl Popper, according to which science should be recognized not by the evidence it garners on behalf of one proposition or another (supporting evidence can be found for pretty much any proposition) but by the types of questions it asks—questions that can be empirically contradicted.

In *Lost in Math*, however, Sabine Hossenfelder, a physicist who is funny and writes with that slightly oblique flair sometimes found in totally fluent nonnative English writers, learns at a scientific conference that

> Popper's idea that scientific theories must be falsifiable has long been

*Daniel Sarewitz is a professor of science and society at Arizona State University's School for the Future of Innovation and Society and the co-director of the university's Consortium for Science, Policy, and Outcomes.*

> an outdated philosophy. I am glad to hear this, as it's a philosophy that nobody in science ever could have used … since ideas can always be modified or extended to match incoming evidence.

Exactly.

What, then, joins Hossenfelder's field of theoretical physics to ecology, epidemiology, cultural anthropology, cognitive psychology, biochemistry, macroeconomics, computer science, and geology? Why do they all get to be called science? Certainly it is not similarity of method. The methods used to search for the subatomic components of the universe have nothing at all in common with the field geology methods in which I was trained in graduate school. Nor is something as apparently obvious as a commitment to empiricism a part of every scientific field. Many areas of theory development, in disciplines as disparate as physics and economics, have little contact with actual facts, while other fields now considered outside of science, such as history and textual analysis, are inherently empirical. Philosophers have pretty much given up on resolving what they call the "demarcation problem," the search for definitive criteria to separate science from nonscience; maybe the best that can be hoped for is what John Dupré, invoking Wittgenstein, has called a "family resemblance" among fields we consider scientific. But scientists themselves haven't given up on assuming that there is a single thing called "science" that the rest of the world should recognize as such.

The demarcation problem matters because the separation of science from nonscience is also a separation of those who are granted legitimacy to make claims about what is true in the world from the rest of us Philistines, pundits, provocateurs, and just plain folks. In a time when expertise and science are supposedly under attack, some convincing way to make this distinction would seem to be of value. Yet Hossenfelder's jaunt through the world of theoretical physics explicitly raises the question of whether the activities of thousands of physicists should actually count as "science." And if not, then what in tarnation are they doing?

*The Compact Muon Solenoid, part of the Large Hadron Collider*

What's worrying Hossenfelder is that theory-making in fundamental physics is being driven not by experimental confirmation of key hypotheses but by subjective criteria of aesthetics. Physicists use words like "beauty," "simplicity," "naturalness," and "elegance" to describe the ineffable sense that the mathematics explaining a theory just *feels* right, and they believe that such aesthetically satisfying theories are more likely to describe reality than those that feel ad hoc or contrived.

Galileo called math the language of nature, but the extent to which this is really true—that there is something about the structure of natural phenomena that necessarily corresponds to the logic of mathematical statements—is a question that scientists and philosophers continue to debate. As Hossenfelder observes, "Mathematics is full of amazing and beautiful things, and most of them do not describe the world." She worries that theoretical physicists are busy discovering "numerological coincidences" rather than accurate descriptions of reality.

Surprisingly, an important marker of the divergence between theory and experiment that concerns Hossenfelder is the most famous experimental discovery of recent decades, the confirmation of the existence of the Higgs boson by scientists using the Large Hadron Collider in Switzerland. *Science* magazine named the Higgs its "Breakthrough of the Year" in 2012:

> Hypothesized more than 40 years ago, the Higgs boson is the key to physicists' explanation of how other fundamental particles get their mass. Its observation completes the standard model, perhaps the most elaborate and precise theory in all of science.

According to the *New York Times*, the Higgs discovery confirms "a grand view of a universe described by simple and elegant and symmetrical laws—but one in which everything interesting, like ourselves, results from flaws or breaks in that symmetry." Whatever that means—but I'll come back to the question of meaning later.

As Hossenfelder explains, however, if the experimental confirmation of the Higgs prediction was a spectacular validation of the standard model (which explains how subatomic particles and fundamental forces interact), it was accompanied by a failure to make discoveries necessary to support another fundamental theory of physics, known as supersymmetry, or "susy." This is a problem because "one of the main motivations" for developing susy has been to help explain a major inconsistency in the standard model: While the standard model dictates the existence of the Higgs boson, the theory also requires that the particle's mass be enormously

DEAN MOUHTAROPOULOS / GETTY

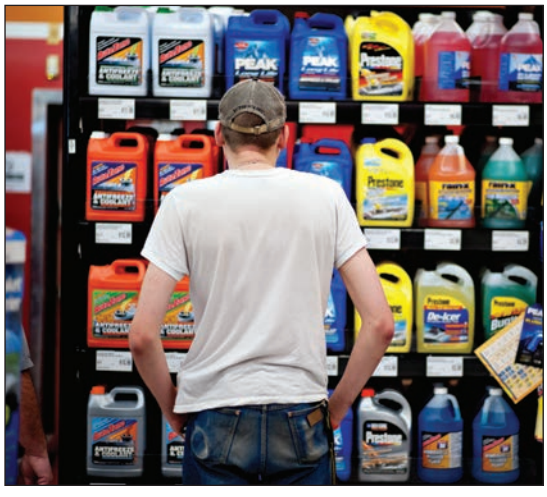
greater than it seems actually to be. To deal with this discrepancy one could "amend the theory" to give the right mass, but that requires that the number be fudged to exactly counterbalance the mass discrepancy. This sort of ad hoc tuning of numbers offends the sense of mathematical beauty and naturalness that physicists strive for in their theories. Susy takes care of that problem by predicting other particles, "superpartners," that can counterbalance the excess mass of the Higgs by just the right amount so that the mass doesn't have to be fudged in what seems like an arbitrary way. This appeals to physicists because it feels "natural." It doesn't require ad hoc adjustments to numbers to get the mathematically determined Higgs mass to conform to the observed mass.

If susy is correct, then evidence for superpartners should have shown up in the Large Hadron Collider. It hasn't. This can mean one of two things. Most of the physicists Hossenfelder talks to in her book think it means that supersymmetry theory needs to be tweaked a bit to explain why the expected particles remain undiscovered—that perhaps susy is not so "natural" after all. As physicist Keith Olive tells Hossenfelder, "It's certainly true that we expected susy at lower energy. It's a big problem. There's something in me that tells me that supersymmetry should be part of nature, though, as you say, there's no evidence for it."

The other possibility is that the theory is wrong. Hossenfelder jets around the world talking to physicists about the challenges facing the field, but few seem willing to seriously entertain this option. "It's either me who's the idiot," writes Hossenfelder, "or a thousand people with their prizes and awards."

And there's a time-honored way for those thousand scientists to avoid coming to grips with the second possibility: Do more research. Build another, bigger, more expensive collider to look for even heavier particles to rescue beautiful susy. "I'm not sure which I find worse," Hossenfelder writes, "scientists who believe in arguments from beauty or scientists who deliberately mislead the public about prospects of costly experiments."

She has similar tales to tell about string theory and the quest to detect dark matter particles—which she hilariously summarizes in a list of 40 or so failed experiments with names like EDELWEISS, ROSEBUD, and PICASSO (not to mention IGEX, GEDEON, and XENON100). Her courageous if not always fully comprehensible effort to uncover not just the hidden assumptions but also group behavior behind theoretical physics forces the question of demarcation. "Someone needs to talk me out of my growing suspicion that theoretical physicists are collectively delusional, unable or unwilling to recognize their unscientific procedures." If their procedures are "unscientific," are they doing science?




*Not all science is comparable to the research that goes into improving antifreeze.*

DANIEL ACKER / BLOOMBERG / GETTY

When Hossenfelder writes about "science" or the "scientific method" she seems to have in mind a reasoning process wherein theories are formulated to extend or modify our understanding of the world and those theories in turn generate hypotheses that can be subjected to experimental or observational confirmation—what philosophers call "hypothetico-deductive" reasoning. This view is sensible, but it is also a mighty weak standard to live up to. Pretty much any decision is a bet on logical inferences about the consequences of an intended action (a hypothesis) based on beliefs about how the world works (theories). We develop guiding theories (prayer is good for you; rotate your tires) and test their consequences through our daily behavior—but we don't call that science. We can tighten up Hossenfelder's apparent definition a bit by stipulating that hypothesis-testing needs to be systematic, observations carefully calibrated, and experiments adequately controlled. But this has the opposite problem: It excludes a lot of activity that everyone agrees is science, such as Darwin's development of the theory of natural selection, and economic modeling based on idealized assumptions like perfect information flow and utility-maximizing human decisions.

Of course the standard explanation of the difficulties with theoretical physics would simply be that science advances by failing, that it is self-correcting over time, and that all this flailing about is just what has to happen when you're trying to understand something hard. Some version of this sort of failing-forward story is what Hossenfelder hears from many of her colleagues. But if all this activity is just self-correction in action, then why not call alchemy, astrology, phrenology, eugenics, and scientific socialism science as well, because in their time, each was pursued with sincere conviction by scientists who believed they were advancing reliable knowledge about the world? On what basis should we say that the findings of science at any given time really do bear a useful correspondence to reality? When is it okay to trust what scientists say? Should I believe in susy or not? The popularity of general-audience books about fundamental physics and cosmology has long baffled me. When, say, Brian Greene, in his 1999 bestseller *The Elegant Universe*, writes of susy that "Since supersymmetry ensures that bosons and fermions occur in pairs, substantial cancellations occur from the outset—cancellations that significantly calm some of the frenzied quantum effects," should I believe that? Given

that (despite my Ph.D. in a different field of science) I don't have a prayer of understanding the math behind susy, what does it even mean to "believe" such a statement? How would it be any different from "believing" Genesis or Jabberwocky? Hossenfelder doesn't seem so far from this perspective. "I don't see a big difference between believing nature is beautiful and believing God is kind."

Suppose, then, we lower our sights and focus on a problem a bit less lofty than the fundamental structure of the universe, like, say, antifreeze. That's the example Jeremy J. Baumberg offers in *The Secret Life of Science* to help "see the richness of approaches to science more clearly." As part of the quest for new and improved antifreeze, some scientists might simply test "how much antifreeze is needed in different weathers"; others might aim at "predicting performance of different types of cooling fluids"; still others might explore the behavior of different "liquids when heated and cooled in pressurized flows"; and so on. While *The Secret Life of Science* aims to expose some of the intractable problems that beset the scientific enterprise, Baumberg wants to make quite clear from the outset that whatever science's "flaws" may be, "they do not fundamentally undermine [science] because of the self-correcting way that it works." This view is reasonable when applied to Baumberg's antifreeze model of science because theory, experiment, and application all inform and act as checks on one another. If the underlying science isn't right the antifreeze won't work.

Unlike Hossenfelder, then, Baumberg isn't troubled by problems with scientific inquiry itself, since he thinks it automatically self-corrects. Yet he does believe that science is in "a state of some crisis" due to a variety of *external* forces and incentives, especially hypercompetition for funding, jobs, and media attention. He sees reduced diversity and flexibility in the ways science is conducted and he worries that science is often aimed too narrowly, too often captured by fads and bandwagons, and too much dominated by "the scientist who is highly aggressive and aggrandizing."

While generally sensible, Baumberg's book is marred both by a dearth of references to background research materials that could support these sorts of general assertions and by an absence of rich examples and illustrative anecdotes that could give life and conviction to his critique. The result seems both off-the-cuff and bloodless, an odd combination. Baumberg's discussion comes more to life in the few places where he does call upon his own experiences, for example in a brief reference to work he did at Hitachi on optical switches, which he uses to illustrate a broader point about the increasingly close ties between scientific advance and the quest for media coverage. But such instances are rare, which is too bad because he obviously has rich and deep experience in both industrial and academic research settings.

*The Secret Life of Science* is also an illustration of why the problem of demarcating science from nonscience matters. Building on his antifreeze example, Baumberg asserts his own demarcation criterion: "As long as new knowledge is built by creative systematic novel inquiry, it seems right to me to call all of it science." He quickly gets ensnared in contradictions, however, because new knowledge is supposed to demonstrate "testability or repeatability." This means he has to make special allowances for "a distinct class of hard science problems" that are "hardly amenable to testability," in such fields as cosmology, neuroscience, and particle physics, which apparently he does not want to exclude from the temple of science. But what of the social sciences, or the sorts of interdisciplinary fields that use complex mathematical models to try (and generally fail) to predict phenomena like economic cycles or future energy consumption, or the sorts of statistics-heavy fields that seek to tease out the links between a toxic chemical and cancer or between a teaching method and grade-school achievement? Such efforts merit nary a mention as part of science's secret life. Are they excluded from the grand temple because the knowledge they produce is "hardly amenable to testability," often remaining highly uncertain and strongly contested for decades? But then why should susy and string theory get a free pass?

Were he to broaden his definition of science beyond the antifreeze model, Baumberg's portrayal of a crisis in science caused by forces external to it would be much harder to sustain. It's one thing for theoretical physicists to chase the wrong theory about fundamental particles for 25 years with nothing to show for it but high-prestige publications. That's fun. But what can be said after a long series of clinical trial failures suggests that neuroscientists have been chasing the wrong theory for Alzheimer's disease for 25 years with nothing to show for it but high-prestige publications? When hundreds of published breast-cancer studies turn out to be based on contaminated samples, when thousands of brain-imaging studies turn out to be statistically flawed, when economic theory continues to build on assumptions about human behavior that are known to be wrong, it becomes rather difficult to understand how one can separate self-correction from bad science from nonscience from delusion from corruption.

Scientists should pursue hard problems, and society will depend, increasingly so, on the results of their inquiries. But even the most abstract and recondite scientific knowledge may reflect very human assumptions about how the world works—for example, that the behavior of the universe is best described by elegant mathematical logic. Science cannot be cleanly demarcated from nonscience, and much of what we are hoping that scientists can tell us these days—about nutrition and health, about economics, the environment, education, aging, and the origins of the universe—will emerge from the vast fuzzy area between the two. Arguments over the results and implications of such work will be never-ending and will be peppered with accusations that one side or the other is being unscientific. What we nonexperts choose to believe about such matters will depend much more on whom we trust and what we find to be helpful than on what can be known to be true. ♦

B&A

# A Credible Sequel

*Long-awaited follow-up to Pixar's* The Incredibles *is forgettable fun.* **BY JOHN PODHORETZ**

It's been five days since I saw *Incredibles 2*, a movie I loved while I was watching it. It's probably been five years since I last saw the original *Incredibles* (for the second time) with my kids. But here's the thing. While I could easily describe the plot and business of the first movie to you right now, I find I can't do so when it comes to the *Incredibles* outing I enjoyed only 108 hours ago without doing a quick read-through of its Wikipedia entry.

It should not be surprising that *The Incredibles* has stayed with me: It is one of the two or three greatest accomplishments in the 90-year history of animated features, and like all great works of popular art it has burned itself into the national consciousness (and mine). What does it say about *Incredibles 2* that it didn't and doesn't and won't, no matter how successful it is at the box office?

First, it says that however good a movie it might be, and it is a good movie, *Incredibles 2* isn't a classic. Which is too bad, I guess, because on rare occasions great movies do produce great sequels. *The Godfather Part II* is, of course, a signature example of this, as is *The Empire Strikes Back*—two films whose partisans dare to suggest they are actually superior to the originals. (They're not. Don't @ me.)

The problem with *Incredibles 2* is that everything is good about it but the plot. It has two jaw-dropping sequences—a chase scene involving a train and a duel between a superpowered baby and a hostile raccoon—that surpass any single scene in *The Incredibles*. But the story turns out to be a knockoff of the first, in which Mr. Incredible and his wife, Elastigirl, switch roles—which means she becomes a dupe of a supervillain just as he did in the original.

*Incredibles 2* begins at the moment the first movie ends, with a supervillain called the Underminer drilling holes underneath Metroville—the gorgeously out-of-time, always-midcentury Richard Neutra city that is just one of the many brilliant conceits of writer-director Brad Bird's Incredibles universe. To fight the villain and win the day, the superpowered members of the Parr family—Mr. Incredible, Elastigirl, and their three children—openly flout the anti-superhero law that drove them underground in the first movie. Officials are no more appreciative of their efforts than they were before, and the government program that oversees (and presumably provides support to) them is canceled.

A suspiciously cheerful and friendly billionaire worshiper of the outlawed supers from way back appears out of nowhere to champion their cause and work to change the law. Said billionaire and his cynical sister suggest it's time to flip the script and make the supers heroes again—and that it's Elastigirl who needs to be the center of this public campaign.

This humiliates Mr. Incredible, who is left behind to take care of the kids. He quickly learns that the job of helping his son learn the "New Math" and dealing with his teenage daughter's social problems at school is as complicated and fraught as dealing with a threat to all humankind.

Bird is too inventive and resourceful a writer and director to copy anyone else's work—his version of Mr. Incredible learning to be Super-Dad is the best and funniest version of that tired narrative we've seen in a very long time. And turning the gloriously snappish costume designer Edna Mode (the one who declared "no capes" in the first) into a kind of Auntie Mame for the Incredibaby is inspired beyond words. But, alas, Bird does end up in Bad Plot Hell when he uses hypnotism as a key device, since mind control is easily the worst storytelling trope there is aside from time travel.

What elevated *The Incredibles* into the stratosphere was the way Bird slowly raised the stakes and the dangers facing his superheroes. Mr. Incredible is laid low when he believes his family has been killed. Elastigirl has to give her children specific instructions on how to save their own lives should they face imminent death. And by that point he had so successfully made us believe in the world he had created that it all packed quite a wallop.

That just doesn't happen here. But that's not to say it might never happen. Pixar managed the previously unimaginable feat of making a *second* sequel, *Toy Story 3*, that is very nearly the equal of the original (after a very good but not great *Toy Story 2*). Who's to say Brad Bird can't do the same with *Incredibles 3*? You know he's going to make it. ♦

DISNEY / PIXAR

*John Podhoretz, editor of* Commentary, *is* The Weekly Standard*'s movie critic.*

***"Officials in Brazil are investigating the deaths of seven men in Rio de Janeiro. . . . And a warning, this report includes audio of gunfire."***
***—Audie Cornish, host,* All Things Considered, *June 11, 2018***

**NPR Style Guide** | ~~TRIGGER~~ SAD-FACE WARNINGS, cont'd.

Many listeners, either because of unresolved trauma or their own personal commitment to peace and social justice, may find certain words or sounds disturbing or offensive. It is advisable for hosts to deliver a "sad-face warning" before any report containing certain auditory cues. Those cues include, but are not limited to:

**Racist, sexist, or heteronormative terms.** This category includes direct references to such terms (example: "the N-word"); indirect acknowledgment of the existence of such terms (example: "The rally's first speaker used a sexist term"); and words that might be perceived as racist, sexist, or heteronormative (examples: "black," "white," "man," "woman," "a straight line," etc.).

**Republicans.** This includes mention of notable Republicans, the Republican party generally (as well as related terms such as RINO, or Republican In Name Only), and terms that might be confused with the political party (e.g.: "a republican form of government").

**Scary noises** (examples: raised voices, slamming doors, thunderstorms).

**Sounds of conflict** (examples: gunfire, raised voices).

**Snakes.**

**Spiders.**

**Stoic/stoicism** (with its patriarchal overtones of "manly" fortitude, calling someone stoic implies a judgment of those who are not stoic).

**Trigger warnings.** This can be a delicate area; many listeners might find the mere mention of certain triggers, such as gunfire or Republicans, to be triggering themselves. Therefore, it is advisable to warn listeners in advance about any upcoming warnings.

**"Trigger" warnings.** Because triggers are associated with firearms, it is best to avoid using the term "trigger warning," as well as words such as "triggered" and "triggering." Say instead "upset warning" or "sad-face warning."

**Ugly.** Frequently used as a looksist and/or sexist put-down, this word should be avoided even in unrelated contexts (e.g.: "an ugly fourth-quarter victory").

**Uniforms.** While many occupations such as nursing and postal delivery involve standardized garments, uniforms are most often associated with the military — and therefore, violence, fascism, hierarchy, and toxic masculinity.

**Victor/victorious/victory.** These terms often imply the existence not only of conflict and competition but also inequality and hierarchy.

**Words.** Because people often free-associate, even innocent terms such as "puppy" or "ketchup" can set off trains of thought leading to unpleasant concepts or ideas. While NPR does not endorse maintaining radio silence, individual stations should judge for themselves whether it is better to broadcast anything at all.